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THE AUTHOR.

So numerous have been the inquiries touching the authorship of this book, that we feel it to be a duty to apprize the public that to the distinguished *Physician and Prof. of Anatomy,*

J. V. C. SMITH, M. D.,

Member of the Medical Societies of Mass. and New York,

Is the public indebted for this truly excellent work—perhaps the most valuable contribution yet made by this learned and voluminous writer to his country's literature.

Among his numerous writings, &c., &c., we refer to the following:

Author of a "Class-Book of Anatomy," "Notes to Cooper's Surgery," "A Treatise on the Mechanism of the Eye," Author of the "Natural History of the Fishes of Mass.," and of two prize essays on "Physical Evidences of Longevity;" "Travels in Turkey," "Palestine," and "Egypt" Six Vols. "Scientific Tracts," Editor "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," sixteen years, Twenty-three years Port Physician of the City of Boston, afterwards Prof. of Anatomy in 13th St. N. Y. Med. College At present, President and Prof. of Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy, in N. Y. Free Medical College.

Smith, Jerome Van Crowinshield

THE

WAYS OF WOMEN

IN THEIR

PHYSICAL, MORAL

AND

INTELLECTUAL RELATIONS.

BY A MEDICAL MAN.

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PREFACE.

A LEADING object of this volume is to explain, in a familiar manner, how women may improve their condition by conforming to the laws of health.

Next, to point out the way by which, in this active age of Christian civilization, they may be qualified for sustaining themselves honorably and successfully in various new relations to society.

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THE WAYS OF WOMEN.

CHAPTER I.

Their Influence, Magnetism, Inborn Intuitions, and Power in every Age and Country.

SINCE the creation of Eve, women have been objects of peculiar interest wherever seen. They are conscious of possessing a controlling influence over men, whatever their social position, and they wield it according to circumstances. They assume a general attitude of defence, as though recognizing the fact of being physically weak, while exercising a mysterious strength which no man has the energy to resist. Whatever her condition, from a pampered lady of the court to a menial servant of the kitchen, every woman demonstrates in her intercourse with the world the truth of the foregoing proposition. Her attractions or exhibitions of contempt are acts of volition. Both may be exerted either for good or for evil, according to her own individual determination.

There are peculiar inborn properties of the sex which education modifies but cannot extinguish. Beauty, elegance of form, and grace of manners are powerful auxiliary forces when exercised for the accomplishment of ambitious designs. There is neither spirit nor persistency enough in the whole range of masculine humanity, with but a few rare exceptions,

to withstand the artillery of a magnificent woman's charms, when sent forth in all their potency with a view to conquest.

Kings, princes, statesmen, theologians, and those of grave and solemn deportment, are alike impressible when subjected to those mysterious influences which are the glory and the shame of womanhood. Science sheds no light on this subject, since it has not yet been explained how female organization is endowed with such superior force.

In the functions of organs essential to nutrition, and in the form and offices of the apparatus of the special senses, there is no apparent difference, and yet men and women differ in their natures. Neither one is a perfect being. They are complete halves. The two constitute one perfect whole.

The Frame of Woman.

There are about two hundred and forty-eight bones in a human skeleton. More are often found, but fewer than two hundred and thirty-nine could not be dispensed with, and the individual not be noticeable as organically defective.

When extra bones appear, they are usually under the balls of the great toes. From their resemblance to sesamum seeds, they are called sesamoids.

The production of those split-pea shaped bones may happen at any period of life about the articulations of the thumbs, fingers, or toes, to meet certain contingencies to which they may have been exposed. Their development under flexor tendons are purely a mechanical principle, to carry the cord farther from the joint to increase its power. In some cases the introduction of those extra bones is a temporary provision, and they are absorbed and taken away when no longer of service.

The knee-pans are of the same character, being movable

fulcrums, rising and falling in the flexion or extension of the limb. By placing the palm of the hand over the knee-cap while bending the leg, the sliding motion of the patella, up and down, illustrates its office in the economy of that joint.

When extra burdens are imposed for a succession of weeks or months, requiring a firmer foothold in order to carry the weight steadily, the cordage of the feet will increase, both in volume and tone, to meet the emergency. Thus, a hodcarrier, climbing ladders, will not only have enlarged feet, but sesamoid bones make their appearance at points where the tendons have the greatest amount of strain upon them, about the under side of the toes.

Laws to Meet Cases.

Nature exercises a discretionary oversight, as it were, for the comfort of the individual as well as for the immediate protection of a most exposed part, by introducing temporary assisttance, and removing it when no longer necessary.

Small ossific deposits sometimes appear about the finger joints, for the same beneficial purpose. Should they become inconveniently large, when the cause is removed which quickened them into existence, ordinarily they begin to diminish in size, unless the individual is at an advanced age, when vitality loses much of its former force.

Equal Number of Bones in both Sexes.

There are exactly as many bones in the female as in the male skeleton, but they are smaller and more delicate in texture, with slighter depressions and less prominent eminences upon them. A female skull is smaller, thinner, and bears upon its general exterior, peculiarities indicative of mental qualities, if

there is any reliance upon phrenology, not to be neglected or overlooked in studying osteological architecture.

One of the most obvious differences is a gentle arching of the female head from the forehead upward to the vertex, which is always more elevated than in male skulls. Scarcely one flat head, in that region, can be found in a thousand. On the contrary, the number of upwardly arched heads is small, in comparison, among men. They are more commonly quite flat, or slightly raised between the sinciput and occiput.

This characteristic difference is considered, by experts in sentimental craniology, as proof positive, that women always have more elevated moral sentiment, and are actually better than men, because they possess a more favorable organization. Nothing is more familiar than bones, and therefore, little or no thought is bestowed upon them. But, when carefully examined, they are rich in lessons of instruction. They are levers for the attachment of muscles or movers, by the contraction or relaxation of which motions are effected.

Every animal which is capable of making a motion possesses muscles. Most of them have skeletons clothed with flesh, and that is an aggregation of muscles. In the simpler forms of aquatic life, as in lobsters, crabs, etc., etc., the skeleton is on the outside. While it gives attachment to muscles, it also is a coat of mail, a house or a fortress in which they dwell, securely defended from the assaults of enemies.

Formation of Bones.

At birth we have no perfect bones, with the exception of the auditory, but they soon begin to harden as the infant is furnished with food. Then ossification commences,—a very

gradual process, not fairly completed till about the twentieth year.

The formation, therefore, of two hundred and forty-eight hard bones of different shapes, densities, and positions, out of food taken into the stomach, is a marvel. But that is not the whole of the wonder. When fashioned and apparently finished, then they are taken to pieces, particle by particle, and carried out of the body, a new particle invariably being inserted when an old one is removed.

There is no cessation of this vital process; it is perpetually going on from the hour of birth to the expiration of the last breath. It is not unlike building a brick edifice. When completed, were the masons to commence forthwith to remove a brick in the wall, and, at the same instant, introduce a new one in its place, and never relax in that repetition of exchanging new for old ones, till the structure was destroyed, it would represent the process always going on in a living being.

Our very bones are many times renewed, therefore, in the course of a medium lifetime, although their composition is a compound of phosphate of magnesia, phosphate and carbonate of lime, manganese, iron, silex, etc., in definite proportions, which no chemist could more accurately weigh in his scales.

Male and Female Skeleton.

Although constructed of exactly the same materials, in the same elementary proportions, having the same general forms, there is a difference in the skeletons which the anatomist detects very readily.

When suspended side by side, a characteristic difference becomes apparent. The pelvis is broader and deeper in the female, which throws the hips further apart, giving to that

central pivot of the frame a feature which artists, particularly sculptors, are careful to note, as it cants the knees so nearly together they almost touch. In the male subject the thigh bones are nearly parallel.

Again, the necks of the femoral bones are longer in the female, throwing the shafts further from the sockets in which they are articulated. A vertical line drawn perpendicularly to the space between the knees, from the chin, gives the most satisfactory demonstration of this very curious arrangement.

The distance between the articulating heads of the thigh bones is so plainly recognized, as to enable those with a very limited acquaintance with osteology, to determine, with considerable accuracy, to which sex a skeleton belonged.

This circumstance may be of considerable importance in conducting judicial inquiries. Public anxiety is sometimes painfully excited when human remains are found in obscure places, that lead to the suspicion of a concealed crime. If a man had mysteriously disappeared, and the discovered bones belonged to a female, it would be important in settling a mooted question.

CHAPTER II.

GENERALIZATIONS.

References in Construction to Specific Purposes—Rudimentary Organs—Constant Evidences of Design—Organic Life and Multiform Objects of Interest in the Investigation of Laws Regulating Existence.

FROM the beginning of woman's existence, a reference is discoverable in her mind and body, in regard to the exact position she was predestined to occupy. As already expressed, her bones, not in their composition, but in some of their directions rather than in their forms, indicate a reason for deviations from lines given to those of the male. They must have had the same condition in the first created woman, otherwise the architecture manifested in the pelvic construction would have been an imperfection. Eve would have left no posterity on the earth, had the carpentry of that region been different from what it now is in her feminine descendants.

Small philosophers have dared to suggest that Adam was, in his own person, both male and female. Rudimentary paps of men, monkies, dogs, swine, and many other quadrupeds, are cited as testifying to the truth of their theory, that they were originally hermaphrodites—being in their present state, substantially, degenerated females. In the first chapter of Genesis, they find a declaration respecting the first man, which strengthens their convictions.

Woman, then, in the peculiarities of her bones, presents evidences of a design which could not have been so without a designer. She did not fashion herself; and, therefore, in the commencement of our inquiries, are irrefragable proofs of

a Supreme Intelligence in every step of progress in these investigations.

The sexes have been distinct from the beginning.

It would be inappropriate to discuss the mental attributes of women in the commencement of these deliberations, or to institute comparisons by weighing her brain in patent balances, measuring the length of her muscles, counting the hairs on her head, or drawing parallels between her attainments and those of giants in art, literature, and science. It is necessary to keep within prescribed boundaries in order to gain accurate knowledge of her ways, by studying carefully what is already known, to find out what may be unknown, that would enhance her claims for better treatment and justice at the hands of those who are her natural protectors and associates.

By contraction, muscles bend the arm, raise a shoulder, grit the teeth, or carry a spoon to the mouth. There are no surprises excited by motions so common. Women walk, run, eat, drink, sleep, and recruit their exhausted vitality as men do. By analagous mechanism they perform on musical instruments; think, speak, sing, and express their sensations. Therefore, their brain is the same in form and texture, but smaller, and hence it has been hastily concluded they are unequal to enterprises in which men excel. Only those quite incompetent to comprehend the mission of women, or appreciate her many claims to distinction, arrive at that conclusion.

What they Have Done.

By hereditary right women have ascended thrones. History narrates thrilling military successes of women. In strategy, they excel when they choose to exercise their ingenuity.

They have risen to an enviable distinction without wealth,

by the practice of several arts, and also by varied intellectual attainments. Aside from the immense aid of personal charms, which a few of the many make stepping-stones to eminent positions, their bravery, heroism, and indomitable perseverance have always been themes for admiration, which poets and historians seize upon with avidity for illustrating their capacity and their eminent success in all ages.

They struggle mightily and die valiantly in defence of their honor. Guns, swords, batteries, armies, and ships-of-war are set in motion by men for the subjugation of an enemy. Women bring conquerors to their feet with the magic of their eyes.

Philosophical Reflections.

Although osteology has been referred to, a study of the bones of all kinds of animals, it would be a profitable study in female schools and seminaries. There is nothing improper, revolting, frightful, or disgusting in the pursuit. No better opportunity ever presents for impressing upon the plastic minds of youth, properly presented, an overwhelming argument against infidelity, than a plain demonstration of the skill and superhuman contrivances exhibited in the adjustment of the bones of a bird, a carnivorous beast, or, better still, in the construction of a human skull.

Children must see things to understand them. The eye takes in a group at once, and the impressions made by tangible illustrations of the resources of the Divine Originator, in the examination of such mechanism, cannot be easily forgotten. To see the tubular bridge spanning the Straits of Menai, the traveller has ever after a vivid recollection of its appearance and utility, which he could not have by simply reading about it. Anatomical researches fail to show any very striking differ-

ences in the general construction of men and women. Bones, muscles, nerves, blood vessels, most of the glands and viscera, are precisely alike in shape and function.

It is not enough to state explicitly, that all the internal apparatus of organic life so much resemble each other when detached from the cavities in which they were lodged the most experienced student of a dissecting-room could not decide which were taken from a male, or which from a female. Products of secreting glands, as the salivary in the mouth; the lachrymal in the orbits; wax in the external ear, etc., are precisely the same in composition. In short, whatever is necessary for sustaining life in the one is equally so in the other, and accomplished precisely in the same manner.

These generalizations are neither new nor equally interesting to all; nevertheless, they are curious facts, and not unworthy the thoughtful consideration of those who confess their belief in the existence of a Being who alone could have originated these complicated mechanisms, and established laws which secure for them, as they do for planets in their orbits, perfect harmony in their movements.

Nothing by Chance.

Two deviations in the bones of the female have been special points of interest, not on account of their texture or relations, but because they indicate, unmistakably, an office which the same bones in a man were not to have.

The collar-bones, or clavicles, are invariably longer in women than in men. Whether she is short or tall, those bones always maintain the observable proportionable length to the rest of the skeleton; otherwise, there are no peculiarities. Attachments of ligaments, muscles, the course of vessels over or under them,

are no way different in the sexes. While women inhabit the earth, those collar-bones will have the same relative length, whether mothers nurse their babes as they should or not.

By their extra elongation, their shoulder-blades are forced farther back towards the spine, thus making a broader flooring, or space, for the lodgment of the breasts in front. This is a reason why women cannot exercise their arms gracefully in throwing a ball. Rarely, indeed, can they hit a mark in that exercise, even with hours of practice. Their awkwardness in that respect is proverbial; not, however, from any neglect in the education of the muscles of the arm, but from a congenital conformation, are they less expert than men in throwing. The difficulty lies in the arrangement of the ends of the muscles, further removed from the shoulder-joint, by reason of longer clavicles.

Vocal Box.

That protuberance of the upper part of the throat, vulgarly called Adam's Apple, from a tradition that the forbidden fruit stuck there—described in books under the name of larynx, or vocal box—is a genuine musical instrument. Within it there are vocal chords, which vibrate as the current of air passes their thin edges. The sound thus produced is voice, afterwards modulated, and by systematic practice forms a language.

In men that box, at puberty, becomes enlarged and partially ossifies. At that period of development the boy's voice is irregular—a *vox rauca*—a sign that he is passing from adolescence to perfect manhood.

With females, on the other hand, the original flexibility of the cartilages of the larynx remain without much apparent alteration; thus they can sing in the same tones through life. Their voice remains always the same. No such physiological

metamorphosis occurs in them, as in the boy, that alters the shape or cartilaginous character of the vocal box. For expansion or development of the larynx, its powers were very slowly maturing for thirteen or fourteen years, and when the voice changes, Nature announces, in that sudden evolution, an extraordinary physiological revolution in the boy's system. He is then a man. His beard grows, the muscles attain more volume, and all the powers of the body and mind are exalted.

This law perplexes physiologists. They have not successfully explained vital phenomena which still await elucidation.

Why some organs are active, and others quiescent for successive years, and then quickly burst into vigorous development, waits the patient researches of future philosophers.

In height, weight, and corporeal beauty, women differ from men essentially. In their moral constitution they also differ. Although neither so tall, so heavy, nor so strong, they are not without a commensurate compensation, always equal, and in many respects more interesting, according to the progress of a refined civilization.

Laws of Limitation.

In comparing the physical structure, it must appear obvious to the most superficial observer, there are laws in force which regulate and determine animal growth. The elongation of the body of a man much beyond the stature of six feet, is a deviation from a normal standard in nature. An inch or two above or below the ordinary height excites no particular surprise, as a departure from the ordinary standard of humanity; but six feet and a-half or seven feet are anomalies, arresting our attention as abnormal, and, therefore, extraordinary. An experiment of an eccentric King of Prussia for rearing an army of giants, by compelling the tallest soldiers to marry the tallest women in the

kingdom, exclusively, whether they were willing or not, is a matter of history, which proved singularly unsuccessful. The children of such parents, as often as otherwise, presented all those intermediate conditions between short and tall, characteristic of families in general. In a group of six or eight descendants from those unusually tall fathers and mothers, perhaps a majority of the sons were six feet. A few were even taller than the parents, while the remainder fell considerably below.

There are representatives of those Anaks in various parts of Prussia, at this time, but nowhere are there either families or communities which have perpetuated an unusual altitude. They degenerated to the original measure determined by a recognized law of limitation, and there men and women will remain.

There is a seeming predisposition in tall men to select short women for wives. It is an inborn, inexplicable fancy of exceedingly tall women to marry short husbands. It may not be either universal or imperative, but it is so frequently occurring as to have been noticed by philosophical writers, earnest interrogators of Nature into causes and the effects of causes. They think they perceive in this spirit of selection, otherwise defined to be an impulse of affection or preference, a law for equalizing the height of mankind. Were dwarfs to give preference to the marital companionship of dwarfs, and giants to giants, there would possibly be the two extremes—pigmies and Brobdingnags dividing the habitable portions of the earth between them, instead of races of rational beings controlled by a uniform law of limitation, standing upon the same plane, and averaging the same stature.

Very tall men, with remarkably tall wives, are met with everywhere, but they are exceptions, rather than illustrations of the law of development.

CHAPTER III.

Curiosities of Anatomy.

Laws of Adaptation—Reference to Lactation—Pelvic Carpentry—Exposures to Weather—Being too Delicate—Progress of Sentimentality, etc.

Peculiarities of the collar-bones, the width and depth of the pelvis, articulation of the thigh-bones and some other deviations in the female skeleton already adverted to, are quite sufficient for establishing the truth of one important proposition; viz., that they incontestably prove design, and, therefore, there was a designer. As we cannot add one inch to our stature, or make ourselves either handsome or ugly, we are at liberty, as free agents, to improve our condition. The form given us in the shape of those few bones, proves as clearly as grander exhibitions of Omnipotence, the controlling agency of a superior Being.

Let us analyze a little further those few specimens of design, to gather further insight into the object contemplated and the results to follow.

These long collar-bones are braces, keeping the shoulder-blades from being drawn too far forward by the pectoral muscles. Were they to encroach, it would be to the injury of the breasts, crowding them out of place, and thus interfering with the prescribed function of lactation.

A female breast offers a more inviting pillow for the infant's head than the hard flat chest of a man. A woman who has had no experience in the care of children always exhibits more tact and success in managing them to their satisfaction, than the most tender, sympathizing man. The softness of the invest-

ing tissues of the chest, the wider space for the infant's resting place, and the delicate cushioning of the ribs, forms an object contemplated from the beginning, and indicated beyond question by their precise position.

The out-spreading hip-bones, give a breadth to the female form, which is striking in any form or fashion of dress, compared with the hips of an adult man. The pelvis is built up of only three immensely large, irregularly-shapen pieces, constituting its walls. The key, or wedge-bone, under the name of *os sacrum*, is the base on which rests the spinal column. Its prolongation on a horizontal line in animals is the tail, but which in the human skeleton is formed of several distinct pieces, gently curved, so as to become, at the extreme tip, a flooring of the pelvis, for sustaining the viscera above.

This particular section of the frame of the female, abounding in curious manifestations of means to ends, is complicated with muscles and vessels, and, consequently, cannot readily be described in a way to have the mechanism understood, without drawings.

CHAPTER IV.

Social Status of Women.

Custom sanctions the treatment of women as though they were unable to bear atmospheric exposures, or meet hardships of any kind with impunity. It is a mistake.

When their lives are cast in pleasant places, and they are sustained by a conscious independence of circumstances, which can only be realized in a state of Christian civilization, they then present themselves in the dignity of intellectual character. Uneducated, and simply occupying the position of a slave or an out-door laborer, they are adequate to the severest test of servile employment.

In refined communities, where contentment prevails, and where she is contemplated as a dependent appendage, rather than an efficient assistant, woman physically deteriorates. Kindness may degenerate into sickly sentimentality. Lamb-like and gentle, restless, irritable, and presumptuously exacting, are the poises that have much to do with the happiness or unhappiness of the sex.

Industry being honored as a virtue, idleness, consequently, tips the beam in an opposite direction. Being unemployed is no mark of a lady. Those who imagine it degrades them to be associated with pursuits indicative of labor, unfortunately for themselves lose what they most covet,—viz., the admiration of their friends.

In-door industry is, by general consent, commendable, and there it is supposed that woman is in her appropriate sphere. The cares devolving upon them, married or single, relieve

them from those exposures which bronze the features, harden the hands, and destroy those traits of gracefulness which largely contribute to the withering of their charms. Caring for children, presiding as the spirit of order in the domestic circle, or giving the products of the field their preparations for the table, are not incompatible with elegance of manners, courtesy, and the handy disposition of the toilet.

When she steps beyond that assigned theatre for the exercise of her powers, whether improved by education or displayed in the rudeness of untutored abandonment, a woman is out of place.

Whether wise or foolish, learned or ignorant, poor or rich, beautiful or ugly, it is conceded by most men, not by reasoning but by intuition, that woman should be favored, and not subjected to the same discipline, in any department of industry, as themselves. On this sentiment civilization took its rise. To some extent, savages and barbarians concur with philosophers, that females cannot endure as much as men, because they have not the same hardy organization; so they alternately favor or oppress them, regarding them as servants, but not their equals or companions.

With savages, woman bears all the domestic burdens, suffers indignities patiently, and rears up children tenderly, protecting them with a mother's undying love, to be abused by them as soon as they have strength in their little arms to give them a blow.

A true history of the world is also a record of the wrongs of woman. Her happiness, her sorrows, her influence, and her misfortunes, are not estimated as they should be. She deserves heaven as a compensation for her bad treatment on earth.

Equality of the Sexes.

In theory it sounds well, when a political demagogue prates loudly before a multitude, of human rights and the equality of the sexes. A millstone hangs as heavily at the neck of a colored woman on a cotton plantation, as it would suspended from the neck of the orator's wife; but circumstances alter cases. After election, nothing more is heard of all being born free to pursue their way to happiness, till preparation for opening the polls comes around another year.

Unfortunately for the best-contrived plans for ameliorating social distinctions in this commercial age, it is necessary to stand on a pile of dollars in order to receive the same attentions accorded to those who actually possess them. Talent, education, or blood of martyrs in one's veins, are no recommendation to an acquaintance with property-owners, because revenues are the accredited touchstone to respectability.

Every city in Europe and America has its philosophers in rags, splendid women in poverty, the descendants of great families without a shilling. Who cares for them? Who invites them to dine when they entertain distinguished guests?

Nobody! No, they are not asked to take a seat in the broad aisle of a church erected by their ancestors! This is a text for reflection, but not a suitable subject for a sermon, it would so shock the sensibilities of devout hypocrites, who worship mammon under the mistaken idea of honoring the institutes of religion.

An Inconsistency.

A glaring inconsistency in the present order of society is an unwillingness to allow females to sustain themselves by industrial pursuits which are claimed to be the legitimate avoca-

tion of men. By their exclusion, therefore, from enterprises perfectly within their sphere, many are unemployed, while another portion are cruelly overworked.

A million of women in the United States, and perhaps twice or thrice that number, contribute nothing to the common weal. Necessity makes no demand upon them, and consequently they are not only non-producers, but are sustained by the industry of others.

One class of unemployed females are denominated ladies, because they are above labor, and another stigmatized as vagrants, if scrutinized legally, on account of doing nothing.

No woman can be so far elevated by the adventitious circumstances of having an income that defrays her expenses, as to be exonerated from a moral obligation of doing as she would be done by, in her intercourse with those less fortunate than herself. Where that golden principle is lost sight of by man or woman, deterioration follows. A few are lulled on down and pampered on delicacies; others have measured out to them bitter draughts: vexations, disappointments, blighted expectations, thwarted aspirations succeed each other in rapid succession. Their pathway in life is through darkness and personal sufferings.

No wonder an expression of despair escapes the lips of those who feel themselves born to misfortune, in contrasting their condition with others, who never had an ungratified desire. They cannot see why they have been forced into existence to be miserable.

God in his wise purposes will clear away the clouds which make the course of life obscure to our limited mental vision. A law of compensation exists on the statutes of the Sovereign ruler of events, which will never be repealed while the pillars of justice sustain an edifice in heaven not made with hands.

Those difficult, social, and pecuniary problems are not for us to solve. Why sinners are rich or saints poor, cannot be satisfactorily explained by human wisdom. Divine government is impartial, since it rains upon the unjust as copiously as upon the just.

Might and Right.

Argue as we may to persuade the favorites of fortune to divide their goods with the destitute, they will not do it. Inside passengers pity those exposed to the peltings of the storm outside, but they do not voluntarily exchange places with them. Nor do the poor, when unexpectedly put in possession of an abundance, manifest a grain more of compassion than those they before envied on account of their independence, or denounced for their cold-heartedness and want of sympathy.

One of the Greatest Inventions.

Money was as potent when Abraham wandered with his flocks as it is in the transactions of bankers in this year of grace.

It was a great invention, and clothed with additional interest, when we reflect upon it, that whoever hit upon the idea first, of having a piece of metal represent the value of a camel, a horse, goods, chattels, or territory, thousands of times larger in bulk, and then succeeded in making those to whom the scheme was divulged agree to it, still more extraordinary.

Antiquarians cannot decide the epoch of its first appearance in trade. As far back, however, as sacred or profane history reaches, money was quite as potent as it now is. So precious was it very anciently, it was probably counterfeited, which is inferred from a transaction mentioned in the book of

Genesis, in which the purchase amounted to four hundred shekels, "*current money of the merchant.*"

Civilization, from its phases in the orient to Anno Domini, 1873, has not much improved this universal representative of wealth. It also represents power. The mere belief that an individual has more of it than another, gains ascendency for him over those who were before his equals.

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CHAPTER V.

Exterior of the Sexes.

Why the male lion has a shaggy mane, a larger body, or stronger claws than the lioness, is beyond our ken. Throughout the animal kingdom, with a few exceptions already partially recognized in a preceding chapter, males are larger and stronger than females of the same race, and far more beautiful.

Male birds, from the gaudy peacock to the ground sparrows, are magnificently ornamented with variegated plumage, difficult to imitate successfully by art. But, on the ascending scale, on reaching human beings, there is a reversal of the law. Woman's beauty transcends all other displays of beauty, while man is far less engaging in facial expression. His face inspires a different kind of surprise, admiration, or sentiments, but no sentiment of adoration.

Man's face is partially covered by a beard, if he is fully developed. His features are bolder, harder, and his build and movements are indicative of strength, vigor, and the wildest exhibitions of impetuosity. With massive limbs and regular deportment, he has no exterior beauty to be compared with the exterior of a beautiful woman. A handsome man is handsome by contrast, in possessing those harder, bolder, and rougher physical signs of attributes which animate him.

Why was a beard bestowed upon man? That question, many times answered, is still open for a more satisfactory explanation than has yet been given. If it serves as a sieve to prevent the inhalation of dust into the lungs, why not protect a woman in the same manner? She crosses the sandy deserts of Africa

with her bearded nomadic associates, exposed to the same simooms. His cervical glands, *a priori*, require no more protection than those on her throat performing precisely the same office.

Alternations of heat and cold do not interfere with the functions of those salivary organs in her exposed neck, any oftener than when matted with a bushy beard. Nor do we admit the cogency of the argument, that a beard is a sign to signify the perfection of manhood. Those fair-skinned or dark tribes, or the red Indians of this Continent, are provided with no such appendage. The Caucasian has a beard. We shave it off daily, but Nature takes no hint—cares nothing about the inconvenience to which we are subjected in removing it with a dull razor: it continually grows. It was intended to subserve some useful purpose, but at present physiologists cannot agree what that is. Were non-bearded men mentally inferior, or those persons less muscular, a clue would be found to a solution of the question. There are as many Samsons without a beard, and bald, as there are with long locks and a disgusting sheet of tangled beard swaying over their linen bosoms.

Straggling hairs on the chin and the angles of the mouth on females are taken, on slender authority, however, as indications of a masculine character and sterility. A Spanish woman was extensively exhibited a few years since in all the principal cities, who had a prodigiously black bushy beard. She was the mother of three children, neither of whom appeared to have inherited a predisposition to its mother's anomalous appearance.

In her case, the development of a beard did not diminish a womanly expression of refinement and feminine excellence, nor did it interfere with any maternal relations. It was thick, glossy, long, which, with thick-set whiskers, would have been the delight of scores of beardless bucks who have vainly coaxed for a show on a smooth chin, through costly pots of perfumed bear's-grease.

When women have passed the age of maternity, it is quite common to be annoyed with straggling hairs shooting out on the upper lip, and about the lower edge of the chin; but attempts at removing them by violence, the grip of tweezers, or jerks by the fingers, by creating a slight local inflammation, furnishes an extra determination of blood to the locality, that rather augments the crop. Depilatories are to be had in the shops which remove them without inflicting an injury to the complexion.

Female Voice.

A particularly sonorous voice is ordinarily associated with a beard in men. The tone of the female voice is subject to none of the changes which the boy's larynx produces on his voice in passing through a pubert revolution of his system. The girl of the age of the boy is more mature, and shows her advance beyond him in the contour of her chest. Both remain physically stationary for many successive years. At forty-five or fifty, depending to some extent, perhaps, on climate, all other circumstances being equal, she passes through a change quite as curious and inexplicable as any phenomena which are stumbling-blocks in science.

With all her faculties in maturity, in health, in capacity for all the responsibilities belonging to her surroundings, nature is inflexible by declaring she shall no longer exercise the functions of a mother—she can no longer bear children.

On the other hand, man may possibly be a father at any period from youth to a full one hundred years, if reliance is to be placed in the statements of very high medical authority.

Some men's voices are not essentially altered in timbre at puberty. They are harsh, unmusical, or squeaky, which is attributable to an arrest of larynx development while other

revolutionary changes are taking place in the natural order of events. An analogous transition in the vocal apparatus of fowls is noticeable. Young cocks make laudable efforts at crowing, which are ridiculous, compared with the full sonorous voice of a fully-grown chanticleer. Wild fowls exhibit no very noisy vocalizations like crowing. Theirs is a repetition of one or two notes or warbles. A sonorous voice is due, in part, to an evolution of sinuses or apartments in the bones of the cheeks and frontal bone, in which there are large chambers, bearing a certain proportion to the capacity of the box in which the vocal cords vibrate. In eunuchs, these sonorous rooms for the reverberation of sounds are hardly perceptible. There are none in children. The plates of bone begin to recede for the formation of sinuses at puberty. They are extensive in the skull of the lion, whose roar is a terrific sound in those dreary regions where he prowls a monarch over beasts.

Their Ribs.

From immemorial time a vague impression has been entertained among those most susceptible in the way of marvels, of course the most ignorant, that men have not as many ribs on one side as the other; and the reason given for it is simply this, viz.; that Adam had one taken out for the manufacture of Eve. A very ridiculous notion, without a single fact to base it upon. Every well-formed man has precisely twelve ribs on each side, twenty-four in all. Seven are long, articulated to the breast-bone through the intervention of elastic cartilages. Five on either side are short, articulated posteriorly to the spine, but their front extremities float loosely in the fleshy walls of the abdomen.*

* A monomaniac in one of the Western States, in May, 1871, undertook to extract one of his own ribs, out of which it was his purpose to make a wife who should come up to his ideal standard of a proper companion for a bachelor of means!

This curious arrangement in the lower ribs allows for the enlargement of the stomach and bowels, and the flexion of the body forward.

All the ribs of serpents are free at their anterior extremity, and move like feet in crawling, each being acted upon by a complicated attachment of muscles. In consequence of their peculiar articulation to the backbone by a kind of rolling ball and socket joint, those hideous reptiles are enabled to swallow their prey in one piece, even when the mass has a greater diameter than their own body; the ribs, being pressed off either way, react back, as so many springs, to compress the contents of the stomach into the smallest dimensions as the process of digestion proceeds.

In number, situation, and use, the ribs are the same in both sexes. The muscular cordage embracing them is also the same, and they bear the same names.

Even admitting it to be literally true that a rib was taken from Adam, which we have no right to doubt, deformities, malformations, or defective developments, we have seen, are not transmissible. If they were, then there would be a space for a missing rib.

An excess of members is not unfrequent, but in a majority of instances, when there are supernumerary parts, as an extra finger, extra ears, supernumerary toes, etc., they invariably appear to have belonged to another being. In the commencement of uterine existence, there were two germs; the growth of one being arrested, while some fragments becoming attached to the other, in the progress of development, were nourished and became a part of the living child.

In every case, supernumerary appendages are considered as having been the property of the blighted twin.

Strange Freaks in Nature.

A man advanced in years, awhile since, exhibited himself extensively, who presented the strange anomaly of the lower limbs of an infant protruding from just below the pit of his stomach. To the spectator it had the appearance of a babe half hidden in his abdomen.

Originally there were twins. There was an arrest of development of one, from the hips upward. The other portion became attached to the other at the point of union described, and then there was a second interruption. The limbs had attained their present size, when all further growth was completely suspended. Had there been no causes operating to interfere with the uniform law of utero-gestation, there would have been a pair of twins of equal completeness in form and development.

The babes that recently died, born at the West, whose bodies were united in a way to appear as though lying on their backs, with their heads in opposite directions, are a further illustration of this melting of two beings into one.

Occasionally twins are born united firmly back to back. The Siamese twins are held together by a large ligamentous mass, the division of which might peril their lives, no surgeon being willing to sever the connection for fear of a hemorrhage from arteries they might not be able to control.

Where there are two heads with only one body, as seen in the colored sisters who have been through the States, they are two distinct persons. This is certain, because the two brains pursue different trains of thought, utter words, and constantly show in their mental manifestations they are distinct in soul, though nourished and sustained by one body. It is quite prob-

able, however, that it will be discovered there are two spines, and two distinct spinal cords, hereafter.

An agent who appeared to have a pecuniary interest at stake in this double-headed girl, proposed insurance on her life at an office in New York. A question was at once mooted, whether there were two or only one individual to be examined. There were four lower limbs, but only one set of bowels, and, as it was thought, only one stomach. A paper was handed in from a medical gentleman of Boston, who gave it as his decided opinion there were two persons in the one!

In the course of these deliberations, we shall endeavor to show that defects are not propagated to the injury of a race. Individuals, but not families, are imperfect in form. Nature is conservative and corrects deviations, but never perpetuates them. Accidental circumstances modify conditions. Hence, the children of such deviations from a normal standard are not like their parents. One-arm children, children with only one leg, or those with extra limbs, are not, as a natural consequence, the offspring of parents thus defective or over-burdened with useless appendages.

Pelvic Construction.

Notwithstanding the consideration that has been given in preceding pages to the pelvis, as a piece of mechanism, unrivalled, curious from the simplicity of its construction, and the many essential offices it sustains, it would be unpardonable to omit pointing out to parents, instructors, and those having charge of school-houses, seminaries, and institutions for the education of females, a danger that should be avoided, but which rarely receives any thought beyond the lecture-room of a medical college.

In a sitting posture, the weight of the body is transmitted

to the seat through the lower ends of two bones, having an irregular knob-shape, called *ossa ischia.*

If in early youth those three bones composing the pelvis, are forced out of place, or gradually distorted by pressure, it may not only produce a subsequent life of misery, but absolutely be a cause of a painful death to a woman.

As repeatedly asserted, the bones are slow of growth, and not completely ossified till near the twentieth year in females. A neglect to provide them with soft cushions or elastic coverings, instead of hard benches, hard chairs, or harder stools, while pursuing their studies, may produce such deviations in those bones as to be ever after beyond relief. A hard bone out of shape, or forced from the line it would have taken had it not been for habitual violence, cannot be pressed back to the position it should have to secure the benefits of a perfect organization.

No school for female children should be considered suitable for them, if the seats are not as generously supplied with cushions as the pews of a church.

The same danger does not threaten boys on board-benches. Their pelvic bones are set nearer together, are stouter, heavier, and the depth from the pubic brim to lower margin is shallower. In a word, on the perfect form of that bony basin depends the existence of the human race.

There is no parallelism between female savages and delicately nurtured young ladies, the pride and the glory of civilization. The latter cannot endure the privations nor sustain themselves under a tithe of those vicissitudes which are incidental to nomadic life. While civilization brings out the moral and intellectual faculties of an immortal soul, it carries in its train customs, habits, and tendencies which sometimes debilitate, undermine, or effectually destroy individual constitutions.

We cannot dwell on all the points that present themselves on reflecting upon what and how we are to act in regard to favoring the proper development of yonug females. They demand far more attention than they receive in the way of delicate attention. There is a public duty and obligation to be discharged, independently of parental solicitude. Providing them with soft seats in schools and seminaries is indispensable, and for the reasons here set forth.

CHAPTER VI.

Imperfect Development of Women.

In no country are there so many imperfectly developed females as in this, in proportion to the population. Nor are there more perfectly formed ones on the globe.

When a woman is defective in physical development, there is sometimes a corresponding imperfection of mind. Excessive nervous irritability, or any deviation from an uniform expression of that calm, consistent deportment which is a commanding element in the character of a lady, may be due to some derangements in her system.

It is proverbial that women of the Eastern States are spare, sharp-featured, and wear an anxious, restless expression. There are smiling faces, and fair ones too; but most of them exhibit an air of haste, nervous agitation on slight occasions, quite at variance with that gentleness of manner, sweetness, and affability, which, properly directed, wins more than a park of artillery could control.

Climate is chargeable with many influences which derange temperaments. Nevertheless, it is sadly to be lamented that, while some are constitutionally less attractive than others, it is their misfortune to make themselves unnecessarily repulsive. Assuming they have a presumptive right to do as they choose, and all men are bound in courtesy to bear and forbear under a galling fire from their batteries, such women are more dreaded than loved.

Women who are resolved upon driving, mistake their

mission. Weak men may be led by them; but it is a difficult undertaking to drive those they may most desire to have at their mercy.

No woman who has arrived at eighteen with a flat chest, is harmoniously developed. Prominent signs of womanhood, the absence of which are indications of a defect to be deplored, not because she is less vivacious, less capable, or less able to fill the rôle prescribed to the sex in the ordinary pursuits of life, are very common with irritable temperaments. The ingenuity of dressmakers and india-rubber manipulators is consequently invoked.

There are young ladies, in the ratio, perhaps, of ten in a hundred, in the Northern and Eastern States, on whom there is no mammal elevation till they become mothers. When that event occurs, there is an immediate deposition of fat round the lactic ducts to protect the breast from injury during lactation. At weaning, the adipose deposit is absorbed, and the vessels, so carefully surrounded by elastic tissue against the possible contingencies of contusions, while the fountain was supplying the wants of a new being, shrink back to the surface of the great pectoral muscle, hardly larger than fine threads.

Fashionable interference with nature is the secret of this anomalous condition. To an extent quite noticeable, the cut and fit of garments suppress the mammal characteristic of perfect womanhood.

It is a tacit acknowledgment in trade, that art takes the place of nature in all cases where show answers all the purposes of substance.

Artificial limbs, wigs, cambric breast-cups, basket-work convexities, wooden calves, etc., which improve the appearance, are neither violations of statute or social law, and,

therefore, will not be abandoned while one sex has a desire to appear well made to the other.

So artistically are mammal appliances put in place, respiration produces all the movements as when the organs are in full maturity.

An imposition is practised both on old and young ladies of non-mammal development condition, that should be exposed. There is on sale in shops an ointment, exceedingly precious, according to the shameful misrepresentation of proprietors, for promoting the growth of the breasts.

Medications, either externally or internally, for that purpose, are positively useless. The swindle is enormously profitable, because no female, after wasting as many dollars as she has teeth, has the moral courage to denounce the fraud. It would be confessing her failure in the experiment. So the sale goes briskly on, and will till something new, represented more potent, with a sweeter odor, takes its place. Empty-headed bucks and beardless fops patronize whisker fertilizers in the same way, without ever having started three hairs where none were designed to grow.

Anomalies.

When the hair bulbs are wanting, or are but imperfectly developed, which are hereditary conditions in some families, no medications are effectual in quickening them into activity. When they are imagined to have been serviceable in promoting a growth of hair, it is from friction in rubbing on the article, and not the preparation which produces the change.

Anomalous peculiarities show themselves from generation to generation in families. A predisposition to baldness is one; a beardless chin is another. But such departures are

not uniform. Thus one son has a full beard and whiskers, while a brother is deficient in both. It is to be observed, in regard to these deviations from a normal type, or inconstancy in external markings, that there are no departures or variations in organs essential to perfect nutrition.

Through the entire history of the Kendalls, as far as chronicles refer, a child is occasionally born with six toes, on one or both feet, or with an extra finger outside the small one, on one or both hands. But that by no means warrants a belief the Kendalls of England, or their relatives in America, are the lineal descendants of extinct Palestine giants, who were thus provided with additional toes and fingers. It is rather to be explained on the philosophical principle that has already been suggested, viz., that each and every supernumerary finger or toe is the remnant and only surviving one of a blighted twin, that would have been born had all its parts been symmetrically developed in time.

A female dwarf is often seen in New York, petitioning for charity, whose arms terminate at the elbows. There are no fore-arms. On the end of each stump are fleshy kernels, which may be properly considered rudimentary fingers. This is an instance of arrested development, and not to be confounded with cases of excess of members. Her lower limbs are perfect in shape, but not elongated, which indicates a second arrest of vital force at the period usually most active in children, when the shafts of their cylindrical bones are lengthened.

There is a much-respected member of the British House of Commons who never had arms or legs, nor are there any rudimentary prominences to lead to the supposition they ever had a germinal existence. Melancholy as this extraordinary form of defective external organization appears, he is a man

distinguished for a brilliant and cultivated intellect. With singular adroitness, he writes with a pen in his mouth. That, too, shows to what vicarious uses muscles may be trained, and how the nerves, even those emanating from ganglionic centres, may conduct volitions or carry influences widely different from those assigned to them by the physiologists.

Abnormal Deviations.

The subject is not yet exhausted. Some further observations on the fruitful topic of deviations are appropriate. A violation of a natural law does not abrogate it. It may be more logically expressed by repeating the words of another chapter, that a law of nature cannot be altered or abolished. In those singular deviations in animal forms from the true type, we see that a constant effort for a correction of the error or defect is apparent. Nature never relaxes or abandons the undertaking till the object is fully accomplished.

A calf with two heads, a pig with only one eye, a chicken with four legs, or a Nellis without arms, is a departure from a prescribed pattern. They are aberrations, and therefore not to be repeated by direct propagation. Whenever they happen, it is due to circumstances which we have not had the sagacity to detect by scientific researches.

Physical defects that incapacitate individuals from serving themselves according to the requirements of their nature, and for aiding and assisting their offspring till they are in a condition to take care of themselves, independently of the parents, are not represented in their progeny. Monsters are neither the fathers or mothers of monsters. Were it otherwise, confusion would follow, and no two animals would resemble each other in form, in character, or habits. The

world would teem with frightful creatures, more hideous and terrible than the prolific imaginations of poets muster for their most daring contests with strange beings, created for special occasions.

Original Forms Preserved.

By ingenious, persevering manipulations, flowers, fruits, and even animals may be produced wholly unlike those from which their origin was derived. But they cannot be kept at that point. A tendency to fall back to the form and condition of the original type cannot be effectually suppressed. A gardener's treatment, unrelaxed, furnishes the market with uncommonly large strawberries; but a relaxation of his attentions would be taken advantage of by vigilant nature, to turn them back to the size to which the law of limitation had assigned them.

Animals may be so amalgamated by interfering with the laws of reproduction, as to bring into being forms that indicate an origin from mixing races. They may not very accurately resemble either parent, and yet there are characteristic peculiarities which belong to both. Mules are neither horses nor asses. Without the beauty of the first, or insignificance of the latter, they are highly-prized hybrids, often taller than the horse, longer-lived than either of the parents, and with a hardier constitution, greater powers of endurance, and immunity from diseases to which both are incident. With such excellent properties, mules do not breed mules. Nature is consistent with herself in the enforcement of laws for the preservation of species.

Origin of Species.

We shall not meddle with the engrossing subject of evolution, the present plaything of scientists. Whether we are

degenerated monkeys or the children of Adam, is of no consequence in these investigations. It is enough that we are here; but how or when the first human being assumed the prerogatives of a man, if the Mosaic cosmogony is ignored, cannot be determined by quarrelling with theorists.

To fortify the position assumed, that nature does not allow of the reproduction of defects, or rather deficiencies, of parts essential for individual protection, further illustrations might be collected quite as cogent as any already cited.

Of a large collection of remarkable examples, two more only are introduced, not so much on account of their novelty as to preserve a connecting fact, usually omitted, viz.; that persons born without a full complement of limbs feel no deprivation on that account, nor would they ever repine over the misfortune, were they not commiserated and educated to a knowledge of their condition.

A bank clerk resided in Boston, born with only one perfect arm and hand. The other stopped short at the elbow. Exceedingly expert in handling bills at the counter, he could not conceive of any use for another hand if he had had one.

Mr. Nellis, whose name was once familiar from Maine to Georgia, was born without arms. Not the slightest rudimentary elevation at the shoulders indicated a blighting of elementary limbs. His skill in using scissors with his toes, writing legibly and rapidly, drawing, handling a knife, firing at a mark with a bow and arrow, was very surprising. He was a well-informed, intelligent person, whose conversation and deportment were those of a gentleman of refinement. Mr. Nellis frankly stated that he could not realize that he was defective in any essential particular, because he had no use for arms if he had them.

While waiting for a train at the western depot in Boston, some years ago, a tall man came to the stove to warm himself,

whose hands were on his shoulders. They were large, and the fingers long and bony, having the appearance of being used in laborious pursuits. The arm-bones were there, no longer than at birth, but stout and strong. The case is without a parallel in the writer's experience. Had he been questioned, no doubt he would have said he experienced no particular inconvenience from the deformity, because he had not been deprived of any better arms.

Induced Modifications of Forms.

Mr. Charles Brown, a native of Waltham, Mass., died in 1871, whose right arm-bone, between the shoulder-joint and elbow, was absorbed completely, and carried out of the system. An injury, inflicted by a blow from the horn of an ox he was visiting in the stall, produced inflammation, which, without much pain, and certainly before there was apprehension of danger, resulted in that most extraordinary removal of a long cylindrical bone, without the escape of a single particle through an external aperture. The brace being taken away which kept the muscles extended, they drew the elbow up to very near the shoulder, bulging out, of course, in shortening, by contraction, destroying the symmetry of the arm. When his fingers grasped an object, or he lifted a laden basket, handled the reins of a harnessed horse, the arm was elongated to the original length. On letting go, the muscles would instantly contract like india-rubber straps.

With animals, when there are anomalies in respect to limbs, there is commonly an excess rather than a deficiency. We have seen a dog without four legs which had acquired a method of going ahead with a degree of fleetness quite surprising.

It is possible to very materially abridge the growth of parts, to distort bones, and to promote or diminish vital force in the

rearing of children. Civilization is imperfect when it conflicts with nature.

The Dress of Little Girls.

They should never wear tight-fitting dresses over the chest. Entire and perfect freedom should invariably be given to that region. Any close contact of clothing over the pectoral muscles, or habitual compression, is an interference with a series of local changes, slowly progressing there, of incalculable importance in the economy of female life. Perfectly soft, pliable fabrics for their apparel need not be urged upon those who seek for knowledge in reference to a conscientious discharge of parental duties. For the ignorant, or those who care but little, for those who assert there is something more to learn, before we have exhausted the springs of thought, these comments are intended.

In the anatomical arrangements of the female chest, there is a congenital preparation for the development of organs at a proper time, the elements of which have been quiescent from early infancy. By and by compact cells are filled, and the mamma rise is organic completeness.

If, however, compression is maintained there, regularly and habitually, when an increased vital activity is preparing for the development of those organs, the contest will not be a protracted one between nature and opposition. Arterial energy will diminish under restraint, and the breasts will not rise, as they would have appeared, had no hindrance to the developing force been operating.

Even when there is a considerable adipose fulness unconnected with the mammary apparatus in its embryotic form, if close-fitting garments are habitually worn, the roundness and softness will be reduced, by absorption of the material deposited in the subcutaneous tissues.

Under the pretext for protecting the chest from cold, some mothers are despotically disposed to swathe their little daughters as closely as bandaged mummies. It is wholly wrong. Nothing should be allowed to interfere with the space between the shoulders in front to the tip of the breast-bone. Harnessing them in stays, corsets, or, indeed, any other contrivances of fashionable acceptance for improving the forms of young girls, are abominations.

By mismanagement, with the intention of improving upon nature, that they may have more attractions, and more arrows in their quivers when young ladies, mothers do them an irreparable injury.

Development of Vital Force.

Friction will partially raise the tone of vessels that minister to the mamma, but medications are inert and powerless in developing them where violence of dress prevented their growth at first.

Having shown the uselessness of lotions, unguents, electricity, or other trumpeted remedies for defective mammary development, and the grossness and unblushing impudence of impostors in that line of imposition, we proceed to another field where the harvest is large and the laborers few.

A withered or partially palsied limb may be improved by rubbing. The hand of a sound person is a thousand-fold better than a flesh-brush or hair-mitten. Friction accelerates the flow of blood where the circulation is sluggishly carried on, owing to the defective influx of nervous influence, which, together with warmth and the electrical current from the officiating operator, raises the tone of vitality in the member.

Women imperfectly developed are apt to be excitable, apprehensive, and wear the look of being cautiously watching

for surprises. They are the women who are restless without cause, and unhappy in the midst of pleasant surroundings. They represent that class of ladies who are not treated as they consider they ought to be by their husbands. Conditions of the mind are recognized in which revolting crimes are perpetrated by women, not accounted for upon any well-established principles in mental philosophy, which, perhaps remotely, have a connection with some of those abnormal conditions of organs closely in sympathy with the brain, about which we shall know more when the progress of science has settled other questions respecting the phenomena of human life.

Mental feebleness may have been caused by a want of force from sources not precisely nervous centres. And the other extreme, of paroxysms of unbridled rage, arise from an excess of vitality, driven onward to engorge parts whose intimate relations to the encephalon are more direct than hitherto supposed.

Medical Jurisprudence.

Medical jurisprudence is destined to undergo modifications, to keep pace with a more perfect knowledge of the brain, and especially the female brain, acted upon as it is by influences peculiar to themselves. When lawmakers have been educated to a comprehensive knowledge of the origin of nervous power, and particularly understand the phenomena of the passions, they may more reasonably account for many ungovernable freaks of an excited woman than are made easy of comprehension by writers on moral insanity.

In closing these monitory suggestions in reference to dressing little girls, it is hoped that no one may be so uncharitable as to consider it is impertinence to discuss a

subject that actually has an important bearing on the physical well-being of female adults.

Physicians and tormented mothers know, by painful experience, of the origin of another misfortune; indeed a considerable one, too, which is, perhaps, caused by tight dressing, and certainly aggravated by it.

Special Grievances.

Undeveloped nipples, far more common than supposed, are an interminable source of trouble, because an infant cannot apply its mouth for drawing milk. Artificial means for nourishing the child must necessarily be adopted, always to be deplored; and in the next place, the breast is injured by over-distension of the milk-ducts, or influenced by frequent applications of instruments for drawing off the secretion that would have been extracted with pleasurable suctions instead of painful inflictions, by the delicate lips of her darling.

That condition which gives employment to wet-nurses in the most fashionable circles, rarely occurs in the middle classes of society. Nature has her own way with children of the laboring classes. Little girls are not dressed and re-dressed in starched garments half a dozen times a day, to meet the requirements of dinner etiquette, the tea-table, the evening drawing-room, and various other specialties, to fit them for the positions they are presumed destined to sustain when of a proper age. Consequently they grow up in health, with the form they ought to have, and which the millionaire's daughters would have had, had they been simply let alone.

Who ever heard of a peasant mother requiring a wet-nurse? Where can a poor man's child be found brought up on a bottle, in consequence of the impossibility of taking its

nourishment from the fountain prepared for it before birth, because the mother's nipples were prevented from developing by the indiscreetness of her mother?

In the fulness of our civilization, which is the triumph of reason over ignorance, we choke ourselves with tight cravats; ligate our limbs with straps, bracelets, or something equally objectionable, to check circulation; mount up on high heels, that force the feet out of the plane of comfort; wear patent leather, which prevents evaporation of moisture; cover our heads with airtight hats at the expense of our hair; sport with glasses that spoil our eyes; fill our stomachs with compositions productive of gastric derangements, and vainly seek relief from self-inflicted miseries that shorten life, in gorging with drugs that are worse than the diseases they were expected to remove!

CHAPTER VII.

The Dress of Women.

Small Waists—Sufferings from Fashion—Local Deformities—Compression of the Chest—Development of Consumption—Unheeded Advice—Form of Boys—How Female Dresses should be Worn.

Having explained, *in extenso*, the injurious effects resulting from improperly adjusted garments on female children when they are coming into womanhood, let us now investigate the positive character of modern female dress in respect to the production of disabilities traceable to that source in adult life.

Invention is, perhaps, exercised as actively in the production of new patterns, or modification of old ones, in the garments of women, as in any department of human industry. There is neither lull nor suspension in that most prolific field of restless variety. There is no stability in fashions. It is not required; since rest in that direction would be equivalent to a return to a system of simplicity and comfort identical with demi-civilization, if not barbarism.

Complete ease and freedom of the muscles seems never to have been contemplated in these ever-changing forms of their clothing; and the nearer they approach the borders of discomforture, without exactly killing themselves outright, the more agreeable, measured by a standard of the votaries of fashion.

How the Chest is Injured.

It is singular that in the manifold styles of dress which succeed each other with the rapidity almost of barometrical

variations of temperature, not one of them favors the freedom of the thorax or chest. That is the axle to which all pieces are attached, and the pivot around which they revolve, if at all.

Small Waists.

A small waist is the first consideration. It is, therefore, the study of those who conceive they are too large just where there should be no interference with the respiratory apparatus, how to diminish their diameter. This desideratum has been the premature death of thousands upon thousands of the fairest and most promising young ladies, before they had time to learn the dangers they were inviting by following the example of those who teach by their practice that they prefer conformity to the requirements of a perverted taste, to exemption from the penalties of being out of shape, in the sense of those who exercise no judgment in regard to this important matter. The smaller the waist, therefore, the better, provided there is space enough preserved for descent of food to the stomach.

Stays are the instrumentalities for staying the development of the chest. Beginning early, the ribs are pinioned closely, and by unrelaxing ligation—the lacing being carried to the last endurable point without arresting respiration — their growth is arrested to an extent only familiarly known to anatomists. Their function is nearly destroyed, as they become anchylosed, or welded, where they were intended to have motion up and down, according to the inflation and collapse of the lungs. After being subjected to the torture of stays, for such it is, however eloquently those who have lived through the operation of having their chests kept down to the capacity of a child of twelve years, may argue to the contrary, breathing is with them an abridged function—or it

may be arrested without hesitation. They have counteracted nature, and in various ways must, and do, suffer in consequence.

They even carry this violence to the chest still further, and interfere lamentably with the recti muscles in front of the abdomen, which reach from the pit of the stomach to the pubic arch. These are strong elastic straps for keeping the bowels in place and in contact. Thus, tight lacing forces the intestines out of place. One organ is driven too near another, and the stomach, instead of being pendulous, restrained by its own ligaments, is pressed down out of place, and that drags the spleen; while the free rise and fall of the diaphragm is limited, which strikes at life itself, because the lungs cannot be fully inflated when such displacements exist.

Displacement of Organs.

After being worn till all these disturbances have become bearable, the distorted organs having been adjusted in new relations from which there was no escape, when a lady removes her stays she is very uncomfortable, because all those internal parts, acting in duresse, have a tendency to return into those natural relations from which they were forcibly driven.

Those abdominal muscles which keep the abdomen braced in symmetrical relations, entirely lose their contractible energy by being for a long while relieved from duty; and hence, in taking away the artificial support, the mass of viscera gravitates in a way to make a very undesirable abdominal protuberance in front. Hence, when broken into stays, the harness cannot be dispensed with without discomforture.

Chambermaids imitate their mistresses, as far as their circumstances allow, in self-imposed misery. Fashions and cus-

toms are infectious. When endemic, they have a regular run. Females, therefore, in the constitution of society, suffer more than men by the mutations of fashions. The latter make themselves ridiculous by the cut of their coats, the shape of their hats, or the show of toggery on their watch-chains; but they are too much afraid of dying before their time comes, to kill themselves with stays, although a few brainless fops make themselves extra ridiculous by wearing them.

Who to Consult.

If it is desirable for women to have convincing proof of the injury they voluntarily inflict upon themselves, that they may imagine themselves more attractive in the estimation of others, let them consult medical authorities. They will there have the collected opinions of professional men, who can have no motive for misrepresentations, that the sacrifice of women through the vice of dress, and destruction of infantile life, through malformations, displacements, and special maladies induced from the wearing of stays, is a melancholy comment on one of the demands of modern civilization. Ladies thus deformed, and in a part of the body, too, which prevents the respiratory organs and the heart from carrying on processes of importance to the vital status of the individual, look with disgust upon the little feet of a Chinese belle, kept down to the size of an adult great toe by bandages. They are cruelly served—not voluntarily. It is no self-inflicted torture; they uncomplainingly submit to make themselves more saleable, but it is forced upon them by ambitious parents, that they may bring a remunerating price for the trouble of rearing them. Of course, with such feet, they cannot walk with steadiness or facility. They must have support by a fan against a wall, a parasol, or the occasional touch

of some solid resisting body, or fall to the floor. And this is beautiful! Nor is it a whit more absurd than disfiguring the chest, not allowing it to expand, nor half so injurious. There are neither lungs or a pulsating heart in the feet, but there are both in the pleural cavities.

Maternal Interest in Daughters.

Maternal solicitude for the position and happiness of a daughter is manifested very differently in this country and China. There, no mother in whose bosom there is a grain of motherly affection, would be so lost to a sense of duty as to let her loved Ky-yan-ste shoot up to the stature of herself with feet as large as a Christian's. No, indeed, that would be barbarous beyond forgiveness.

Compressing the waist with stays has precisely the same effect on the carpentry of the bones, that bandaging the feet produces. When the violence is completed, the first cannot move comfortably without her stays, nor the latter hobble through a room without having her ankles secured by many yards of firm, strong, inelastic bandages, which, for show, are made of richly-colored ribbons. Thoracic compression alters the figure of the lungs. The chest is naturally broad at the base, becoming narrower at the top—a cone-shaped structure. Women make it narrow where it should be broad, and broader at the apex, where it was originally narrow.

Inflation of Air-Cells.

The lowest air-cells of the lobes cannot expand when air is inhaled, while those in the upper region of the lungs are preternaturally put upon the stretch, in order to provide surface

for the creation of blood. One end of each lung is compelled to do more towards maintaining life than it was organized to do, while the lower part is prevented from giving much more than a feeble degree of assistance.

Favored, as many robust women are, with a fine organization in other respects, they can live out a long life in comparative health and comfort; but they are few compared to the vast number who fall short and die before they have attained all they might have had on earth.

The first or topmost rib on either side, just under the collar-bone, is short, thin, and sharp on its inner curvature. It has no motion, being a brace between the dorsal column and the breast-bone. It is immovable for the purpose of protecting large arteries and veins belonging to the arms on either side of the neck. Such is the construction within the horizontal arch of that rib, the upper portion of the lungs rise up through the space above the level of the bone. In cases where the chest has been manipulated till the lungs cannot expand downwards, they are forced up above that rib. Rising and falling above and below that rib-level, the lobe chafes and frets against the resisting curvature. It is inflamed at last, and the organ becomes diseased. If that chafing is not relieved, but in each respiration the serous covering of the lung is irritated continually, the inflammation is apt to extend quite into the body of the organ, increased and intensified by exciting emotions, laborious pursuits, or unfavorable exposures. Finally, the mucous lining of the air-cells within the lung sympathizes and becomes inflamed also.

Commencement of Consumption.

In this condition we may trace the commencement of pulmonary consumption. It would be denominated sporadic, and

widely different from pulmonary disease by inheritance. But the possibility of deranging the function of the lungs by simply distorting the chest, cannot be doubted, nor would any anatomist presume to say such treatment does not do violence to those much-abused, delicately-constructed organs. Being forced from their normal place in the pleural cavities, is dangerous in the extreme.

Consumption is not only developed by tight lacing, but a multiplication of cases, where the original conformation of the individual was favorable for a comparatively long life, is beyond question. Medications cannot stay the onward march of disorganization, when ulcerations eat the tissues. Once destroyed, they can never be reproduced. Therefore, if prevention is better than cure, less expensive and always more agreeable, why not profit by these suggestions?

No compression of the base of the chests of men being induced by tight dressing, a chafing of the upper surface of the lungs rarely occurs with them. If, by constant effort to distend the lungs, the lobes extend where there is the least resistance, the tissues covering the space between the inner curve of the superior rib and cervical vertebræ gradually relax, and are convexed upwardly at each breath. This, therefore, explains the mechanical results of thoracic compression, and women, as a matter of course, are the most frequent subjects of a diseased condition of the lungs from that cause.

Unheeded Advice.

In a blaze of hygienic light, admonitions of the medical profession are unheeded, and death and stays act in unison, decimating the fairest flowers of intellectual womanhood. A warning voice is lost in the distance when it refers to this subject.

Not one mother in a thousand doubts the truth of what physicians proclaim in respect to this painful invasion of the chest, yet she continues the practice.

Great men, giants in any department of busy life—those who make the world conscious of their influence—those who quicken thought or revolutionize public sentiment, and leave the impress of their genius in the history of the age in which they flourished, were not the sons of gaunt mothers whose waists resembled the middle of an hour-glass.

Transmission of Defects.

Mothers certainly transmit their own physical, if not their moral and other qualities to their children. A feeble organization is perpetuated through successive generations, terminating at last in the extinction of a family, unless there is a revivification of vital force by an intermixture of a healthy stock.

Intermarrying among relations, with a view to a selfish purpose of keeping estates always within the same control, or from a spirit of pride that looks with contempt on alliances with other blood as contamination, cannot be sustained. There must be crossings, and an infusion of new elements. Utter extinction of a family may safely be predicted that tolerates no affinity with other blood.

Nature asserts the law, and, if not respected, a race cannot conceal its deterioration. A feeble intellect, supported by an imperfectly developed body, is a notification of a sovereign decree—the disappearance of a family—only to be saved by the formation of new relations with those who have vitality if they have not property.

Predisposition to Maladies.

Competent medical authority has decided that a predisposition to certain maladies are transmissible from parents to children. Seeds of disease may remain quiescent many years, and then suddenly burst out into destructive activity. Changes of weather, variations of temperature, when an individual in whom they may exist is exposed, together with the peculiar susceptibility of such persons, produce slight inflammatory turgescence of the mucous membrane of the throat, which, creeping down to the interior of the air-cells of the lungs, assumes a very grave aspect.

The next phase in the progress of incipient pulmonary derangement is a cough. Purulent matter is excreted over the bronchial mucous lining of the air-tubes, to defend them from irritation from the direct contact of air on the inflamed mucous membrane. Violence in the attempt to raise that matter, which, of itself, is another source of aggravation, from its weight,—the thin partitions of the cells are often ruptured by spasmodic paroxysms of coughing. If not removed, the accumulation, remaining in a mass, ulcerates the membranes, and pus gravitates downwards. Abscesses are formed. Thus the integrity of the whole lobe is involved.

Emaciations, in consequence of organic derangement and imperfect oxygenation of the blood, is the result. Debility marks the onward destructive progress of ulceration. Neither tonics, the modification of diet, or a change of climate, can arrest the further destruction that must inevitably terminate in death, when the mechanism by which respiration is conducted is destroyed.

This is a mechanical delineation of the phenomena of

induced pulmonary disease, by violations of the laws of health. Dress, where it interferes with a perfect expansion of the lungs, certainly tends to the shortening of life.

Not Curable.

Pulmonary consumption, in the form here described, cannot be cured; nor can it be much relieved. How absurd then, on the face of it, to fill the stomach with drugs, with an expectation of regenerating parts that have been completely destroyed. Nostrum-venders thrive by the sale of consumption-remedies, but they are the only persons benefited by their falsely-represented panaceas.

Further Interviewing of Stays.

Women are not expected to lay them aside. While it is universally admitted by them that their taste is superior to nature, stay and corset-making will be a profitable branch of manufacturing business in coming years.

Why do not boys require such appliances? Without them, left to themselves, they grow up with full, rounded chests, and their proportions are admirable. Rare examples of feminine, beardless exquisites in stays are known at fashionable places, the straws on the ripples of society, but they are invariably regarded as brainless butterflies who are neither men in character nor women in form.

Criticisms on female dress are not the outpourings of an envious spirit, when they emanate from professional writers. Life is a boon so precious, they fain would persuade women to preserve it, and not sacrifice it to the caprice of fashion.

How their Dresses Should be Worn.

Were all their large garments suspended from the shoulders, the consequences resulting from confining them round the waist with the grip of a boa constrictor would be obviated.

In addition to the close-lacing of stays, each lower garment is bound tightly on, over the same region, to keep them up. This is all wrong. Closely-pinned waists of petticoats, bands, belts, and buckled ribbons, girdles, or straps, positively stand with firm resistance to the development of the base of the chest. So it is perfectly clear without a labored dissertation, that the mischief habitually practised to the positive injury of the whole internal economy of the female body, might be avoided by simply suspending garments from the shoulders.

Very young children are thus dressed, a mode only to be abandoned before the bones of the chest begin to ossify at their distal extremities. Moral and mental circumstances in a little girl's every-day life are overlooked, comparatively, in the effort to improve their forms.

Of the amount of disturbance produced in the basin of the pelvis by constantly tying on garments, a detailed description is given in the lecture-room where diseases of women are explained. It is difficult to popularize the subject, and that is one of the reasons no more progress has been made in revolutionizing their costume. If a cord were daily wound around the body just above the hips, the bowels would be forced downwards, interfering with another set of organs. That is the true cause of a painful catalogue of maladies to which women are incident. Displacements cannot be inflicted without suffering and real danger. Multitudes of females reach an

advanced age who have survived the misfortunes entailed upon those who possessed less tenacity of life, from being subjected to the ligating discipline of the waist. But that is no valid reason for continuing a practice so destructive in its tendencies.

Proof by Analogy.

Some men escape injury in severe battles, where the ground is strewn with the dead and the dying. Is that a proof that others might escape also, exposed to showers of flying balls? Where one woman, apparently, has had no inconvenience from a diminished waist, more than one hundred have died.

The weight of heavy clothing suspended from the shoulders is not as burdensome as when suspended from above the hips. Still, with that fact before them, ladies have made no alteration in their mode of dressing. It is a favorite way of demonstrating the looseness of their garments about the waist, that their fingers can be pushed under their belt.

That is quite possible, but the extreme ligation is in the girded skirts that are worn, pinned, or buttoned as closely as they can be drawn.

Brigades of physicians thrive professionally, because women persist in making themselves sick. Specialists find their complaints a profitable field for culture. Female doctors, too, have not been unmindful of the advantage they possess in gaining the confidence of their own sex, by turning their folly to good pecuniary account.

Oriental females keep their garments in place by a scarf or shawl, according to their means. Their trowsers, immensely large, soft and pliable, are easy for the limbs, and graceful in

appearance. They, however, are by no means exempt from contingencies which belong to girding the waist. Although pretty severely ligated, they are not injured in the same way that civilized women suffer. If they were as energetically industrious, they would be equally exposed. Their habitual indolence, especially the higher classes of ladies, the stars of the harem, is favorable for them. They have no chairs, but recline on elastic cushions. Were they obliged to exert themselves in lifting or carrying heavy children in their arms, they could not escape those mechanical displacements which are intimated, without being specifically described in these observations.

With them, their scarfs are not quite as terrible as stays. Instead of compressing the base of the chest, Turkish ladies make the ligation lower. They spare the lungs, but in stooping or rising suddenly, they are frequently ruptured. The bowels are forced to a point of least resistance,—the groins, where hernial protrusions are common.

Hernial Protrusions, how Produced.

Greek women have more freedom; and engaging in domestic pursuits of all kinds, in consequence of keeping their clothing together, precisely as their Turkish sisters do, they are extensively and badly ruptured. Perhaps no country in the world furnishes an equal number of ruptured women.

Women are subject to indispositions peculiar to their organizations, which may be made worse by neglect, or perpetuated by continued violence, however gradually inflicted. On the whole, leaving Nature to herself, the sexes possess equal advantages for health and longevity.

Simplicity in Dress Security for Health.

Permit little girls to pass their youth untrammelled by garments that would either compress, or in the least degree interfere with the chest or abdomen.

Distortions of the pelvis would be avoided by providing suitable seats at school, and also at home. No bone can be pressed out of line without interfering with some function that sooner or later may be a source of suffering or sickness.

While learning to write, their positions should be frequently varied. If they habitually sit in the same place, taking the same posture, there is danger of swaying one shoulder or warping it to one side. Young girls are more prone to have their shoulders distorted than boys. The latter are nervously using all their muscles, especially those of the arms, which secure symmetry to their shoulders. Girls are restrained from playing ball, climbing trees, or engaging in exercises that force the muscles of the spine to extra action. If girls are left too long at the desk, one set of muscles relax, while the other set are kept too long contracted, inducing weariness. Curvatures of the spine have their origin in not sufficiently varying the postures they fall into by occupying the same seat, the same desk, or receiving light from the same direction always.

Where a scrofulous habit exists, there should be even greater caution in varying the position often. Narrow chests, a breastbone pressed inwardly at its lower end—two sad conditions—may be avoided by the simple process of having the books on a high desk, which would compel the pupil to sit up straight.

With these statements and recapitulations of what parents and instructors should do to secure the health, vigor, and beauty of young girls, it is not pretended that perfect success will crown their efforts. Some of the most faultless in form die

prematurely; but that they are wronged out of vitality they might have had, treated as boys are, in respect to clothing and out-door exercise, is mournfully true and lamentable.*

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* In those parts of France in which stays have been laid aside as injurious, it is stated the mortality of females has decreased eighteen and a-half per cent. According to the same authority, chignons increased cerebral fevers seventy-two per cent.

CHAPTER VIII.

Exercise of Women.

Feet were intended for use, yet there are women quite unwilling to exercise them in any other way than dancing. Some scarcely feel able to walk from a dressing-room to a dinner-table after completing an elaborate toilet. Elegant idleness cannot be persuaded that it is not vúlgar to move about on one's feet. Airing in a carriage is genteel and without fatigue.

Anybody can walk who is not a cripple, but all cannot ride. It is charming to take a pleasant drive, provided the weather is perfectly agreeable. Greeting choice friends from the windows of a splendid coach, in passing, is infinitely superior to plodding along on foot at the risk of rude contact with disagreeable people ignorant of the rules of good breeding.

An apprehension of damp feet by touching mother earth, is a common excuse for not promenading like those who never owned an equipage. The susceptibility to cold is quite surprising with some ladies who could once trip through the wet grass when they resided in their country homes with impunity. Moonbeams become too ponderous for their fragile nerves since coming to the city and into the magic circle of fashionable exactions.

There are occasions, notwithstanding such acquired delicacy as passes for an unequivocal sign of social elevation, when even such zephyr-like humanity rises in the dignity of heroic resolution, to mingle with the world in crowded assemblies, waltz all

night for charitable purposes, retiring at daylight the following morning, satisfied with themselves in having discharged a religious duty.

If it is too fatiguing to trudge on foot like servants, how much more to ascend long flights of stairs, unless they lead to the exquisitely furnished apartments of a friend. In their own dwellings they are not unfrequently carried in a chair or borne in the coachman's brawny arms from the doorstep to a carriage.

Extreme Delicacy.

It kills some ladies, in court language, to exercise in any ordinary manner. This is a common complaint of very sensitive beings who were once chambermaids or milliners. To appear perfectly well is to acknowledge themselves rather plebeian. In their early days, glowing with freshness, vigor, and the best elements of a sound constitution, it was the good fortune of many who now converse most about remedies to have captivated a prosperous groceryman, a thrifty tailor, or the rich son of a retired leather-dealer, who was accepted as a lesser evil than remaining at service. Exchanging a cot in the garret to become mistress of an elegant establishment on an avenue, is not to be despised. Their husbands pursue the tenor of their ways, multiplying goods and chattels, and becoming millionaires, while their wives develop into model patients, patrons of music, the drama, art, select dinners, the opera, and tract-distributions to the poor.

Before marriage thus advantageously secured, every close observer has known spirited young wives who could once run from the basement to the skylight without complaining. Now cologne out of a phial would not revive their exhausted spirits. A few years of technical luxury, surrounded and enveloped in

comforts and elegancies to which they were unaccustomed in the elastic days of youth, they decline to an abyss of chronic indolence.

Must Exercise Freely.

The less we use ourselves, the more rapidly we deteriorate. When muscles remain inactive, they lose their tonicity. They cannot be strengthened by taking drugs, but by proper exercise. Pedestrians derive advantages from facing the breezes, and communing with nature in the open highway, which the occupant of a carriage does not receive so advantageously. Her locomotive cordage is at rest while riding. The walker puts all the contracted fibres of his body in motion at the same moment, and, therefore, every organ feels the impulse, and is benefited accordingly, because there is an increased activity in the circulation and the secretions and exhalant vessels.

No form of exercise has been pursued which is productive of health-giving vigor, to be compared with habitual promenading on foot, regardless of weather or season.

If men delight and enjoy pleasant walks, why should not women? Alternately balancing the weight of the body on one foot and then on the other, brings every muscle to its full bearing. Each one of them has an antagonist, and thus tension and relaxation create a demand for nutrition, proportioned to the force they may be called upon to exert. An appetite is created to meet the wants of each and every tissue; and in providing for a hungry stomach, we simply feed each one of those muscular threads which assisted us in stepping off briskly.

Without appetite, strength fails, temperature diminishes—the extremities being cold—and direct debility is the next condition. Every limb, or section of one, may have its form

increased simply by exercising it. Insufficient food reduces vital force.*

Bearing burdens, hauling ropes, working at a pump-handle, lifting kettles from a range, swinging a broom, etc., gives the female cook beautifully rounded arms, the envy of her mistress, whose bony apologies for arms cannot be made attractive, even encased in diamond bracelets. Dancing develops the lower limbs. Riding on horseback brings out the full proportions of the chest and abdomen, but does not round up the muscles of the legs like walking. Ladies do not reap as much benefit from that exercise as men; because only one limb has opportunity for bracing, while the former press equally on the stirrup with both feet.

Next to walking, a bracing morning-ride on horseback is incomparably superior to an airing in a carriage. Efforts are unconsciously made on the saddle in maintaining a perpendicular position. That is what calls out an extra effort of the muscles, and hence they increase in size and power. When a lady drives out for the purpose of refreshing her debilitated system, simply inhaling the fresh air does not accomplish for her all that an uncontaminated atmosphere certainly would do, were her muscles set in active motion at the same time.

As boat-rowing is wonderfully conducive to a broad, rounded chest, we are surprised that it has not been urged upon narrow-chested, feeble, consumptively-inclined young ladies. They would realize all the sanitary advantages from an elegant and extremely popular gymnastic exercise, that

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* Four of the wealthiest gentlemen in the city of New York, distinguished for their millions, dined together the last Sabbath of June, 1871. They were famishing for want of appetite. The rich viands were scarcely tasted. If each lived on sixpence a day, and earned it by labor, they would not have complained of want of appetite.

those do who figure in clubs and rowing-matches. They present the finest-formed chests and the best breathing apparatus of any class of men.

A hint might be taken from the pursuits of professional bargemen. They have prodigiously large, fully-developed chests. Diseased lungs in their calling must be rare. With these views, the result of carefully surveying the tendency to invigorate the pectoral muscles and expand the thorax by handling oars, we strongly recommend boating for ladies of the description referred to in these observations on exercise. They might count upon having splendidly-rounded arms by that graceful amusement, and improved chests, if they would be sure to remove their stays before seating themselves at the rowlocks.

A side-saddle is very well, as far as it goes; but inferior to the man-saddle, inasmuch as the bracing is made exclusively by one foot, as already mentioned.

Nutrition.

Nutrition of the body is a very interesting subject, not generally understood, although a very frequent topic of conversation among those knowing the least about it. How few comprehend the phenomena of digestion. When food falls into the stomach, it is lost sight of, in the ordinary way of speaking. At that point a series of vital activities and changes commences, that have given rise to researches of peculiar interest.

While an animal is growing, it is taken for granted that food furnishes materials for completing that process. When full proportions are attained, the body is apparently stationary; but, by eating and drinking, materials are furnished for keep-

ing it in repair. A waste all the while is going on. If that daily wear and tear were not met by a new supply, there would be immediate loss of weight and immediate debility.

Now comes into view the economy of nature, by which appropriate elements are elaborated from food in that membraneous bag—the stomach—which are floated along in tubes to places where new matter is required to take the place of old substance which has just been removed.

Arteries may be compared to canals, through the aid of which freighted boats carry every imaginable product of the country for meeting the necessities of the people.

Blood runs through these vessels, in which there is held in solution whatever is required—such as lime, glue, phosphorus, etc., too numerous to mention—which is carried to the remotest fibre, where each takes up what it needs, and no more; and whatever remains, after being thus selected from, passes on to other stations, where freight is discharged, according to the demands of the body.

The mechanical part of digestion is simply this. After being reduced to a greyish pulp in the stomach, by being mixed with a variety of products which have their origin in glands, food gradually enters the intestinal canal, a thin, strong, curiously constructed tube, about six times the length of the individual. In childhood it is nearly eight times the length of the body.

Lacteal Vessels.

From the descending mass of food urged through the intestinal tube by its contractions from above, a milky fluid is formed called chyle. On the inner surface of the long tube are millions of minute openings of hair-like tubes which terminate in fleshy masses of different sizes, lying between the

duplication of mesentery. Those little orifices suck up the chyle as it passes by, and convey it to the mesenteric glands. It remains in them but a short time, when it goes out through another set of minute tubes on the opposite side of the gland, to be conveyed to a small white tube lying in contact with the back-bone, known as the *thoracic duct.* In its exit from the gland, probably something is added, or some chemical alteration takes place that improves its quality.

The thoracic duct ascends by the side of the vertebræ, not much larger than a wheat-straw, till it reaches the root of the neck, where it curves and enters the jugular vein of the left side.

How the Blood is Produced from Food.

At the angle, the white fluid produced in the bowels, the essence of food, as it were, mingles with venous blood. The current of blood and chyle mingling runs across the top of the chest just back of the breast-bone, and empties into the right auricle or upper chamber of the heart.

As soon as that apartment is full, the walls contract and force the contents through a round opening into the next cavity, the ventricle, which contracts and drives the fluid onward through the pulmonary artery into the lungs. That great vessel subdivides in the substance of the lungs, infinitely, into fine branching vessels, where each air-cell receives a twig that spreads around it like net-work.

Air is next inhaled, inflating those cells, and in the act of inflation, the oxygen of the atmosphere comes in contact with the newly arrived fluid, spread like a film around the cell. At the same moment, carbonic acid is thrown off. The imbibation of oxygen changes the mixture of old and new blood—which arrived together, as described in the jugular, into a rich

scarlet color. It is then a vitalized fluid, arterial blood, and ready for general distribution by the contractile energy of the left side of the heart.

Effete matter, that which remained in the system till it had imparted all its serviceable properties, is evacuated. Thus an explanation of the reason for eating and drinking is made plain enough for the comprehension of a child.

Out-door Exercises.

Exercise accompanied by pleasurable emotions, as from the view of verdant fields, mountain scenery, flowers, or refined social intercourse, is eminently calculated to sustain and improve our health. It should be encouraged by those having the care of children. Public teachers should give it their approval. In all institutions, educational especially, frequent opportunities should be given pupils for free out-door contact with the air, regardless of the season. Air was designed for breathing. Those who have the privilege of being exposed to it most, will appreciate its sanitary value.

Laborers have a compensation for their toil beyond a payment in money, in the sound condition of their bodies. They are not always under the doctor's care. They have no fear of an east wind, the dampness of a napkin, a hard-boiled egg. They neither have dyspepsia or go to the White Sulphur Springs on account of ailments generated by idleness. Women above industry, gently driven in a close coach, lest a ray of light should imprint a bronze hue on their pallid cheeks, envy the market woman, strong, hearty, and well, unconcerned about the shade of silk, or the lace trimmings to be worn at the next opera. Being used and not used, are very different conditions. Not only health, but even the length of the thread of life are deter-

mined by the use or the neglect of our various powers. Pursuits which put the long muscles, as those of the back, chest, abdomen, and extremities into frequent action, are most conducive to continued good health.

Having particularized the benefits to be realized from horseback exercise, it will be found that those on foot gain more than riders. They are longer-lived, and are freer from attacks of disease, either acute or chronic.

Peasants in Europe, and females of the humble orders in Oriental countries, who carry heavy jars of water on their heads, make no complaint. Each and every muscle is brought into a taste of tension in the act of balancing burdens thus transported. They are exempt from spinal difficulties, being subject neither to dropsical effusions, spinal irritation, incurvations or curies of their bones.

Remedying Distortions.

An orthopedic institution, which copies the Nilotic water-girls, requiring fragile female patients to support weights in the same manner, instead of requiring them to pass hours on an inclined plane, and the remainder of the day to be imprisoned in stiff, unyielding apparatus, would succeed far more satisfactorily than in the old way of going counter to the best indications of Nature. A weight on the head would immediately call into play the dorsal muscles, which would increase in volume and strength with repetitions. Strapping frail, slender, imperfectly-developed girls, as commonly practised, to boards, a hard bed, or lacing them in metallic corslets, with an expectation that a distortion is to be overcome by it, is entirely wrong. Gradually bringing into use neglected apparatus, as muscles of the back, chest, arms, etc., and with appropriate attention to diet, relief may be reasonably expected. Tonics will not give the wished-for relief, unaccompanied by exercise.

Young ladies of a lymphatic temperament, not disposed to exert themselves beyond what may be perfectly agreeable, who delight in lounging away the precious hours of opening life on elastic couches, or languishingly reclining in a luxurious coach, for an occasional airing, when the weather is unexceptionably fine, receive but little advantage from scientific treatment, when distorted, simply on account of the extreme tenderness with which institutions treat them.

Scrofulous, sallow, indolent, lachrymose, sentimental ladies, whose circumstances are ample enough to warrant them in gently descending to the grave in all the pomp and circumstance of fashion, would not submit to such manipulations as might turn the shadow a few degrees back on the dial of life.

Social Phases.

Condition modifies circumstances. Some are unhappy because they cannot compass unreasonable projects; and others complain of being wretched on account of neglected claims to social position. A disgust of life is not an unfrequent apology for suicidal acts, which are charitably imputed to derangement of mind consequent upon ill-health. There may be a form of mental depression that so lowers the vital mercury as to make it appear easier to die than live in neglect or hopeless uncertainty of ever being appreciated.

There is another order of female despondents who are socially miserable by mistake, entertaining an idea they have not all an ungrateful world ought to give them, while they are revelling in the midst of phantoms and vanities. In a moment of desperation they swallow a dose of opium and slumber into eternity. This is a woman's way in distraction. Men blow out their brains with a revolver, or with a razor tap their jugulars.

Ladies in poor health, who cannot be miraculously relieved —the broken-hearted from unrequited love, victims of dissipation and the ignorant, who conceive themselves of more importance than others admit, those who are always trying new remedies from irresponsible sources, certified to by persons whose word is worth no more than their bond, those who consult quacks, have the blue devils, and refuse to be comforted, and require watching, there being a suicidal tendency—would each and all of them receive permanent relief from regular employment, coarse nutritious food, and daily walks that would invite sleep from fatigue, instead of taking medicine or consulting clairvoyants.

Women of Energy.

Hardy, resolute, energetic women, who rarely ride, require no medical assistance, mineral water, or soothing compositions. It is so common and perfectly genteel to be most of the time an invalid, that it operates very unfavorably for the prospects of those who imagine it gives them an interesting appearance in the estimation of sensible men. They are unwilling to open a private hospital in entering upon the responsibilities of matrimony.

Robust, clear-complexioned women are not usually natives of cities. Those who have the true elements of that kind of womanhood which will best sustain them in city life, are transferred from the country. They bring with them a stock of vitality which resists the effects of a vitiated atmosphere and the debilitations of luxury, rather longer than those "to the manor born."

But warm apartments, coal fires, gas lights, late hours, rich food, strong coffee, and the pride of wealth, wear upon them after awhile. Women in health are the hope of a nation. Men

who excercise a controlling influence—the master spirits—with a few exceptions, have had country-born mothers. They transmit to their sons those traits of character—moral, intellectual, and physical—which give stability to institutions and promote order, security, and justice. When there have been remarkable deviations from this law of descent, the mothers of city notabilities, in whom talent has been the lever of eminent success, had opportunities for alternating between town and the life-bestowing country.

City-born women, affected by morbid desires and corporeal deterioration, jealously reared within those centres of exclusiveness which know neither merit, accomplishments, nor respectability, not supported on all sides by golden props, cannot boast of the superiority of their children. An influx of pure blood from the country, to replenish languid fountains in cities, is the salvation of a family.

From whence came those ladies who are pillars in the temple of Christian benevolence? From whence come the men of mark in these United States? From the country. None of them were born in a brown-stone palace. Such structures were erected by enterprising capitalists who commenced their career in market stalls, jobbing shops, before the mast, or possibly in an oyster house. A widow's son, or an orphan boy, who left his village home in search of employment, are those who build cities, control commerce, erect factories, sustain themselves in places of honor, and are a credit to the age.

Developing a Sound Female Constitution.

A decided way for receiving a permanent benefit from mineral springs, is to visit them on foot, without reference to distance. Those who might receive some advantage from

reputed medicinal waters, are generally unable, from want of means, to remain, were they to reach them. Physicians assure us that poor women have fewer complaints requiring professional treatment, than those who are exempt from constant toil. They have occasional chronic ailments, and suffer from incidental exposures and accidents; but more women in comfortable circumstances are sick than might be expected, as an impression is entertained that domestic comforts are safeguards against indisposition. How much of it is to be charged to perverse habits, excesses at table, and a derangement of the system from having too much assistance in doing what they should have done for themselves, may be found in the writings of plain-spoken physicians.

Allow young girls free, open, out-door exercise in their pastimes and romping frolics, according to their disposition for such active gambols. Give them good, plain food, especially milk, fresh vegetables, and fruits of all kinds, in unstinted abundance. Do not limit their appetites. When they have had what their bodies require, they have had enough, but not before. In loose garments and opportunity for putting in play all their muscles, they exhaust their pent-up accumulation of animal spirit, which, if restrained by hackneyed old maxims,—that it is unladylike to be frank, spirited, and alive, they will degenerate into dawdling nonentities, who may have the forms of angels without their attributes.

Permit young girls, without reference to their age, to run through fields, climb over fences, swing under the trees, gather nuts in the forest, and pick berries in pastures, if they incline to do so. If they racket through the hall, overturn chairs or break broom-handles, in their innocent sports, they are laying a sure foundation for health, elegant figures, blooming cheeks, and brilliant intellects. That is the way nature proposes to

fashion lovely woman. It is a course of discipline which brings out in rich perfection graces that no treasure could purchase.

Exercise which results from the pursuance of some kind of industry, above all, should be warmly encouraged, as being most conducive to the health of body and mind. A door that is always closed will have rusty hinges, and creak when opened. Indolence is an enemy to felicity. Keep busy, therefore. A wise mother will find employment for her daughters. If they are idle, then they will be unhappy.

Were our limbs rarely set in motion, they would become thin and feeble. The skater's legs increase in size by the service imposed upon them. If the brain were not employed, poverty of thought would expose the neglect of that organ in exhibitions of ignorance. Decay follows neglect, and neglected opportunities cannot be retrieved. Every faculty must be exercised, if possible. Effort becomes a pleasure. Progress and prosperity have no intimate connection with pain or misery. Great thinkers, like fleet horses, must be kept in constant training. Great things are not achieved by main strength. Occupation is one of the first elements of happiness. As it is a woman's mission to smooth the rough ways of the world by the influence of her character, the power she wields is strong or weak, according to the culture she has received.

Commence seasonably, then, with young girls, by allowing them all possible freedom, not inconsistent with purity of heart. The best gymnastic school for them is all over the premises; and when their bodies have taken the form nature contemplated in their organization—which is always beautiful—then teach them whatever may be requisite for sustaining themselves with propriety, dignity, and honor, in all the social relations to which they may be called.

CHAPTER IX.

Nervous System of Women.

Different Nerves—Their Functions—Anatomically alike in both Sexes—Old Age—Children Nursed by Men—Arrest of Pulmonary Consumption by Lactation—Too Much Restraint—Exercise Essential.

Familiar as medical gentlemen suppose themselves with the structure of the body, a woman's instincts, and the laws which govern her nervous system, are still veiled in mystery, which the acuteness of physiological research has not cleared from obscurities. Assumptions are not demonstrations. The curtain must be raised higher before we can explain phenomena which belong exclusively to female life.

Considered as an animal, man is not affected by revolutions of the sun, the moon, or planets, nor have conjunctions had any influence over his organization.

In women, on the contrary, there are periodical changes occurring with an orderly regularity which popular opinion supposes is wholly due to an influence of the moon, far off as it is. Before science had that ascendency it now has, there were such precise and inexplicable functions performed from puberty to about the fiftieth year, it was natural enough to suppose a power in the sky that made the tide rise and fall twice in twenty-four hours, also moved fluids, wherever they were, proportioned to the volume upon which the lunar influence was exerted.

Whether the nervous matter is fluid or solid, within the sheaths called nerves, is not satisfactorily settled. Those

flexible white cords, from the size of a pipe-stem to filaments too attenuated to be seen without a magnifier, and which reach every fibre, being the telegraphic wires through which volitions are sent from the brain, and through which sensations from without are forwarded to the soul, have their origin within the head and upper part of the spinal marrow.

The Brain.

Nerve-cords are precisely alike in both sexes, have the same relative locations, and sustain the same office. A nerve in a female arm in no way differs in composition or in function from a similar one in a male arm; yet the brain of a woman differs from a man's, not in composition, nor in the proportions the white bears to the gray matter, so far as we can discover, but in its manifestations. There is a difference between the two, not at all easy of explanation. Side by side, detached from the skulls, it would be impossible to decide which was the male, or which the female brain.

Education is simply a development of the faculties; and when the process is conducted precisely alike for both sexes, there are manifestations totally different, which have their origin from impressions made exactly from the same sources. Therefore, there is a constitutional endowment: the why or the wherefore our philosophy fails to explain. Woman's instincts differ very widely from man's. She is naturally more reserved, more moral, and more sympathetic. Their thoughts, their dreams, and the activity of their imaginations, are certainly influenced by the same agencies which leave impressions on a man's mind; still she has neither the instincts nor the characteristic impulses of man in the concerns of ordinary life.

Whether the moon, the planet Neptune, the seven stars, or

the whole combined, govern the fluids in a woman's body, or unite their forces with those of the heart, it would not be wise to discuss. Certain it is, physiology has further room for explanation where there is both darkness and guessing, rather than light, in regard to the nervous system of women.

The structure and nervous expansion of slender twigs set the microscope at defiance. Their extreme minuteness cannot be followed, and, therefore, we must acknowledge our inability to pursue them.

Curiosities of Life.

When the age of child-bearing is past, the milk ducts shrink and almost wholly disappear; but they may be revivified by simply manipulating the nipple occasionally a few days. The increase of blood is directed to the partially obliterated breasts, and the erectile tissue receives an increased influx of nervous exaltation. By allowing a nursing babe to draw upon the dried-up fountains, the functions of these organs, as in the vigor of youth, will be reëstablished. Should the powers of nursing be renewed and continued at regular intervals a few days, milk will be secreted abundantly. Children have actually been nursed in this manner by aged women, who were fully restored, in that particular, to the prominent conditions of maternity.

It will be conceded, therefore, that there are mysteries pervading the female system, when such phenomena are presented. Thus, through the reflex influence of extremely minute thoracic nerves, a lost function may be reëstablished. Glands which have been dormant for years—the sleep of old age—yield nourishment abounding in elements which are the appropriate food of an infant, out of which its solid body is built up in health, strength, and beautiful proportions.

Medical books furnish the case of a poor Italian who posi-

tively nursed his own infant seven months, on milk secreted in his own breast. For the purpose of quieting the starving babe, whose mother had just died, the afflicted father, unable to provide a nurse for the wailing infant, allowed it to nestle at his flat, hard bosom, which was instinctive on the part of the little famishing sufferer, where, finding a rudimental nipple, it was permitted to draw upon it without interruption. It quieted the screaming motherless babe; and the father, discovering that it was an easy method of procuring rest for himself also, offered the remedy as often as the dependent little one demanded it. To his astonishment, it was soon found that milk was there, and the child receiving actual nourishment. For seven months he officiated in the capacity of a wet-nurse and saved it.

Young heifers may become milch-cows, precisely in the same manner, by the efforts of a hungry calf. This has been resorted to for gaining time, rather than patiently wait a natural process. However, it ought not to be practised.

About forty years ago, a young baby in Massachusetts was accidentally the subject of neighborhood sensation, which would have been a valuable contribution to a medical journal, had it not been for a fear of damaging the reputation of both the living and the dead, because it would be difficult to make even medical men believe the possibility of what has since been fully established as a physiological phenomenon; viz., that lactation may be induced without being a mother:—

An accomplished young woman in that stage of wasting pulmonary consumption which indicated a speedy dissolution, such was the severity of her cough, and the copiousness of her expectorations, was residing in the family of a married sister, the mother of a babe she was trying with considerable difficulty to wean. Being advised to leave home a few weeks—it was thought the weaning might be more easily accomplished than

while she was continually in the society of her crying child—the mother departed.

The first night after her departure, the moanings and unceasing crying of the child had such a disturbing effect upon the debilitated aunt, who could get no rest in sleep, that she begged the nurse to bring it to her bed, suggesting she might succeed better in quieting the poor thing, than the woman in charge. By tender attentions, which in fact consisted in folding it to her bosom, without particularly restraining its movements, and falling into a slumber from exhausting efforts, the little visitor found a pap. On awaking, and ascertaining that the infant was industriously endeavoring to nurse, she removed it. But its renewed screams induced her to take it back again, and let it have its own way.

Thus, day after day, and nights particularly, the weaning babe was hushed into sweet repose. But what was the astonishment of the emaciated invalid, to discover she was not only relieved of some of her painful difficulties, the cough being less severe, her appetite improving, and the child thriving on a full breast of milk!

A mortifying discovery to the aunt was this secretion, and that she was nursing a babe seemed miraculous. On consulting her physician, a discreet, philosophical gentleman, he advised that she should continue the course, it being evident she was rapidly improving from a condition of prostration quite hopeless before the baby was taken into favor, and suggesting the possibility of perfect restoration to health, if the pulmonary irritation could be thus favorably subdued.

With encouraging prospects, and obviously improving rapidly, an event occurred that blasted the expectations of the medical attendant.

On the return of the mother, unprepared for such gratifying

prospects of a recently almost dying sister, and astounded at what was related of the child, it began to be whispered mischievously, by meddling village gossips, that the putative mother was not the mother, as had been supposed, but that the innocent babe, doing so well for itself, was actually the child of its reputed aunt!

When the cruel slander reached the ears of the sensitive patient, the shock agitated her almost beyond pacification by sympathizing family friends. However, she resolutely refused ever to receive the child again, much as she loved it. Arguments and appeals were alike unavailing, although it was plainly explained to her that a sudden suppression of the lactic secretion would seriously damage her case. Nothing could alter her determination. By the time the milk disappeared she was in the grave, a victim of a wounded spirit.

It is not certain that the young lady would have finally recovered, for, as has been already shown, where the structure of organs essential to life are destroyed, new ones cannot be regenerated. But violence of symptoms may be abated, and life very considerably prolonged, even when the lungs have been extensively ulcerated, and abscesses formed in the body of the lobes.

Domain of Organic Sympathy.

There is an unfathomable sympathy existing between the pelvic viscera and the mammary glands; and because we cannot explain it satisfactorily, it is better not to dwell upon a subject of so much importance in the successful practice of medicine, which cannot, to any advantage, be discussed in a popular treatise on the laws of health.

With peculiar delicacy of mechanism, woman has also a cor-

responding nervous susceptibility. Her perceptions, her intuitions, and her moral tendencies are her own exclusively, and, though allied to those of the male sex, her nervous system is peculiar, and differs from that of man.

Men may be refined, conscientious, timid and retiring, but still fall infinitely below a woman in those attributes which give dignity, grace, and loveliness to her character.

Women faint more easily than men, and weep, too, artistically when occasions require it; but no familiarity with cruel practices, no outrages or wrongs are perpetrated so frequently in their presence, as to deaden their sensibilities to suffering, to appeals to the heart and their characteristic sympathies.

They recoil at the sight of blood, scream at the approach of a mouse, yet, in defence of their children, face the mightiest array of force with a heroism that death cannot invest with horrors of sufficient magnitude to divert them from maternal exhibitions of moral courage absolutely sublime.

Reason as we may, and rear arguments mast-head high, with an expectation of making the world believe phrenology is nothing more than ingenious sophistry, quite unsupported by facts, there is one circumstance obtruding just where it is most unwelcome to the opponents of that much-abused science, viz., that a large brain has more power than a small one.

Human Heads.

Small heads, it is assumed, are never distinguished for generating great thoughts. Further, there is a consciousness in coming into the presence of persons with large heads and broad open countenances, that an engine or a battery, call it by what name we may, is inside those strong boxes, which are a power.

On the contrary, a pin-headed individual, whether man or

woman, whose cranium scarcely rivals a cocoanut in size, without breadth—there is nothing commanding about it which impresses us with a conviction of superiority in or about the individual.

That placidly received doctrine, that all enter upon the stage of human activity upon equal terms, and with equal aptitude for being qualified by education to act the hero or be a knave, according to circumstances, is more charming in a Fourth of July oration, than true. Cash and circumstances, especially the first, as society now stands, carries more votes than talents, and buys positions which modest merit could not acquire by the practice of all the moral virtues.

Some are born to command, as others are to be commanded. This is exemplified in every form of government, from the nursery to a throne.

Notwithstanding an array of reasons advanced for giving women political, and, indeed, all other privileges which men glory in possessing, reference is not unfrequently made to their mental capacity, genius, and other cerebral attributes. They are not exactly underrated or undervalued, but there is a mean attempt at both, when impudence passes for argument. That they are inferior to men, just because they have not their staunch bones or do not chew tobacco, is a slender cord for binding up absurdities.

That the skulls of women are smaller, on an average, than male crania, cannot be denied. But that fact does not necessarily imply an incapacity for high pursuits. If they are small, there is a compensation in the quality for what may be wanting in the quantity. There are neither ganglions nor nerves in one that are not also existing in the other. Science or education will ultimately demonstrate that a female brain has a capacity for the reception of any knowledge men may or should acquire.

Education is a miracle-worker, especially when it takes female pupils in charge. That common notion, that woman's sphere is one in which there is no need of knowing much of anything besides sewing on buttons, rocking cradles, or dusting furniture in the drawing-room, cannot have many advocates,—certainly, none of sense.

Responsibility Somewhere.

Fathers, brothers, and husbands are guilty of a great wrong if they neglect to elevate woman to the extent of their pecuniary resources, in giving her all attainable advantages. Her mission on this fair globe is such that she must have intelligent training. All her faculties should be developed, and directed to meet the responsibilities of her position.

Women are under too much restraint. They have been guarded in selfish ignorance, till a common sentiment has crept into our civilization that they still ought to have fewer privileges and less freedom than men.

Extreme reserve, seclusion from avenues to a familiar knowledge of what is transpiring in the world in which they have a being, is making prisoners of those who contribute all that is really refined, elevating, and heavenly in our sojourn in life. Reserve may be carried too far, and freedom degenerate into vulgarity. That system, however, which inculcates self-respect, has intimately incorporated with it dignity of carriage, generosity of soul, frankness of manner, chastened by the highest sense of propriety.

Where there is too much scrutiny—too much fear of being too common—it is impossible to have a full gushing out of a woman's real nature. Contracted views, hypocritical reservations, and concealment of motives, are always referable

to a famished mind. The brain must be exercised, or it will perish.

A woman's nerves are cords of a delicate instrument—a harp of a thousand strings—which will not keep in tune if rudely handled. Whatever may be a success in the primary education of boys, should also be adopted in the primary instruction of girls. Quite into their thirteenth year, they should stand upon the same neutral level. Whatever is proper for one, is equally of value to the other.

Boys and Girls in Childhood.

Boys of a corresponding age, owing to their innate disposition to frolic, and who in their boisterous pastimes put in action every thread of a muscle in their agile bodies, invariably have larger, stronger limbs than girls. Besides the circumstance of having larger bones, too, males of all the higher order of mammalia possess an original endowment, in the general size of the whole body, above the female.

Were girls permitted to exercise as boys do, unrestrained by maxims and trammels which ignorance imposes at home and abroad, in the nursery and the school-room, they would become nearly as muscular, and much more expanded. Their chests would be broader, but an instinctive delicacy never forsakes them under the roughest usage, or the most vulgar, demoralizing associations.

Over-Educating.

A mistake in female education that will have to be rectified, before women have their true position, is over-doing. They are educated too much. Their ductile minds are developed prematurely, to the positive injury of their bodies, before they have

fairly begun to live. This, too, is all wrong, and one of the causes of nervous irritability and excitability peculiar to females in the Northern States. They are made learned, without being practical.

A discourse on astronomy, or criticisms on a musical composition, make an accomplished daughter. When she becomes a wife, she is at the mercy of servants, and her husband quite undervalued, if he knows nothing beyond providing bountifully for the comfort, honor, and respectability of his family.

Thousands of ladies are too erudite to be of any use anywhere. They look with contempt upon those who have not had equal advantages for being made useless beings like themselves, and yet, when examined by the test of common sense, they have never contributed a new thought, or, with their accomplishments, enlarged the circle of human happiness.

It is not a crime to laugh at the rural habits of a plain farmer, but it is a disgrace to a fine woman to ridicule the simple manners of country ladies. If they could see themselves, occasionally, as sensible people see them, there would be a change for the better.

Pretensions to Advanced Knowledge.

Some city ladies entertain exalted views of their own superiority over their country friends. When the well-meaning Mrs. Baker, the grocer's widow, retired with a competency, she purchased a pleasant domain of forty acres in the town where she was born, one hundred miles from the city. Her head was stocked with scientific agriculture, gleaned from the best treatises on farming made profitable. She had not been two weeks at the new home, which was undergoing astonishing repairs, before she discovered the extreme ignorance of her neigh-

bors in respect to rural pursuits. Not one of them had ever read a page of modern agricultural literature,—fascinating books for a cultivated mind. She resolved to revolutionize farming, by showing the world generally what could be done by a city woman with a will and money combined.

For the purpose of extreme accuracy, Mrs. Baker having further resolved to report her successes in experimental farming, she had a leaf in her diary ruled off for profits. She explained, in the kindest manner, to her coarse neighbors—in her opinion the most wooden-headed creatures she had ever known in the shape of men—that each bean, before planting, should be weighed in Professor Pollock's patent agricultural scales. In that way an exact register of the increase could be determined. Fertilizers, purchased in tin canisters, which could be carried in a vest pocket, contained the virtues of a cart-load of nasty manure. Instead of delving with a hoe to clear away weeds, a pair of Sly's patent vegetable tweezers were worth a dozen hoes —with that instrument the operator could extract weeds with gloved hands.

All this was novel intelligence, really quite new to Mrs. Baker's astonished auditors, who said nothing beyond expressing uproarious wonder that a great lady had known so much about a subject they had generally supposed did not come under the catalogue of book-knowledge. They noticed she expressed herself in long terms, not in all the dictionaries.

It was revealed to Mrs. Baker that some of her most respectful listeners, in appearance, actually laughed behind her back. "Never mind," replied the philosophical reformer, whose zeal had not degenerated into lunacy, "let those laugh who win."

When harvest arrived, those ignorant farmers had excellent crops without having consulted an encyclopædia, while Mrs.

Baker's manager gathered less than had been sown. She opened her eyes with amazement to the solemn realization of a singular fact, viz., that too much science is unprofitable, if one intends to live by farming.

Female education may be deplorably defective when women are taught too much of what is of no earthly value to them, at the expense of their health, and equally so, when they assume to know what they do not know. Their systems may be destroyed by over-taxing the brain, while the machinery of organic life, on which mental excellence depends, is considered either of secondary importance, or quite overlooked.

Unsound Women.

It is a national calamity that the women of this country are so generally unsound. Those distinguished for brilliant intellects are the most common invalids. To be under medical treatment is not only necessary, but very genteel.

A gentleman of ample possessions and of excellent social position, gave it as a reason why he did not marry, that he did not feel able to keep apothecaries and doctors continually under pay!

Women would not be so nervously excitable, slender, fragile, sharp-featured, and petulant—as too many of them are, for the happiness of their households—if they had not been wronged in the beginning, through a mismanaged education. They would not have been so universally predisposed to dyspepsia, neuralgia, paroxysms of depression—which throw a gloom through a pleasant home, and discourage indulgent husbands—had they been generously permitted to breathe outdoor air, subsist on plainer food, rise earlier, sit fewer hours at a piano, and read something superior to sensational magazines

devoted to exaggeration, moonshine sentiments, love in a bower, and other kinds of nonsense calculated to mislead and over-excite their youthful imaginations. This is the misfortune of what society is pleased to call the better classes.

The best-informed young ladies—those whose educational advantages embrace whatever is supposed will fit them for the highest positions which refined society has at its disposal—are the poorest wives. Matrimonial disagreements and wretchedness are not found in the middle classes, but just where the refinements of the lady of the establishment enable her to discern imperfections where she has fondly hoped to find a companion who would sigh perpetually, recite poetry, and buy cosmetics by the gallon.

Their petulancy, curt answers, despotic rule of servants, and dissatisfied expressions toward those who are devotedly endeavoring to promote their happiness, cannot be cured by pills, soothing powders, strengthening plasters, annual jaunts to Saratoga, or the attendance of a high-priced doctor.

Liberty to exercise in childhood, without being constantly reminded that it is unladylike to run, vulgar to eat enough to satisfy a moderate appetite, and wicked to be natural,—but charming to cultivate hypocrisy, improving to be fastened in garments that restrain the growth of the chest, and glorious to be in misery for the sake of dying a real lady, is the lamentable cause of many of the common woes of elevated domestic life.

Men and women were designed for each other on the highway of the world. They are destined to the same length of days; and, above all, it was not intended in the original constitution of humanity that they should be strangers to each other, unless formally introduced, after having carefully inspected a pedigree.

Nervous Centres.

Besides injuries originating in the vice of dress prejudicial to health, suggestions ought to have been made respecting the violence inflicted on nervous centres. Just under the line where the pressure is most severe in girding on the waists of dresses, are the solar and semilunar ganglions. They are way-stations into which nerves enter and others go out, which hold control over the stomach, liver, spleen, etc. They are the brains of the abdominal viscera. They surround a short, horizontal artery that shoots off from the trunk of the aorta, the great arterial tube from the heart. The cœlic artery—not over an inch in length—subdivides into three. One goes to the stomach, a second to the spleen, and the third to the liver. Any compression of the waist, therefore, besides disturbing those nervous centres, interferes also with a free circulation of blood to three important organs in the abdominal cavity.

Mandates, or volitions, are sent from the brain, but the way-stations—those ganglia—repeat the commands. Unimportant transactions, when everything is progressing in the usual way in the viscera, are not transmitted to the principal office,—the brain. When there is unusual disturbance, pain and inflammation, then word is sent forward, and the judgment determines how to act.

Simple irregularities of digestion may occur, but unless there is a grave condition of things, the brain has no immediate knowledge of it. It is not always necessary to communicate what may be transpiring in any one organ, unless its functions are seriously impaired: then a dispatch is sent upward to the brain.

There are many considerations connected with the subject of the nervous excitability of women, which have called forth expostulations, but to no purpose.

Were physicians to write plainer than ever, and address themselves to parents, instead of preparing elegant essays for journals, walled in by so many barriers of technical phrases, which nobody understands who is not an expert in half a dozen dead languages, no change of system would follow. Fashion is antagonistic.

Social Relations of Children.

When boys and girls are brought up together—in large families, sitting at the same table, mingling in each other's society, sharing in amusements and intellectual pursuits—they invariably go forth with better principles, stronger convictions of what is duty, and live purer lives, than those who are taught that it is sinful to look each other in the face, unless in the presence of a watch-dog of a parent, or a dilapidated old duenna, whose eyes can be covered with a ten-dollar bill to oblige her young mistress.

Important Caution.

It should be taught children, that the pit of the stomach, as it is called, is nearly over those ganglions, or nervous centres, and that they must be favored in swathing the chest. A blow there is almost instant death. Life explodes, as it were, by any rude approach. A kick of a horse, or the weight of an angry man's fist, at that spot, is almost invariably fatal.

There are numerous glands in the neighborhood of the ganglions, which compression disturbs, and any interruption in their appropriate offices affects the general health; especially those connected with the function of chylification, if pushed from their natural relations, or in any way interfered with. They may become scirrhous, enlarged, hypertrophied;

and a softening of the bones, too, is sometimes referable to a similar cause.

Mendicant children of both sexes, common in public streets, scarcely covered decently in tattered loose garments, which are the cast-offs from persons twice their size, are in robust health, with splendid forms, sound white teeth, thick hair, round limbs, and good brains for cultivation. The rich man's daughters are forced into being ladies before they know the meaning of the word, by a system of unnatural discipline that kills them by inches.

Excessive fear of mingling with persons with a small rent-roll, or with none at all, and harboring the opinion that men are monsters seeking whom they may devour, are productive of nervousness and feebleness, traceable to the present system of female education; and which has also immensely multiplied maiden ladies, to the detriment of their own happiness and the best interests of society.

CHAPTER X.

Amusements of Women.

Young Animals in Sports—Blind Buffaloes—Reptiles—Brain Volume—Mechanical Ingenuity—Conversation with Children—Theoretical Schemes of Female Education—Dancing—Entertaining Distinguished Guests—Theatres—Always have Existed, and Probably always will—Labor—Children Overworked—Philanthropic Efforts—Playtime a Sanitary Measure—Why Sleep is Necessary.

No suggestions can be made, or plans proposed, for the innocent amusement of youth, that will not meet with opposition from some source.

The absolute severity of some parents, who believe they have the special approbation of heaven for making their children wretched by interdicting amusements, is very surprising, since, in their own youthful days, many of them were distinguished for reckless, rollicking lives. It can be explained on no other principle than by a common observation, that the greatest sinners become very exacting saints.

All young animals have their sports and festive gambols. It is a natural way of exercising muscles, while under the excitement of pleasurable emotions, to act as they were intended to contract and relax when matured. Thus, they run, turn short corners, and seize each other with a tender grip precisely as they will hold their prey when urged by the stimulus of hunger.

Such, certainly, are the characteristic manœuvrings of carnivorous quadrupeds. Cattle, sheep, horses, etc., till their teeth are fully grown, are particularly playful, when they become

grave and cautious. The lion's whelps, young tigers, foxes, bears, and those of a similar type, are extremely playful while nursing; but as soon as their stomachs crave more substantial food, the ferocity of their nature is manifested. Puppies are very sportively inclined, nor do they express their canine energy till they have had a taste of flesh. They then begin to quarrel among themselves, on the slightest provocation, which terminates in terrific fights for the possession of a bone.

Grass-eating animals rarely give such vehement displays of irritability, even when goaded by pangs of extreme hunger. Colts, calves, fawns, kids, rabbits, etc., delight in the freest exercise of their limbs, if in sight of their mothers. The males only engage in combats.

When battles are suspended, and renewed at short intervals, it is solely for the purpose of recuperation. A contest, once terminated by the submission of one of the belligerents, suffices for the remainder of their lives. The victor ever after walks abroad in the consciousness of being without a rival. Stallions, dogs, and bulls, when once conquered, remain in subjection while the conqueror lives.

Blind buffaloes are actually leaders of immense droves, by virtue of their prowess in youth, which is respected by hundreds of brave bulls, stronger and younger, demeaning themselves peaceably in the herd while the acknowledged ruler is able to move.

Skeletons of bucks are often found in deep recesses of the forest, with their branching antlers so inextricably interlocked, that the combatants must have died, in that painful condition, of actual starvation.

In these illustrations of the youthful propensities and habits of animals, the law of might is allowed to predominate. There are no rights acknowledged among themselves. Puny, feeble,

imperfectly-developed males cannot compete with the large, the strong, and the highest type of the race to which they belong. Consequently, nature secures, in perpetuity, all the best properties for a succeeding generation.

Where there are no Amusements.

Neither birds, reptiles, nor insects appear to have amusements or periods of sportive relaxation. From birth, they are sedulously devoted to habits of industry, in providing for their own necessities and the wants of their offspring. There is an instinct always making reference to successors, but the sentiment of parental affection is not long-lived with them.

Pigeons and domesticated doves fly about in groups, foraging, but they never visit each other's cotes, nor engage in sports. The attachment of the parents, when once paired, might be advantageously imitated by reasoning beings, who find more relief in the laws of divorce, than comfort in dove-like matrimony.

Their attentions to their young are of short duration, and quite at variance with some other traits, which have been poetically lauded as worthy of consideration.

Fishes, crabs, lobsters, turtles, prawns, etc., seem never to have sports among themselves. Serpents, frogs, toads, and lizards are solitary as oysters, each intent on selfish pursuits. Whenever they do huddle together on the margins of pools or in cliffs of submerged rocks, they never indicate the slightest gratification, or hold any intercourse with each other, more than with other inhabitants swimming in the same element.

While young birds are being fledged in a nest, they lie quietly, without the slightest show of playfulness. Chickens, turkeys, goslings, ducks, prairie-hens, partridges, quails, peacocks,

and caged songsters, press together for mutual warmth or protection, without manifesting the remotest show of a disposition for sport. Of the attachment of mother birds, nothing can be more demonstrative for a short period. They brave all dangers for the protection of their little ones, and die in unequal struggles for their safety.

Affecting scenes are described by arctic navigators, of the attachment of polar bears for their nursing cubs, and the bloody encounters they have been known to maintain against rifle-balls, in unequal efforts to save the objects of their affection. Usually, the male is rather an indifferent spectator. Pairing birds, and perhaps a few of the pairing quadrupeds, make some show of interest in the young, in their most helpless infancy, and join with the mother in defending the lair; but, as soon as they are old enough to run and look out a little for themselves, the father loses all interest in them. Warm-blooded animals are those which have pastimes, rude to be sure, but, nevertheless, they actually enjoy social recreations.

The Brain.

As the volume of brain augments, a disposition for playfulness is more apparent. Boys and girls scarcely do much else from the cradle to adolescence, than play in some manner that promotes their happiness. The fabrication of toys of any conceivable description for their amusement is a branch of manufacturing interest that has always been profitable, and gives employment to large numbers of ingenious mechanics in every country, civilized or not. Very large commercial houses are exclusively engaged in the importation of playthings for children.

In the catacombs and mummy-pits of Egypt, and the cem-

eteries of extinct nations, toys have been found in abundance, showing that the demands of childhood have always been recognized in every age and country where humanity has had a being.

The disposition, tendencies, and irresistible demands of their nature for objects proper for exercising their juvenile brains, is a necessity, and has been, from the first formation of human society. Savages tax their ingenuity in making rude toys for their children.

This may be thought a small matter, but it is of importance. Toys assist them in forming opinions, correcting their judgment, and in classifying muscular action. Distances, weight, dimensions, form, color, etc., are insensibly acquired, to be applied in other ways, and for far different purposes as they advance in knowledge.

Give them Facilities.

Mechanical skill and a genius for invention is very early manifested in some boys. They should always be gratified with the possession of implements for perfecting their designs. Too generally they are denied facilities which would give them great advantages. Tools are invariably coveted by such as have a mechanical turn, but nothing is more common than to deride their plans and ridicule their machinery. Let them have hammers, saws, chisels, files, and by all means a turning-lathe, even if they break some of them and lose the remainder. Children have wants, real ones too, which, when not positively preposterous, should be indulged. It may lead to proud results. Every one who has had experience with children, knows what a treasure a gimlet is to a boy. A jack-knife is something above riches. With it he converts shingles into wind-mills, carves

horses out of turnips, builds edifices with blocks, and makes happiness for himself with it in a garret. With a box of tools he learns the use of instruments, while exercising both brain and muscles. With tools, boys can amuse themselves in the dullest weather. While mending their broken sleds, or constructing a miniature wagon, they are creating something, which is always a pleasure. The little miss, in dressing her doll, finds unspeakable enjoyment. It is teaching her how to use the needle, the thimble, and her scissors; therefore, it is not a waste of time, but a regular course of instruction, in which practice makes perfect.

If girls and boys are benefited in no other way with tools appropriate for each in the sphere in which they have been designed to move, it is in being kept out of mischief while they are permitted to use them. They always love and honor parents who indulge them in the line of their social propensities. Constantly forbidding them to do this or that, because they themselves dislike it, makes disobedient children. If men and women are but children of a larger growth, they surely ought to sympathize with youth, and not exact of them sedateness, or the solemn expression of thoughtfulness that belongs to mature age.

Associate with Children.

Those parents who never allow themselves to mingle with their children, or express an interest in their little pursuits, have no foretaste of heaven. Conversation with them gives them encouragement in what, to their immature minds, seems of the highest importance. Ridicule is a hateful weapon in damping the ardor of ambitious children. Help them on with their inventions; assist them in their rude drawings; suggest improvements in their constructions; for a great architect, a

splendid artist, or a distinguished engineer may be hidden in the rough combinations of blocks, old bricks, or snow-balls rolled together at recess in front of a country school-house.

Young women, like young men, must have amusements. It is an inborn necessity of their nature, and hence the question, What may they do or not do, after passing through rattles and dolls?

A host of propositions emanate from all sorts of people in regard to the question, which is thought more momentous in reference to girls, than the question merits. There is a plain way of settling the matter, in accordance with the acknowledged rules of Christian propriety and benevolence.

It is curious that more schemes for rearing young ladies to be what society expects and demands them to be, emanate from persons who never had daughters of their own, than from those who have had many to perpetuate their memory. Let them have the confidence and intimate society of their parents. That is one of the first lessons for improving them.

Theoretical schemes on the culture of female youth almost always have their origin with sour, opinionated old-bachelor teachers, or, worse still, retired maiden ladies.

Influence of Music.

Nothing more instantaneously quickens nervous excitability than instrumental music. Some airs have such inspiration in them that we can hardly control our feet, which is a very direct mode of conducting off what the brain is taking in. If octogenarians unconsciously beat time with their gouty toes, what electrical ecstasies get the ascendency of young ladies and gentlemen, when the thrilling tones of a violin break in upon their ravished ears!

Dancing is one of those natural, spontaneous outbursts of youth, which can hardly be suppressed by efforts of the will. It is not to be first learned before a disposition to dance is developed. Those who know nothing, artistically, of taking steps, or ever saw others dance, can scarcely restrain themselves from a sudden display of sprightly antics, when music rouses them to a state of exultation, which cannot be produced by any other means.

Why have we ears for music, or music at all, if it is wrong to listen to it? Why is Old Hundred any more acceptable to that Divine Intelligence, who is the author of harmony and the contriver of our acoustic nerves, than the College Hornpipe?

Dancing.

Dancing is an admirable exercise for all the cordage of the body, and eminently conducive to health. It quickens the circulation, while promoting all the glandular secretions. Nothing else compares with that exercise. Nature intended it for a peculiar sanitary pleasure. Although young animals do not artistically dance, they caper and display their agility under the exhilirating excitement of exuberant health.

We dance to sounds that stimulate a more highly-organized brain than animals possess, till weariness succeeds, which is an evidence that no further excitation is required for that time.

Let hard-faced, dilapidated casuists reason as they may on the moral torpitude of dancing, it is perfectly in harmony with those hygienic laws, the observance of which, never carried to excess, tends to health and longevity. King David danced before the Ark of the Covenant, for which he was severely criticised by one of his pious wives, whose pharisaical hypocrisy was of a piece with the moral shock the sensitive objectors to

a very innocent recreation pretend they feel when a ball is proposed.

Religious intolerance, from immemorial time, has been at open war with the votaries of the dance. It is, indeed, remarkable that the clergy of some denominations never fail, when opportunities present, of thundering anathemas against that odious so-called sin, as though it were a dreadful crime in the sight of heaven.

Under the shadow of those edifices where fearful denunciations are annunciated against that shocking vice, and where solemn pronunciamentos are regularly promulgated, dancing-schools flourish with undiminished success. Dancing has never been abandoned in any community where those great ecclesiastical guns have been levelled, nor ever temporarily suspended on account of the bigoted hostility of bilious sour-krouts, who are never happier than when they have made some lady wretched, in obedience to their interpretation of the Divine Will.

Government officials and municipalities greet distinguished guests with cordial attentions, which usually embrace festivities in which dancing is a prominent feature.

Moral Sentiment.

Those self-constituted instructors in moral excellence, who presume to assert what is most pleasant and satisfactory to themselves as being also most satisfactory to the power above they represent, gain nothing for morality by their hostility to innocent amusements. Ecclesiastical cannonading avails nothing, since people will continue to dance while they have feet and music is heard on earth.

THEATRES.

Theatres are universally denounced by the same self-constituted interpreters of divine precepts, as the focus of demoralization; but, notwithstanding the unrelaxing bombardment to which they have been subjected, they are multiplying with the extension of civilization. Delighted crowds throng them, and they will continue to do so, while society exists in its present form.

Were it true that scenic representations of the foibles or the graces of mankind on the stage were as bad as ranting reformers represent, a second deluge would have been required centuries ago, to wash away their pollutions.

Dancing, music, and theatres will be sustained while men have ears, music charms, and the stage represents the passions, hopes, fears, love, and hatred engendered in the human heart. No legislation could arrest either, or suppress them so effectually as that they would not reappear in some form essentially the same.

Appeals to the conscience have been as ridiculous as shooting at the moon with an expectation of forcing it from the orbit in which it moves. Persecution is ineffectual. When legal enactments are sustained by a force strong enough to stop public amusements, of which dancing and theatricals are most prominent and universal, because they are considered a nuisance or a sin, then moral reformers must interdict music also, in the same bill. After that, to be consistent, ears must be cut off, whenever it can be proved before an impartial jury of self-constituted saints, any man, woman, or child, wickedly, and with malice aforethought, listened to prohibited strains of melody, against the dignity and majesty of an offended law. There are in Europe, at the present moment, fourteen hundred and eighty-

two theatres. In France, three hundred and thirty-seven; in Italy, two hundred and eight; in Spain, one hundred and sixty-eight; in Austria, one hundred and fifty-two; in Prussia, seventy-six; in Russia, thirty-four; and in England, one hundred and fifty-six. In the United States, where they are numerous and constantly on the increase, the Canadas, Mexico, South America and the West Indies, make a very formidable list for the New World.

More Recreation Demanded.

The opposition which narrow-minded people manifest against dancing, is perfectly unaccountable. In the New England States, there are not recreative amusements enough for the proper relaxation of body and mind. Public sentiment was formed by Puritan ancestors, who were compelled to work incessantly for their preservation. They had no opportunity for relaxation or social enjoyment. Their ecclesiastical teachers, in whom they reposed implicit faith, and to whom they yielded servile obedience, were careful to instil into their crude congregations the heinousness of levity. The wickedness of laughter, and blind devotion to the gloomy teachings of a church that fled from oppression to become an oppressor, was inculcated by saintly men who vigilantly superintended their flocks. Labor was necessary, but they were over-taxed with cares which gave a fixed gravity of countenance that has been transmitted to their posterity. This accounts for the haggard, gloomy faces which predominate there to this day. They are taught to do everything from a sense of duty, and never to allow any outgushing impulses of hilarity. It is quite remarkable, that with the progress of society in art, science, literature, and humanity, there are still many remnants of the good old times referred to in their chronicles, who deem any deviation from their stand-

ard of faith, a near approach to an abyss of misery in the world to which offenders are hastening with railroad speed.

Over-taxing Children.

Children are over-worked—far beyond their powers of endurance. It is discoverable in their imperfect physical development. With us, their brains are over-taxed. Schools of every grade, from primary infantile to normal institutions, require too much. Under the impression they are having rare facilities for acquiring knowledge, the poor things break down under a pressure of too much instruction.

Force of circumstances compels parents to place their children too soon in factories, where they are wronged out of their share of vital air to which all are entitled. Philanthropists have appealed to the legislature, but in vain. There is law enough for their protection, without a corresponding earnestness to execute it. Though all are born free, and have equal rights in the pursuits of health, wealth, and happiness, only few of the many secure either. Poverty connot compete successfully with wealth.

There is another field for culture where the harvest might be large, but the laborers are few. In private families where children are loved and watched over with paternal solicitude, there is a culpable ignorance in obliging their little ones to do too much, under the mistaken idea of giving them superior advantages.

Precocious children disappoint the ardent expectations of their friends. When they arrive at an age at which they are fondly supposed to be ready to blaze with extraordinary mental brilliancy, their feeble light goes out. Slow and sure is a true saying. Gradually evolving an intellect, as a flower unfolds its

beauty, is a safer process than bursting open suddenly, to wither under the first rays of a morning sun.

Children ought not to be taught much of anything more than moral duties, till they have reached at least six years. Their brains are in no condition for concentrating thoughts before. They should have perfect liberty to act out their exuberant playfulness with as little restraint as possible, consistent with proper discipline in the lessons of good manners, courtesy, truth, and order. Time is not lost in giving them such scope for exercising body and mind. Their activity and ever-varying amusements are but so many ways of tutoring their muscles, their organs of sense, and in preparing them for the places and responsibilities of the future.

Public schools are over-working pupils, goaded by fear of disgrace or punishment; over-excited by promised rewards, their immature nervous systems are forced at the expense of their vitality. When pale, delicate, frail little girls are flattered into a morbid ambition in a Sunday-school, to commit to memory long, dry chapters, to them without meaning, it is reprehensible. It is a violation of a physical law that has broken down and spoiled many a bright and promising child.

Allow children all the play-time they wish. They will stop at a seasonable period for disciplining their innate powers, voluntarily, to commence a higher series of employments which will be also enjoyments.

It is a lamentable mistake to keep young misses several successive hours at the piano. Dragooning them into accomplishments is a poor policy. Besides deranging the minute structure of the brain by long-continued practice at a single sitting, if attended with fatigue, the continued attitude presses painfully on certain bones. Curvatures of the spine, and a droop of a shoulder, are traceable to such circumstances.

Recollect the bones of young girls are not completely ossified till near their twentieth year. They are not hard and firm. A fixed attitude, therefore, so as that the weight of the body presses directly on the pelvic frame-work, may warp them out of the line in which they should have development. Nature has inspired all young animals with a restless spirit, on purpose to keep them moving. A love of change is simply giving each and every fibre and organ a chance to perfect its organization.

While children sleep, which is about all the rest their active limbs require, processes are then rapidly going on for the physical completion of their bodies. That is the reason why they require so much repose. Internal artisans then labor with intense energy while they are quiescent in slumber.

Growth is suspended when they are awake, but renewed the instant their eyelids are closed.

Unfledged birds in the nest sleep nearly all the time, after leaving the shell, till their feathers are sufficiently developed to sustain them on the wing. Their perfect quietude favors vital processes, so that in a very few weeks they are complete in all their proportions.

When the brain is large, the process of growth is slower. Allow young girls and boys as much sleep as they desire. It is not from indolence, or a sluggish nature, that they are so uniformly disposed to drowse to a late hour in the morning. If they retired earlier, they would rise earlier. But Nature demands both time and opportunity for completing their bodies according to a prescribed pattern. If we interfere with that law, and interrupt processes instituted for that purpose, they will have unfinished bodies, weak brains, and poor health.

CHAPTER XI.

Their Mode of Living.

Pickles — Dentists Benefited — Hereditary Tendency — Mountaineers — Digestion—Sugar-eating—Character of Food—Food of Animals—Camels —Artificial Teeth—Must Vary our Pursuits—Rural Diseases—Neuralgic Pains—Sallow Complexions.

With digestive organs requiring the same kinds of food that instinct and custom sanction for man, there is a special reference made in favor of some women, on account of a supposed delicacy of constitution. They imagine they could not subsist on ordinary diet. What they have must be very concentrated, so as to occupy but little room in the stomach.

Unfortunately, it is ungenteel to have much of an appetite, especially for young misses, destined to circulate in fashionable orbits, whose ignorant mothers commence early with giving them practical lessons in personal elegance. To dine heartily would carry with it an extreme air of vulgarity: hence, the less a young lady takes at table, the higher her preparation for refinements that are appreciated among those who think more of a fine form than of intellectual accomplishments.

Light soups, rich cakes, choice fruits, and tea always, is held to be the dietary range of an exquisite woman. Articles that would meet the requirements of her system are quite inadmissible, at least in the presence of satirical judges of propriety.

Food most approved, and that which carries with it the endorsement of manœuvring mothers, anxiously looking forward to the establishment of their children in commanding

social positions, even if the intended husband is a baboon, is a slice of dry toast, weak black tea, and an occasional teaspoonful of sweetmeats.

Horror of Fat.

No calamity is more dreaded than fat in an aspiring young lady. Consequently, on the presumption that partial starvation is the legitimate way of keeping it at bay—that horrid destroyer of female symmetry and female ambition, of which very many are in painful apprehension—no efforts are left untried to preserve a slender form.

There are two methods extensively in repute for keeping off the enemy, which marketable belles manage with dexterity. One is vinegar, drunk often; and the other, pickled cucumbers.

Those in comfortable circumstances, unsophisticated in the ways of acquiring extra attractions through the resources of art; those under no restraints from a dread of fatness; who satisfy a normal demand of the stomach, and breathe and exercise in an uncontaminated atmosphere—happily are removed from the temptation, the trials, discipline, and excitement of artificial life. But they are commiserated on account of their robustness.

Gaudily-dressed butterfly-misses, who are on exhibition in the street, at eclectic churches, if the weather is favorable for the display of feathers, diamonds, and streaming ribbons, are most frequently addicted to the vice of vinegar-drinking. A dread of fat is a misfortune, when it degenerates into an insane determination to be the shadow, rather than the substance, of a live woman.

The consumption of pickles gives employment to many hands, and hundreds of broad acres are annually planted with

cucumbers, to meet the mercantile demand—the consumers being principally ladies.

Gardeners and dentists are benefited by a trade that enriches both, while the effect is directly opposite on the health of that order of patients.

This is the country of poor teeth. A full, perfectly sound set is an anomaly. There are many with beautiful teeth; but there are ninety in every hundred young ladies whose teeth are in a hopeless condition of premature decay. Brush and cleanse them as they may, the progress of caries cannot be arrested.

No doubt, the quality of their food may have some influence in injuring them; especially, if taken either too hot or too cold. But large numbers inherit a predisposition to an early crumbling away of the enamel, which exposes the bony part to the direct action of agents that blacken and destroy the entire body of a tooth thus denuded of its protecting covering.

This diathesis is propagated and shows itself from one generation to another. Sound teeth, strong enough to resist influences that act unfavorably upon others, are also an inheritance.

Where an early predisposition to decay is recognized, there is the more need of supplying in food those materials which are appropriated for those organs in their growth, as well as preservation. With that tendency, acids hasten their destruction.

Commercial Pickles.

Pickles are but vehicles for carrying acids, and, hence, those who consume them excessively, especially those with an

hereditary tendency to premature decay, quicken the process of decomposition.

Pure apple vinegar, or that manufactured from wine, is slower in its action than commercial vinegar, which is made of sulphuric acid. When diluted, it seizes upon the lime of the teeth with such activity, that the enamel gives way to its intense chemical agency.

Cider vinegar is too expensive for manufacturing pickles on a large scale. Sulphuric acid, therefore, is the basis of that of which common market pickles are made. It is not uncommon to find a cask of pickled cucumbers converted into a thick, pulpy mass of green gelatinous material, without any remaining resemblance to the vegetable from which it was formed. If too strong, this result is to be expected, kept barrelled eight or ten months, without being opened to the air.

Pickles, therefore, made from that acid, cannot be brought in contact with the teeth without doing an injury. Thus, in the expectation of preventing grossness, which, no doubt, is partially accomplished by acids, aided by a spare diet, caries and toothache may be anticipated.

Sound Teeth.

Travellers comment on our national tendency to defective teeth. Bad teeth, however, in the country, are not so common as in cities. There the food is not seasoned, usually, so highly, and is, therefore, freer from elements that undermine them.

In new countries, especially in wheat-growing districts, where lime is largely combined with the soil, men and women are tall, and the females particularly noticeable for their symmetrical proportions and admirable teeth.

Tennessee and Kentucky are celebrated for their splendidly-

developed specimens of humanity. Their out-door exercises and plain fresh food provide nature with materials for completing her labors according to established laws.

When the soil is poor, thin, and barren of bone-making constituents, the people are short, broad-chested, with lower limbs disproportioned in length to the superior parts of the body. There are tall and short persons everywhere, in every community; but the average height is below that of the inhabitants of places where the composition of the soil favors their development to the utmost limits of the law of growth, as in the new Western States.

Lime is scarcely appreciable by chemical tests where some cereals are raised successfully, and where families are remarkable for their strong, fine teeth. Yet there are those among them who have decayed ones; but the majority are favored with sound, well-formed teeth.

Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and the adjoining Northern States present an illustration of this fact in regard to bad teeth bearing a certain relation to the agricultural resources of the soil. There wheat cannot be raised as at the West, and there dentists are required. They are almost as numerous as physicians. Dental operators appear very much disproportioned to the population of the cities and towns in which they settle. But that is accounted for in the facilities by railroads for their customers, who reside in the interior.

Dentists are multiplying in the Western States, where once the profession was hardly known. Their patrons are representatives of the Eastern States, in large proportions,—emigrants from the worn-out, exhausted soil of the Atlantic States, who carry with them the hereditary tendency to an early decay of their teeth.

Estimated by the good they do in a sanitary relation, den-

tists are eminently entitled to all the honors and pecuniary independence they secure. When teeth, provided by nature, fail prematurely, art furnishes substitutes equally useful for mastication and speech.

The ingenuity of American dentists is not surpassed anywhere, in meeting the difficulties that present in thousands of irregularities in the jaws of the toothless.

Cereals are most abundant in phosphate of lime. Indian corn is not to be despised or underrated as food, because it is deficient in certain elements in larger measure in wheat. Wherever that grain is used extensively for food, good teeth are in the majority.

With the loss of teeth, not only the voice is considerably modified, but less distinctly articulated; certain sounds, essential to the perfect enunciation of language, cannot be given without them. Deprived of teeth, the expression is deranged. By a loss of the incisors, the mouth is out of shape, only to be restored by the substitution of artificial ones.

When teeth have been long removed, an absorption of the gums invariably takes place, which brings the lips together, shortening the face, and very much altering it—giving an appearance of age. When the original level of the gums is restored by art, sunken cheeks are again distended, and the muscles of expression immediately bring back the original characteristic outlines.

Because millions of teeth are blackened and eaten away by sulphuric vinegar, with a view to perfecting the form of the lady, by removing or preventing a superfluity of fat, pains and penalties, disastrous to the teeth, have been dwelt upon with a hope of wakening those, who are blessed with sound organs, to the nature of the disaster, the evils of which they may avoid by abstaining from factitious vinegar, and, if they can be persuaded, from every kind of pickle.

Unbolted Flour.

Good flour, that most esteemed on account of its whiteness, is the poorest for food in those qualities which furnish tooth-matter. In bolting out the bran, there goes with it the materials indispensable for the formation of bone, and particularly teeth. Those, therefore, who subsist on coarse brown bread, made from unbolted flour, take into their stomachs precisely those elements that another class of good livers exclude, and they consequently have strong teeth and strong bones; while those, whose bread is of the finest and whitest quality, with their aching teeth to be filled or finally extracted, are the best patrons of dentists.

When Graham bread was introduced, a dietetic reform was needed. The bread in general use among good livers was too much concentrated. The flour was deprived of parts that should accompany it, in order to give distension to the stomach and bowels. The Graham flour retains the bran—the very thing of all others in the composition of wheat, which contains the phosphate of lime. When stablers feed their horses on that article, they give them something far better than flour. It is providing them with materials of keeping not only their teeth, but their bones, in good condition.

Ladies ordinarily subsist on food too concentrated. That is, it is too fine, and, therefore, does not distend the stomach enough to keep its walls from coming in contact,—a cause of many forms of indisposition, to which the poor, living on coarse, bulky food, are rarely predisposed.

Diet.

There is a medium course to be pursued in diet, which entails no disasters, but favors health and exemption from

incidental indispositions, that oftener have an origin in strong coffee, strong tea, and fine flour, than from any other cause.

Too cold or too hot are extremes in taking food. By cooking, all food is not only softened, and therefore made easier for digestion, but it destroys, by frying, baking, stewing, etc., parasites which abound in meats, fruits, and garden vegetables. Their eggs, too small to be seen without a microscope, are spread over and through almost every edible from the market by millions. Savages who take their food raw, or in a very crude state, are subject to a variety of intestinal difficulties. But their white, even, sound teeth show that they never have been subjected to the destructive action of hot drinks, concentrated acids, or beverages, which attack the enamel.

Perhaps the characteristic ferocity of savages is due to an almost exclusive meat-diet. Fishing and the chase, for supplies, is their principal employment. Fruits and vegetables are uncertain resources. Those they have are usually of spontaneous growth, with the exception of Indian corn, which is never cultivated in sufficient amount to supersede the necessity of ranging the forests for wild animals.

The Method of Living.

Having explained the dangers to which young ladies are exposed, who deal too freely with vinegar, we now proceed to the consideration of the true way of living, for securing sound health and beauty of form.

Fish is both wholesome and nutritious. From very respectable authority it has been taught that the brain is especially

benefited by it. Whether iodine, phosphate of lime, or pure phosphorus is taken from it by the absorbents, and carried to that particular organ, requires more decided evidence than has yet been adduced.

In the history of fisheries, fishermen have been distinguished for their bold, hardy, adventursome spirit, good nature, and indomitable force of character. They brave storms, breast dangers of the sea, and in ships of war, their spirit, gallantry, and reliability are acknowledged.

Mountaineers are another representative class. They are lovers of liberty, fearless, and the best of soldiers. Fresh air, plain food, and few wants, easily supplied, are excellent foundations for a vigorous constitution and mental activity.

Food has very much to do in the formation of character. With a strong, well-developed body, there is usually a corresponding spirit. A purely vegetable diet is not conducive either to a sound body or an active mind. Starch-yielding roots, as potatoes, arrowroot, etc., will support life, but they furnish neither corporeal nor mental power. Combined with animal aliment, corn, wheat, barley, beans, fresh or dry, etc., furnish just those elements required in temperate zones for developing the best intellectual and physical capabilities of man.

There is neither strength of body, nor vigor of mind, when an individual is kept upon one article of food long enough to be loathed. The stomach must have variety, out of which are taken those substances required for keeping each and every organ in working condition.

Each particle elaborated by the vital chemistry of the digestive apparatus, is carried to the place required, as attendants on bricklayers transport mortar to the spot where brick is to be laid. When the new particle arrives, absorbents carry

away an old one which had been in relation with others a sufficient time for imparting its specific vitality. As soon as that has been extracted and appropriated, another should arrive to take its place.

Law of Assimilation.

Thus the body is constantly undergoing a change. We are reconstructed many times in a single year. Even the solid bones are gradually removed, particle after particle, so gradually and cautiously, that the fabric is neither weakened nor left exposed to dangers on that account.

Many times in an ordinary life of seventy years, the skeleton of every one reaching that age has been repeatedly renewed. This perpetual removal and introduction of new materials explains the rationale of eating and drinking. It is simply furnishing a crude mass, from which are selected such parts as can be introduced into a living system vitalized and assimilated.

A custom prevails of serving rare or uncooked meats, under an impression that they are more easily convertible into nourishment. If cooked too much, the quality is imagined injured. Thus, underdone expresses a condition that favors digestion, while overdone means that it is not readily dissolved in the stomach, and, therefore, is not as nutritious.

Neither extreme expedites, or essentially retards, digestion, since the solvent properties of the gastric juice act with equal potency on either. By habit, if a person has been accustomed to hard-cooked meats, the stomach is prepared to receive that kind of preparation, and that which is rare would not be acted upon so readily; and *vice versa*.

Soft-boiled eggs are usually served, because a notion is

extensively entertained that the stomach sooner reduces them to chyme. But a hard-boiled egg dissolves just as quickly, and yet, the egg-eaters are astonished at the suggestion that it is of no kind of importance whether eggs are hard or soft. Either way, they are quickly disposed of in the interior of that marvellous organ,—a human stomach.

Civilization, among other advantages over barbarism, requires that cooking should modify articles of diet. Cooking, too, destroys parasites which infest almost every thing in the catalogue of food. When introduced alive into the alimentary canal, the consequences are graver than when their ova are swallowed, which may not remain long enough for incubation.

In raw food, especially meats so rare as to be hardly warmed through, eggs of the tapeworm and the trichinus are actually introduced into the system. Rare meats, therefore, are objectionable on that account. Well-cooked food is safest.

Butter and Sugar.

Butter contains materials for the reparation of teeth. Children are notoriously importunate for it, urged on by instinct, too frequently interdicted by model mothers on the unfounded presumption it is too hearty for them. That it spoils their teeth and their complexion, are reasons given for denying it to them.

They would have better teeth for having as much butter as they desire. Egyptian taskmasters were told that it was impossible to make brick without straw, and it is equally difficult to have good teeth without phospate of lime, which belongs to the composition of butter.

Sugar, too, is usually withheld from children, who invariably crave it in far larger amount than it is given them. No demand

of the system is more urgent than a desire for sugar. It cannot be overcome. Locking pantries, threatened punishment for invading sugar-bowls, never overcame the relish for it in small children.

The body requires sugar, and it must be had from some source. It is provided liberally in a mother's milk for her nursing babe. While thus fed, the infant is plump, round, and certainly lovely. When weaned, its dimpled cheeks fall away, the fat limbs lose their form, diminish in size, and the whole figure becomes more muscular.

Put upon a new diet, the quantity of sugar is much less than they had been receiving from a maternal source. So imperative is the appetite for sugar, that if not supplied in their food in the quantity required for the purposes of nature, a sugar mill is set in motion in the abdomen of land animals, and especially so in ourselves, to make up for the deficiency. This is one of the curiosities of organic life.

Every animal requires sugar. Some in larger quantities than others, but not one of them can do without some. Grass, hay, grain, rice, potatoes, beets, carrots, etc., contain it. By chewing and mixing with secretions in the mouth and throat, food is prepared for digestion; and when the essential properties finally mix with blood, there is extracted from it sugar.

In the liver, dark venous blood is redistributed. While passing through the vessels, there is extracted from it bile. This was long supposed to be the specific office of the liver. But it is made certain that the liver is a sugar-mill also. It supplies sugar rapidly, and the quantity made in a given time is perfectly amazing.

Whenever the supply is not equal to the requirements of their system, the deficiency is made up by a more active elabor-

ation of it in the liver. It is necessary, therefore, and must come from some source, or a disturbance in the balance-wheel of life will soon be perceived; but, unfortunately, the true cause of waning health under such circumstances is not often understood.

Food should not be too compact. It is really an important point that it should have bulk enough to distend the stomach. The stimulus of distension is a condition required in the economy of life, because it facilitates digestion. That solvent fluid, the gastric juice, oozing, as it were, copiously from the lining membrane of the stomach, cannot act so advantageously on its contents in a fine, compact mass, as when loose and more readily permeable. Maceration, that is, simply being in contact with that secretion, is not perfect digestion. When there is bulk sufficient, at least, to press the membranous walls of the stomach asunder, it quickens the muscular fibres to contact, which rolls the ingesta from one part of the sac to the other, and thus brings new surfaces to the more direct action of the solvent.

Health of Laborers.

Laborers, sustained on coarse nourishment, have far better physical development, more strength, richer blood, and a far higher condition of health than their opulent employers, whose tables are laden with delicacies their servants and dependents may never have had the gratification of tasting.

Neither horses nor cattle can be sustained on concentrated food without seriously injuring them. Carnivorous animals have more compact aliment, but in them distension of the stomach is requisite for successful digestion. Feeding oats, barley, or any other grain to horses, exclusively, would soon be followed by gastritis, that would terminate fatally. The walls

of their stomach must be alternately distended and contracted, to keep it in working condition. Meal alone, without hay, husks, or some equivalent, would not sustain a cow or an ox.

A dog, imprisoned in the cabin of a cast-away vessel, which floated about at random, after being abandoned by the men, was found alive on the twenty-third day. Although the poor creature had not a particle of nourishment in all that time, his life was preserved by the thick covers of a Bible, which he gnawed ravenously. But they afforded no nourishment. He lived on his own fat and marrow, which kept the lamp of life flickering, while the stimulus of distension which the Bible covers provided saved the prisoner.

A Reference to Contingencies.

In the anatomical construction of animals, it appears as though a special reference was made to a possible contingency, in regard to a temporary supply of nourishment, by filling hollow bones with marrow, and cavities among muscles with fat. This is more marked in some than in others, which really seem to have had in view the possibility of the danger of starvation in the circuit they were predestined to act. Thus, a camel's life is considerably prolonged in their dreary voyages through deserts, where neither food nor water can be procured, by the absorption of fat from the hump on the back. Their ability, too, for carrying a supply of water that serves from ten to fifteen days, is an illustration of the fact, that an animal may temporarily feed upon itself, till relief is found.

Birds die of starvation sooner than quadrupeds, because their bones being hollow for the purpose of being filled with air instead of marrow, are not storehouses against a time of need, as in the other case. The buoyancy of feathered bipeds is due

to the long bones being filled with air. They communicate with the tip of each and every quill, so that the barrels of all the feathers are filled with it also. If marrow was there instead of air, they could not fly. They could not have the same aerial freedom and levity.

Warmth of the body rarifies the air thus inclosed, and with motion the temperature is raised, which still further rarifies it, so that the longer they are on the wing, the easier they move. A wild goose is said to fly more easily the second day, on one of their semi-annual migrations from south to north and back, than when the jaunt is commenced.

There is a designing Power recognized in all these varied provisions for the preservation, not only of individual life, but also for the perpetuity of races.

Recruiting Cities.

Cities are largely recruited from the country. New-comers arrive in the freshness and earnestness of health. They leave homes where they breathed a pure atmosphere, and subsisted on plain wholesome food. With what is conceived to be a bettering of their circumstances, on changing locality, they indulge in seasoned dishes, anomalous soups and delicacies quite unknown to the family from whence they came. A morbid taste is soon engendered, which craves repetition, till the rosy-cheeked clerk, or the blooming young lady, transported from a residence in a distant village to become the presiding goddess of a palace, have uneasy sensations. Their conversation is principally devoted to the discussion of what is good or bad for digestion, and they soon begin to discourse upon what may or may not be eaten with impunity. Next, medical advice.

There follows a physical deterioration of women, on their

transference to cities from rural homes in the country. When they pass half the night at an opera, dine near their original bed-time, admire champagne as a beverage, taking no open-air exercise, except in a carriage, formerly enjoyed on foot over green fields, chatting with pleasant, unsophisticated neighbors, as lovely as themselves, they fail. At last, with all their prosperity in social position, they are changed into pale, sickly, feeble fashionables, whose fingers, once round, full, and flexible, are reduced to the appearance of birds' claws. Sparkling diamond rings are not an equivalent for what they have lost. Artificial teeth, and perhaps a wig, made of the hair of some poor wretch who sold it to keep from starvation, shows what influence city life may have in the transformation of a beautiful woman to a pining, complaining, sickly lady.

Should they become mothers, their children are direct inheritors of their infirmities, the penalty of irregularities not catalogued as dissipations, but which are conditions invariably resulting from violations of the laws of health.

Without dwelling on the importance of abstaining from highly-seasoned, concentrated aliment for young ladies, it is obvious that they would have finer forms, health, and, consequently, brighter mental development, by subsisting on plain food. It is surprising that parents cannot be persuaded to adopt a system that promises, with moral certainty, to secure for their daughters sound health, the foundation for happiness.

Reformers are pointedly severe against some of the courses which we maintain are to be encouraged in the rearing of young girls. They are opposed to many exercises which are not associated with some kind of productive industry. In their short-sightedness, they discover no utility in a simple promenade for exercise, unless a miss is armed with knitting-needles, or is reading some solid work—like their own stupid productions.

Street yarn-spinning is not sinful. It is profitable to walk the streets and see new objects. While all the muscles are in play, shop-window impressions call into action all parts of the brain, which is as necessary for its good condition, as wholesome food is for the stomach. If the eye is continually greeted with the same objects, or the ear has only a repetition of one class of sounds, neither of them will have the power they would have by varying both sights and sounds. If the brain is always acting in one direction, millions of its fibres are lying idle.

The whole of us, as often inculcated in this work, must be used, or we cannot be developed into what we may have been. Notwithstanding the severity with which street-walking for exercise is treated by those who cannot appreciate the value of it in training body and mind, streets have not been depopulated by the cogency of their arguments. Streets of cities are inviting pathways, and those windmill warriors who have discovered that woman's appropriate sphere is in the house exclusively, wlll never succeed in debarring them from the benefits to be derived from spinning street-yarn.

Exercise is so essential, it should always be encouraged, especially on foot. When neglected, medicines and professional attentions are pretty sure to be in request. Sedentary employments, or no employments, are equally pernicious, and are certain to be followed by derangements which would not have occurred had there been a sufficient amount of labor for the locomotive machinery. Simply passing through the air, reclining at ease in a carriage, does not meet all the requirements of a living being.

Increase of Renal Difficulties.

Renal complaints increase in proportion to the neglect of moving about on foot. The kidneys have a special office assigned them, of selecting out of the blood whatever is unsafe to be circulated throughout the system.

There is but one direct and prompt way by which noxious elements taken with our food can be conveyed away and thrown out, the retention of which would be injurious. It is, first, to dissolve them. Mixed with the chyle, they are thus introduced into the circulation, and sent to the kidneys. Whatever ought not to go further is intercepted by them, and separated from arterial blood, to be conveyed to the bladder, from whence it is voided. Therefore, the function of the kidneys is to be always in action, and never at rest. As the blood never ceases flowing in the vessels while there is life, the kidneys are alaways laboring without cessation.

By free foot-exercise the kidneys are very much assisted in their labors. Indeed, all secretions and vital processes are facilitated by it. Excessive indulgence in all malt or spirituous liquors, which are but too apt to stimulate the organs unduly, or, indeed, in any of those beverages palmed off on the unreflecting public as genuine, although really poisonous imitations, is very often the cause of a diseased condition of the renal glands.

The kidneys are vigilant sentinels that never slumber on their post. They carefully separate and send away that which would positively lead to derangement of other functions, if allowed to remain unseparated. Even when collected in the bladder, the necessity of relieving that receptacle soon becomes urgent; showing that what it holds, even thus secured, cannot be retained there more than a few hours, without producing immense disturbance.

Over-wrought brains, like over-worked kidneys, might have been avoided. Abstaining from drinks that excite the kidneys to excess, is an indispensable condition to the health of those organs.

A repetition of the lesson we are desirous of inculcating is pardonable, on account of its importance to youth. Simplicity in diet,—that is, plain wholesome food, thoroughly cooked,—is best for young girls, because it will secure for them a sound frame, and a clear intellect.

If they would adhere to those early habits which are usually customary in the country, after a removal to spheres of excitement, characteristic of what is thought, unfortunately, to be elevated social relations, they would be incalculable gainers. If they expect to escape neuralgic pains, a sallow compexion, loss of hair, decay of teeth, a wrinkled brow, waning vision, yellow moth-blotches where formerly there were tints of beauty, they must avoid the causes that produce those dreadful misfortunes. Whatever vitiates or impoverishes the blood, or over-excites the brain, diminishes the capacity for rational enjoyment; and a weak body, a debilitated mind, and premature death are the penalties annexed to the violation of the ordinary laws of health.

CHAPTER XII.

How They Should Sleep.

Sleep Necessary to all Animals—Sleep of Insects—Somnambulism—No Rest for the Glandular System—Repose of Children—Should Sleep Alone—Transfer of Vitality—Marriage of Old with Young Persons—Should be near of an Age—Reason Why—Females in Factories, etc.

Little or no thought is bestowed upon sleep, although a condition necessary for the health of every animated being. Man sleeps; beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, and even plants sleep. It would be quite impossible to live without it. While unconscious and in perfect repose, a recuperation is going on, rendered necessary from fatigue and a waste of vital force expended while awake. It is only in sleep there is a perfect recovery of something of that essential part of life which has been lost.

How or why we sleep excites no particular attention; but the place where repose is sought, and its surroundings, is an important subject for consideration.

Nearly one-third of the allotted span of existence is passed unconsciously, with closed eyes. The body should be in a horizontal position to have the full benefit accruing from it.

The lower animals sleep rather more than one-third of their lives. Reptiles, according to the climate, even more. Hibernates, in a sort of apoplectic repose, sleep heavily in northern latitudes, three or four months in succession. Alligators have a long slumber in the mud through a season most favorable for maturing their eggs, to be extruded on the return of a genial vernal sun.

Insects have their period of sleep, as profound, while it continues, in a house-fly, as an after-dinner nap of an alderman who engorges himself at the expense of his fellow-citizens.

Somnambulism.

Somnambulic unconsciousness is an irregular working of the brain, which calls muscles into orderly action without the controlling will-power, necessary for conscious relations to time and place, for the security of the individual. Volition is partially suspended, and yet acts are performed while in that anomalous state, which so nearly approximate true volitions, that it perplexes philosophers in their attempts at a rationale of what transpires during its continuance.

Occasionally somnambulists perform extraordinary feats of daring without knowing it, or rarely having even a dreamy, confused recollection of what they may have done during a night ramble, in safety, where they would have feared to tread in waking hours. This happens, as frequently as otherwise, in the darkest part of a moonless night.

There are cases on authentic record in which a lady carried a lighted candle, and cautiously walked over a rapid stream, where she would not have dared to venture in full possession of her senses.

Some faculty of the brain, yet to be discovered, is in action during such exhibitions. Vision guides the footsteps of the somnambulist through dangerous passes, and the motor nerves obey the commands of the encephalon. When locomotive muscles receive a message, another set of nerves express back to the central station, within the skull, the reception of the order, followed by the required movements. All this transpires without consciousness, as though an independent mind were directing the machinery while the other was slumbering.

The immortal, indestructible entity—the soul—also reposes. This is inferred from the simple fact that unconsciousness, really and unquestionably, is sleep. We are obliged to express that condition by the word *sleep*, since no better term can be found that carries with it a more comprehensive meaning.

Organic Life.

While the organic mechanism by which life is sustained remains unimpaired, the current of vitality flows on uninterruptedly, indepent of volition. To a limited extent, it is quite beyond its control. Thus, the heart beats from the first moment of fœtal existence, months before birth, till the last expiring breath, not unfrequently one hundred years; and through that long period no effort of the will can arrest its pulsations.

We may hold the lungs from inflating by expelling the air a few moments; and, by practice, pearl-divers suspend respiration an incredibly long time, but vital necessity obliges them to come to the surface in about five minutes.

In sleep, the mind has no directing influence over the inflation or expulsion of air from the lungs. The circulation of blood, the contractions of the heart, and the return of venous blood from the extremities for revitalization, cannot be checked or accelerated by will-force. A sudden surprise, painful intelligence, or pleasurable communications, however, singularly quicken or retard arterial action.

Neither the heart, stomach, kidneys, nor any of the glandular bodies interspersed through the abdominal cavity, are supposed to have any rest or suspension from labor. They work continually without relaxation. Muscles, on the contrary, must have rest. The brain must have relaxation in sleep; and the soul, too, if confidence is to be placed in the deductions of science, demands undisturbed periods of repose.

In dreams, the mind does not have perfect repose. It is not refreshed under a state of emotional disturbance, and, hence, we complain of not having had a refreshing slumber. If the mind is not as completely quiescent and oblivious in sleep, as the voluntary muscles which it controls, then it is but imperfectly recruited. Long-continued seasons of imperfect sleep lead to grave consequences, such as impaired vitality, nervous debility, and, if no relief is had, to insanity.

Travellers describe the punishment inflicted in China on criminals sentenced to be kept awake till they die, as the most terrible punishment ever devised by the diabolical ingenuity of man, for tormenting a fellow-being. The closing scenes of the shocking condition to which the unhappy prisoner is reduced, are painful in the extreme. He finally becomes insensible to almost every form of torture that can be inflicted to keep him awake, and dies at last, about the fifteenth day, in awful misery.

Two criminals in Russia, not many years since, were made the subjects of a scientific experiment in regard to the value of sleep in the maintenance of life. They were kept awake with the utmost difficulty, after eighty hours. What fiendish cruelties were practised on the wretched creatures beyond wedging their heads, so as to be continually receiving droppings of cold water, has not been revealed; but on the nineteenth day, death mercifully terminated their misery. Such punishment is a disgrace to any country, and too shocking to be tolerated where Christianity is the religion of the rulers.

Constitutional Stamina.

A sound constitution must have its beginning in childhood. Small girls, anywhere from three years to ten, should sleep in good-sized airy rooms. It is not always possible or convenient

to provide them spacious apartments, but it is possible to ventilate their dormitories thoroughly daily, in a house with doors and windows. On a free introduction of air, vital elasticity and recuperation of the sleeper mainly depends. Of the value of an uncontaminated atmosphere, no one entertains a doubt; therefore, the discussion of a subject so frequently before the public as ventilation, is passed over in silence, its importance being understood, and everywhere appreciated.

When too many persons occupy the same apartment, even if of large dimensions, the vitality of the air is ultimately diminished very considerably, which is recognized by an increased temperature, perspiration, and physical exhaustion. Small rooms, in the occupancy of two persons, are soon in a similar state, if no fresh supply is regularly admitted.

Two children sleeping in separate beds thrive better than when together in the same bed, even in a spacious room, high studded, and in other respects appropriate, because they are kept from inhaling each other's breath, hardly to be avoided in their unconscious relations in sound sleep.

Expired air is charged with elements deleterious to other lungs, and especially so if from a person indisposed or sick. Expired air directly from the mouth or nostrils is deprived of all its vital properties. If inhaled into the lungs of another, it is particularly injurious. No doubt, many painful forms of sickness in children, which cannot be accounted for on familiar principles, have an origin in the baneful inhalation of another's breath.

A lady exposed to incidental inhalations of the offensive breath of a smoking husband, or one whose expirations are laden with alcoholic odors, is liable to various forms of indisposition, the result of Nature's efforts to drive out of her system the cause of disturbance.

Expired air is deprived of oxygen, the pabulum of life, while carbonic acid, destructive to life in its highest forms, constitutes the volume of breath thus expelled from the lungs, mixed with aqueous vapor and impurities, which chemistry detects. Other vile products, traceable to tobacco and whiskey, are also carried off in the breath.

When such expired compositions are drawn into the sound chest of a sleeping companion, although only occasionally, an incalculable amount of future suffering may be thus unsuspectedly commenced, which medical skill cannot always successfully control.

Growth, strength, and the regularity of organic functions, perfect nutrition and mental development, are each and all of them defective, if the air is charged with deleterious elements, or simply deprived of oxygen.

Each one is entitled to as much pure air as their organization requires,—the lungs being the instruments for separating the constituents of which it is formed, and conveying such elements into the circulation as support life, and rejecting those which are noxious.

Transference of Vitality.

A pale, feeble, sickly appearance of children, whose debility cannot be clearly accounted for, and made the more mysterious from having a sound healthy parentage, not unfrequently are amply provided with all the appliances for their comfort with one single exception,—their sleeping-room.

It is a wise precaution, therefore, to place girls in separate beds, and better still, give each one a room exclusively to herself. Neither is it proper for sufficient reasons that might be given, for children of different ages to sleep in the same bed, even when ventilation and the dimensions of the apartment are satisfactory.

When two children are thus associated for eight or ten hours, it has been ascertained that, if either becomes indisposed, it is usually the youngest, although both were in the beginning equally well and robust.

Physicians recognize a law of which very little is known beyond the effects resulting from imprudence, in placing persons of different ages under circumstances which lead to an actual transference of vitality from one to the other, at the expense of the one from whom it is drawn.

By placing a strong and a feeble child in bed together, after a few months the latter will profit physically, while the other will lose some of its former freshness and vigor. If a sound, plump, healthy child sleep with an emaciated, sickly, or aged person, the former becomes indisposed. Therefore, children of a tender age should not be the bed companions of aged aunts or grandmothers.

Sometimes a blooming child is unaccountably reduced in strength, loses its rosy cheeks, and moves about languidly, losing its relish for food,—which may result from sleeping with an aged person.

A feeble, attenuated woman, advanced in years, will wonderfully recruit by sleeping with a healthy child. She mysteriously imbibes vital force from the innocent in her withered arms.

How that subtle something that passes from one to the other is transferred, or what it is,—has not yet been philosophically demonstrated. The fact, however, that some property does escape from one, and is taken up by the other, is not questioned by medical men.

It is not judicious, therefore, to have a nurse who has passed beyond the middle age of life, for an infant. She will take from the child, by this law of transference, more than the

child will receive from her. It is equally unsafe to place children of a tender age in sleeping-rooms, or in bed with servants or nurses who are ten and fifteen years older, or have sallow complexions, decayed teeth, a bad breath, or peculiar habits of any kind.

These precautions have express reference to young female children. But it would be equally injudicious to permit an athlethic, energetic boy to be the habitual bed-fellow of his grandfather.

Such violations of the general laws of health are not so common in regard to boys as girls. Aged women are particularly fond of sleeping with their young kindred. Their sympathies are active, and their love for the society of children rather increases than diminishes with the progress of years.

The extraction of vitality was far better understood by the Jews at an early historical period, than by modern teachers of hygienic laws, with all the assistance and appliances of modern discoveries.

When King David was waning in health, and the alarm spreading that his life was in danger, on the philosophical principle recognized in this chapter, effort was made in his behalf to transfuse vitality into the monarch's cold and fragile body, by taking it from a very select source. But the hopeful experiment was deferred too long. He could gather no warmth, in the language of the sacred narrative, and the king gave up the ghost. The theory was correct, but it was put in practice too late to be of service.

When a young man, for the worldly consideration of property, weds a woman old enough to be his mother, she will gain by the contract in health. Repeated instances of ill-assorted marriages of that description have established the

fact, that the husband will decline in health, with all his advantages of youth, and generally die first. His vitality is transferred.

This may be novel intelligence to those who are more intent upon bettering their financial circumstances by matrimony, than in securing happiness in that sacred relation.

In those reprehensible and unnatural matches, where selfishness is the ruling passion, an aged wife, in a majority of cases, will become a widow.

Reversing the proposition, the husband being the oldest by years enough to have been the father or grandfather of his wife, although so much her senior, may outlive his young wife.

There are many deviations from the principles laid down in these observations, but individual cases do not conflict at all with this peculiar law in reference to the transference of vitality.

When a young woman sells herself to a man old enough to be her grandfather, she puts her life in jeopardy. She usually dies first. There are modifying circumstances, sometimes, that partially arrest the downward tendency to a premature dissolution, of which the public are ignorant. Family secrets embody physiological problems more strange than poetic fiction. Of the many who thus run the gauntlet for luck in marital adventure, a few win the race, living to get what they anticipated—wealth. When women have attained it by a sacrifice, they deliberately survey the ground, and select a second husband more congenial to their age, to fill an hiatus in their affections.

It is a fearful risk to marry a husband considerably the oldest. There should be a correspondence in age, as in temperament and disposition, to secure all that a divine

institution promises to those who are guided by reason, rather than impulse, on entering upon the solemn obligations of matrimony.

Law of Adaptation.

A man should not be much more than nine years older than his wife. From four to seven years the senior is a natural relation, and always insures a reasonable prospect of domestic happiness. Their physical, intellectual, and moral natures then harmonize most satisfactorily.

Leaving out ambitious views in regard to advantageous alliances, from a selfish determination to sacrifice yearnings of the heart for pecuniary power, if the husband is a few years older than his wife, both parties will have more domestic comfort than when madam is the senior.

In regard to sleep, as especially belonging to the domain of health,—it may be received without qualification, as both sound and reasonable, that two women accustomed to sleep together would escape many annoyances in the form of headaches, neuralgic twinges, occasional nausea, etc., were they in separate beds.

It is injurious for two men of about equal age to lodge habitually in the same bed, but always worse for females. Young women, at all times after the establishment of perfect womanhood, should lodge alone. The objections to sleeping together are not removed, even though the apartment is large and airy.

Husbands and wives sleeping in the same bed do not contaminate the air, as two men or two women do. There is a correcting influence from opposite sexes thus circumstanced, difficult to explain, but, nevertheless, true. In many parts of Italy they practise the discreet policy of never permitting

two persons to occupy one bed, by making them too narrow for two. It impresses the traveller with curious surprise to see hotel beds in that sunny land so very insignificant in width.

There is a peculiar electrical condition of the sexes. Two females do not develop the same nervous state, neither is it produced by two men, that is, elicited by one of each sex. The extreme subtlety of this phenomenon defies scrutiny. We really do not know anything about it beyond the fact, which is familiar knowledge with those who have no insight into the first principles of science.

It is said that a man and a woman, introduced into a perfectly dark room, totally ignorant of the presence of each other, will not only soon ascertain that a person is present, and that without moving an inch, but decide accurately whether the neighbor, unseen and unheard, is a man or a woman!

Female Operatives.

One reason why female operatives in large manufacturing establishments, as cotton-mills, book-binderies, printing-offices, paper-box shops, tailoring lofts, etc., are pale, cadaverous, or yellowish, besides being of inferior strength, although but a few months thus circumstanced, is due to exhalations from their own bodies, inhaled with the air they are breathing.

A morbid craving for clay, charcoal, slate-pencils, chalk, broken bits of crockery, and similar substances, is almost irrepressible among females when working together in considerable numbers. This is usually regarded as a novel circumstance.

Deprived of home influences, grouped together in a vitiated atmosphere, morbid propensities are generated.

Such was the charcoal-eating propensity of the female weavers in one of the great mills in Massachusetts a few years since, orders were given to lock the bins in which charcoal was kept, as the girls were actually consuming such quantities daily.

Temperature of the Body.

In drawing-rooms, halls, concerts, and, indeed, on all public occasions, where large numbers of persons are compactly wedged together, ladies, much sooner than men, complain of a sense of suffocation. While gentlemen are quite at their ease, the feminine part of the audience are plying fans with extreme activity.

In churches, men sit bundled in thick heavy clothing, buttoned to their chins, and then are only just comfortable, while ladies throw off their outer garments, and express by various movements their oppression from heat or foul air.

In public conveyances, nothing is more common than to have a car full of men thrown out of temper by the entrance of a frail, shadowy woman, who immediately requests a window to be opened. On some railroads, cars are expressly appropriated for females, in which they may have a temperature as much below zero as their necessities require; but they invariably indicate dissatisfaction in being placed by themselves, even though they might respire more agreeably.

Clothing which women wear is more delicate in texture, thinner and lighter than male attire in the same climate. Yet they are as warm and comfortable as muscular men in their McIntoshes and buffalo overcoats.

This shows that women have a temperature above the sluggish vitality of their legal protectors. Their circulation is more rapid up to about forty-five, *ceteris paribus*, than the circula-

tion of men, sustained upon the same diet, and having a home in common.

Sleeping with Animals.

The importance of having women sleep well—that is, refreshingly—need not be argued. A vile practice is gaining in this country, that should be frowned down by all well-wishers to humanity. Young ladies, and particularly many in the maturity of age, are excessively fond of pet dogs. They are their most intimate companions, and they bestow as much attention upon them as affectionate mothers mete out to their children, to gratify their philoprogenitiveness. It must be met by something, and black-and-tan imps take the place which poor, abandoned orphans should have in their arms and in their affections.

They not only feed them on delicacies unsuitable to their natures, but they take them out to ride in carriages, when it would please them more to have liberty to run on the ground, like all quadrupeds. It is disgusting to see little snapping curs receiving the fondest caresses and the sweetest tones of endearment, lavished on them by accomplished women who would not allow imploring poverty to stand between their ladyships and a darling puppy.

There are demoralizations and contaminating influences connected with this canine mania, which a loving father is bound to forbid. If his commands are not honored, his next resort should be a revolver, which would most effectually rid the premises of such unnatural and such disgusting associates of his daughters or his wife.

Not satisfied with feeding their dogs with dainties unsuitable to their organs of digestion, their carnivorous maws are filled with such articles as they like best themselves; they pamper

them on cushions, walk with them reposing on their bosoms, and sleep with them ostensibly at their feet. The rage for pet dogs is a cultivated taste. They commence with moderate attentions, but soon become fascinated, and next bewitched. From a pillow on a rug, they are promoted to the foot of the bed. Having served a sophomorical period there, the rise to the position of senior and intimate companion is not distant.

"Whoso lies down with dogs will rise up with fleas," says the proverb. It cannot be healthy for a woman to inhale air a dog has breathed, to say nothing of the emanations from the pores of his body in the confined apartments in which such favorites are ordinarily kept.

There is a tremendous exposure to an incurable malady, if, by any mishap, madam or her daughter should be bitten by a rabid pet. They become mad, and no dog is proof against a sudden development of that incurable malady,—hydrophobia.

Cats are preferable to dogs for little children, in their kittenhood days, as less prone to bite and snap, even if handled roughly.*

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* June 8th, 1871, the following circumstance occurred in a police court in the city of New York, which shows how strong an attachment for a dog may become:—

Mrs. Sophia Clinton lived at 156 Clinton street. She had a little black-and-tan dog, and the black-and tan dog's name was Dexter. A week ago the dog strayed away or was stolen, and she advertised in the papers, and searched the metropolis for that little dog. At last she found him in the possession of a German named Lippman Kessler, living at 130 Attorney street. But Mr. Kessler would not give up the animal. So Mrs. Clinton had Mr. Lippman Kessler arrested, and he was brought before Judge Scott, at Essex Market. Quite a scene ensued as the high disputing parties made their entrance into the vestibule of Justice. Mrs. Clinton is a tall, slender lady, of fine presence, and has beautiful blonde hair. Mr. Kessler is a gross-looking Teuton of herculean build. The lady was very demonstrative in her affections, and kissed and hugged the "innocent cause of the war," calling him "mother's own baby," and other endearing terms. Poor little "Dexter was lost, wasn't he? Poor little pet!"

Cribs for Infants.

When a child has been weaned, it should have a crib by itself. With the development of teeth, it is a sign a modified aliment is required, and their food should have more solidity. No rules can be given, nor are they required, for feeding young children. No arbitrary system of dieting can be borne. Variety is necessary, that elements may be selected by fashioning vessels essential in their economy.

If a child of a tender age is habitually fed on diluted milk, softened biscuit, rice, tapioca, and similar unsatisfactory pap, because an ignorant mother has a theory which becomes a law in her own house,—if it lives, it can hardly escape having a defective mind encased in a feeble body.

Over-doing.

Thousands of children die annually that would have lived, had they been let alone. One of the trials of infancy is teething. Large numbers are chronicled in the bills of mortality as

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"Oh, yais; zay Dechster! Dechster! mooch vot you bleese. I call heem Preence. He coom shoosd de zame," said Mr. Kessler.

"What mark do you know him by?" asked the judge.

Mrs. Clinton—"His claws were cut short, so he would walk nice, and his ears are cut longer than most dogs'; and, Judge, here is the man that cut his ears;" pointing to a young gentleman standing alongside.

Mr. Kessler—"Oh, yais. You hear owel aboud dem tings fon de boleeceman. Coom here, Preence, coom. You see, Shudge, he coom to me yust de same;" and the little dog trotted over to his last owner.

Judge—"Where did you get the dog?"

Kessler—"I got heem fon a shoemaker man. I dond can remember his name, dere is so mooch excitements about dot."

Mrs. Clinton called the dog back again, and it clung to her, as if it had regained its mistress. At last the Judge decided in her favor, and she stalked off triumphantly.

having died from that cause. The truth is, if the facts could be known, children are doctored to death far oftener than they die from diseases peculiar to their age. Indifferent physicians guess at their ailments, and prescribe accordingly, without much reflection, since to do nothing, when called in for advice, would be rather unprofessional.

Charging the stomachs of little children, who cannot give any account of their indisposition, with nauseous drugs, is reprehensible. More vital effort is wasted to throw them off, than would have been expended in resisting the invasion of inflammation of the gums in the protrusion of primary teeth.

Let infants and young misses have separate beds. School girls should invariably sleep by themselves. When they become young ladies, it is inexcusable to permit two of them, however attached and dear to each other as friends, to occupy the same beds habitually.

Pulmonary consumption is sadly sweeping away women from spheres they beautify and adorn. The mortality is far beyond what it would be from hereditary sources, because those who die of it transgress many laws of health. To obviate the formation of a susceptibility in the constitution to the approach of pulmonary consumption, begin seasonably by simply avoiding exposures to influences which may be derived from sleeping with others in early life.

Beds.

There is another subject connected with this topic, too long overlooked, which it is proper to introduce. The materials of which beds should be made is an important study.

It is certain that there is a constant exhalation from the surface of the body. If the emunctories are closed by inflammation, or accumulations of foreign matter, a thickening of the

epidermic tissues, indeed, from any source, as exanthematous obstructions, produces internal febrile heat and universal disturbance in the system.

Febrile heat sometimes ensues on mechanical principles,—from the non-escapement of fluids which ought necessarily to pass off externally. Insensible perspiration is a safety-valve for the body, as much as a crater of a volcano is the natural outlet of pent-up forces that would destroy the whole mountain if not allowed to escape.

The kidneys by no means secrete all the fluid taken into the stomach in a very warm day.

Fluids taken by the renal apparatus directly to the bladder, hold in solution elements already referred to as being commingled with our food, but hurtful if not carried off in the most direct manner.

Those who perspire freely, when exposed to a slightly elevated temperature, have thus less duty imposed on the kidneys.

Offensive Cutaneous Exhalations.

Persons who perspire easily, and more than others under ordinary circumstances, rarely have either dropsy or renal difficulties.

There is a singular difference in the character of cutaneous transpirations in different persons, detected by the sense of smell, but not by the individual from whom it escapes. It is offensively unpleasant to the olfactories from most colored persons, particularly when they have been exercising or in warm weather.

That disagreeable odor is not without its use in the general economy of things. Africa abounds with annoying insects, the

torment of humanity, as of all animals. So particularly offensive is the perspiration from the bodies of the natives, it protects them, like an invisible cloud, against attacks of swarms of pestiferous flies, gnats, and winged plagues of indescribable forms, which no life could resist, were it not for that curious provision for defense.

Apiarians are familiar with what every body know, that bees cannot tolerate the presence of some persons, while others may handle their hives, extract sheets of comb, or swarm new colonies with perfect impunity.

This is accounted for by the ignorant, on the presumption that honey-bees recognize an enemy in the one or a friend in the other. No doubt those who annoy them by their presence to exasperation, give off an offensive vapor which the acute organization of the bees detects as a nuisance. Those who fearlessly explore the interior of a hive, and even suffer bees to light upon them without being stung, exhale no vapor that meets their disapprobation.

This is, probably, the whole secret and explanation of the supposed friendship or hostility of honey-bees. The perspiration of intemperate persons, as well as those excessively given to the consumption of tobacco, is laden, unknown to themselves, with exceedingly offensive matter, which is quite as disgusting to those brought within the sphere of its emanation, as to the quick discrimination of honey-bees and wasps.

Progressive Decomposition in Life.

There is a constant, uninterrupted process of decomposition going on in every organ and tissue of the body of every living being. When a new particle is placed in position, an old one is removed.

There are but three ways of throwing off effete, dead matter, viz., through the pores of the skin, the intestinal tube, and the bladder. To do this, the blood holds immense amounts of *débris* in solution. When long retained, physicians speak of a bad condition of the blood. Quacks, without knowing anything about it, harp incessantly on its impurity, and get rich on the sale of nostrums for its purification.

Such medications are absurdities. It is ridiculous nonsense to prate, as these irresponsible speculators in health do, about pretending to physic the blood. It is as impossible to produce any such operation as it would be to bombard the sun. Charged, as that vital fluid must be always, with worn-out materials, which have served a purpose till all of value in them had been exhausted,—it is a natural process to be floated away, and nature will take care of herself without the aid of pseudo-medical specialists.

Tonics, properly directed, may assist a debilitated invalid by giving vigor to some flagging organ, in this never-ceasing process of receiving, appropriating, and then setting at liberty that which ceases to be any longer of utility.

Avoid one probable cause of indisposition, as far as possible, by breathing good air rather than foul, if just as readily obtained.

Feather beds yield, in the atmosphere of a close room, a peculiar mephitic odor, traceable to a slow decomposition of the tubes of the feathers. Years are required, if no artificial efforts are made by severe kiln-drying or baking, before feathers lose that offensive character. Even after various expedients for airing them by drying, they re-imbibe moisture, and the old odor is again given off.

Thus, the best directed efforts in purifying feathers are only temporary, and, therefore, they should be abandoned. It

is just as injurious to be inhaling every night the impure air of a room in which a feather-bed putrefaction is progressing, as to have the decaying carcase of a dead animal under the bed, from which sulphuretted hydrogen gas was escaping.

In northern climates, where the progress of feather decomposition is slowly conducted, feather beds are common, and less to be dreaded than where the summers are long and hot. But they ought to be given up wholly and entirely, as they probably will be, with a more general diffusion of the principles of hygiene, the importance of which is happily beginning to be understood.

Even when the weather is cold, the heat of the body actually penetrates to the feathers, acting chemically in setting free an unpleasant odor, if the room is not well aired. Under any circumstances, those of delicate organizations, subjected to severe exposures which affect the lungs, should avoid feather beds. So should asthmatic people. Emanations from a feather pillow, even when the bed is of hair, or some other common material, will sometimes bring on a stricture of the bronchial tubes, so severe that the sufferer can scarcely draw in sufficient breath for sustaining life. Asthmatics should shun feathers in beds, bolsters, or pillows.

Wool beds are admirable. They are warm, soft, and elastic. They have been objected to on account of being an animal product, as well as feathers. But, admitting that decomposition must, of course, be the destiny of all animal matter, in whatever form it may be utilized, there is really no such cogent reason for rejecting wool as feathers. We like them, and recommend them for invalids of a spare habit.

Next, hair-mattresses, in universal use, while fresh and new, are delightful beds. But they are an animal product also, very likely to be preyed upon by minute insects which cut

the hairs into bits much sooner than suspected. An old hair-mattress is a living sack of abominations, in which life, death, and successive generations of mites, too minute to be seen without a magnifier, undoubtedly give rise to eruptions, cutaneous irritations, and perhaps unpleasant conditions of the mucous membrane of the lungs, from breathing air laden with matter escaping through the tick.

Many a traveller has imbibed the seeds of death by sleeping on such kinds of beds in hotels. They would be gainers by sleeping on the floor, rather than recline on an old hair-mattress which may have been soaked with the offensive sweat products of a sick stranger the night before, or be in a state of slow chemical putridity, from which gases are given off that may generate disease which no medications could arrest.

Frequent opening of the sacks, repicking and drying in open, brilliant sunlight, and thoroughly drying beds of all kinds in hotels and boarding-houses, should be enforced under police inspection, as a measure for securing public health among other sanitary precautions so well received by the public.

Cotton-wool beds have been introduced, but not very successfully. They mat and become extremely hard, soon losing all the elasticity they may have had at first. Besides, they imbibe moisture which is difficult to expel in such a thick mass.

Within a few years, sponge beds have been introduced, which have their friends, especially among those interested in the sale of them. There has hardly been time to ascertain their true merits. If their elasticity, when chopped or torn into fragments, depends on being made supple with glycerine, by and by objections will be raised against them. However, they are not to be criticised unfavorably till more is known of the advantages they present.

One of the latest and best yet presented for acceptance, is the metallic. In appearance it is a wire tick, woven, or made of rings linked together, fastened by its edges to the inner margins of the bedstead.

They are always clean and free from collections which attach to other beds. Being galvanized, they neither rust nor become dark-colored. Water beds, which were thought particularly valuable for hospitals, have not been in general use. The metallic bed addresses itself to the commonsense of a very limited intelligence as valuable. A mattress is rarely required on them. A few thicknesses of soft woolen blankets are quite sufficient; they are soft and yielding to the form of the sleeper. In a word, they are admirable and appear destined to be extensively adopted wherever large numbers of beds are required in any one place—as on shipboard, hospitals, barracks, and hotels. Families ought to give them a decided preference.

There is immense economy in them. Beside all the properties found in other beds, of giving ease and comfort, they present none of the objections cited in reference to feathers, hair, wool, cotton, rattan, husks, or straw. No insects will ever burrow upon them;—and when injured or broken, or they become valueless for the purposes for which they were made, they may then be sold for old iron.

In fitting up a private dwelling, the economy of the iron bed is apparent. They are the least objectionable; and the very best for young persons, especially children, because they would be perfectly free from moisture and vermin. They can be set into any kind of bedstead, wood or iron, but iron should take the place of wooden bedsteads. It is the bed for women—incomparatively superior to any other kind in use.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Food of Women.

Dietetics of the World—Everything Eaten—Difference of Taste—Habit—Sugar a Necessity—Economy of the Liver—Pork—By whom Avoided—Starch—Experiment with Honey Bees—Law of Life Illustrated—Fruits to be freely given to Children—Open-Air Exercise for Girls—A Benevolent Citizen of Boston—Fish Excellent Food—And Why?

Every creeping thing, even disgusting insects, vermin, reptiles, lizards, and crawling ophidians, are used for human food. Of course, they are not appropriated for that purpose in civilized countries; but, with savages and barbarians, whatever will sustain life is greedily seized upon without reference to external appearances, habits, character, or flavor. Necessity compels many tribes to sustain themselves on food that would not have been selected from choice or a depraved taste, if anything else could be procured.

Under such circumstances, it has not been discovered that those who feed thus promiscously and offensively, measured by the standard of civilization, are any more prone to sickness, or are shorter-lived, than gentlemen and ladies who dine sumptuously on roast beef and pudding.

"Slay and eat," was a command to Peter, when the sheet was let down before his eyes, filled with all manner of strange forms. It is a maxim in law that circumstances alter cases. So it is in respect to diet. Our impressions respecting the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness of particular kinds of food, are formed from the remarks, or likes and dislikes of those with whom, and among whom, our early associations were established.

We are influenced, without being able to explain why, by what others say and are practising within the circle in which we are moving. Our social education, which is entirely independent of letters, books, or schools, is commenced and completed very early in the family. What we learn there abides with us ever after. We cannot emancipate ourselves from the errors thus imbibed, nor free ourselves from the cordon of responsibilities with which we feel ourselves surrounded, without violating moral laws on which both safety and happiness seem to depend.

Nearly all we know upon the subject of food comes from the experience of others, and rarely from our own. Had we been accustomed to swallows'-nest soups, a rich dish in China, we certainly should have had no prejudices to contend with in later years, were it served to us; but, never having tasted it, the very thought of such a singular preparation for the stomach is nauseating. Precisely so, also, in regard to that still more disgusting delicacy of almond-eyed races, *beche de la mer*, a large, slimy, soft, hideous-looking sea-slug, held in the highest estimation in aristocratic society throughout the whole of China.

Sailors on a wreck have fed upon the decaying corpse of a starved companion, without any of those painful results which theoretically follow from eating putrescent food. Hungry Bedouins feast upon dried locusts; roaming savages of Africa satisfy a voracious appetite with a roasted boa-constrictor, or a baked monkey. A Mexican slaughters a cow for the sake of a dainty morsel, the half-grown calf, throwing away the beef of the mother, as too coarse and too common for a refined and cultivated gourmand. Stewed puppies were a choice preparation when Captain Cook discovered the Sandwich Islands. Fried eels, boiled snails, five-fingered Jacks, oysters, prawns, clams,

shrimps, etc., which belong to our catalogue of modern eatables, are quite as objectionable, contemplated as awful-looking creatures, as many things we exclude from gustatory favor, on account of their imagined bad qualities.

Putridity.

If chemical decomposition is not so far advanced as to destroy cohesion, no unfavorable effects result from eating anything that has once been alive. Those animals which have sacks of poison in them are excluded, as well as those that secrete an abominable fluid from particular glands, which, in both cases, are defences against their enemies.

Pampered city gourmands keep venison till it becomes partially decayed, before it attains that delicious flavor which meets the approval of an aldermanic stomach.

To those unaccustomed to that delicacy—a conversational theme of officials, dieted at the expense of taxpayers—such a meal would seem freighted with death in the pot, especially when a smoking quarter comes to the table, a perfect nuisance to uneducated olfactories.

Overcome the pangs of hunger with whatever is of an animal origin, there are properties in it which a stomach fashions to meet the exigencies of the system. No carrion is too corrupt for some carnivorous beasts and birds. Contact with the gastric juice deprives it quickly of the taint, while the decaying softness of flesh is thus prepared for rapid digestion.

Man has always been, and always will continue, to sustain himself on a mixed aliment.

Salt.

The late Mr. Sylvester Graham was a prominent vegetarian

fanatic. He was even extremely prejudiced against salt. He could not abide it, and exerted his vocal skill in trying to convince silly old women, of both sexes, that eating salt was about equal to taking in death by grains.

How supremely ridiculous to be at war with the law of necessity! There is not a treatise extant on health, held in esteem by competent scientific authorities, that does not admit, unequivocally, that common salt is found in all our tissues and fluids.

We could not be what we are, or what we may be, without it. Salt is found in almost every article made use of as food, whether the newly-fledged school of ignorant physiological reformers approve of it or not. By the introduction of salt into the system, the blood globules are supposed to be sustained in their form, and prepared for the purposes of life. Even the tears we shed contain salt. We must be supplied with it. Nature, therefore, in anticipation of the necessities of all warm-blooded animals, was careful to introduce it into vegetables, and from them the flesh and fluids are kept supplied.

There are conditions in which the supply from that source is not equal to the demands of the body. Where the quantity secured by plants and grasses in some latitudes is too small, the deficit is met for man by commerce. Buffaloes, deer, etc., in the primitive state of this country, came in droves from great distances in the far West towards the Atlantic where salt springs abounded, to obtain what instinct compelled them to seek; or suffer and die, if not found.

Grass-feeding animals search for it in their wild state continually. Whenever they discover a saline quality in water, that spot is not only remembered, but intelligence of its locality is extensively propagated and transmitted from one generation

to another. How that was accomplished without articulative language will ever remain as much of a paradox as the propagation of the intuition of birds to go South for winter quarters which is understood by the youngest of the flock for the first time leaving the neighborhood where they were reared, for a flight of one or two thousand miles to an unknown region.

The health of wild or domesticated animals imperiously demands salt. Some are so organized that what they obtain in their food is sufficient for them. The farmer feeds it out at stated periods to his stock. Timid horses may be caught with a handful, when nothing else would tempt them to yield up their liberty to become the slaves of their captors.

Carnivorous animals, flesh-eaters exclusively, obtain in their prey just enough of the saline element to answer the physical needs of their organization.

Anomalies.

No two persons are constituted so nearly alike as to perfectly agree in their taste or appetency for food. One may object to pastry, while another loves it dearly. A small amount of meat suffices for some, others have no relish for it at all. Vegetables are coveted exclusively by some individuals. In them are provided sugar, starch, gelatine, etc., required in the reparation of their tissues. Thus, bread, in universal request, contains some, if not all, of those elements, and, therefore, each sustains himself on an article in which some, if not all, the life-sustaining properties exist, necessary for his preservation.

Bread, by baking, is prepared for being converted into glu-

cose, soon after reaching the stomach. It is changed into a sweetish paste by a vital chemical action.

Sugar is indispensable. If the supply is too small from without, the liver, as set forth in another chapter, immediately manufactures enough to supply the deficit necessary in the economy of the individual.

Affecting the Teeth.

A common opinion prevails that sugar is injurious to the teeth. A grosser mistake was never propagated. Carious teeth, denuded of enamel, ache when sweets are in contact with the decaying surface; but the cause of the caries is due to other agencies, and not to sugar.

Children crave it, and the universal desire for sweets gives employment to immense numbers of laborers in tropical countries to meet the demands of those parts of the globe where it cannot be made.

Wherever civilization has raised its standard, sugar becomes a staple commodity. How preposterous, then, to attempt turning back the current of trade, or interfering with the great movements of commercial activity, because, forsooth, some addle-headed theorist wishes to immortalize himself by opposing constitutional tendencies of improved and improving humanity.

Sugar has Ignorant Enemies.

Opposing the use of sugar and salt is simply to expose one's imbecility, want of judgment, and limited views of nature's unalterable laws.

Omnivorous.

Teeth, stomach, and their auxiliary appendages are constructed upon principles of relationship to secure perfect nutrition. Because men can subsist on a mixed diet, is found their ability for traversing the globe from the tropics to the frozen regions of the poles.

We go with impunity from arctic ice-fields to the burning sands of an African desert, through all extremes of climate, without apprehension of not being able to sustain ourselves on any kind of food which may be offered. No animal could be transported through such diversified climates, and feed on diversified products as they might present, without perishing. They must have the element especially fitted to their organization. If that is not to be had, they perish.

Swine, and some birds, to a limited extent, are omnivorous; still they cannot thrive when removed from their natural habitat, unless provided with food analogous to that in which they attain their highest development.

Feathered tribes feed largely on insects, larvæ, seeds, etc., which is a mixture of animal and vegetable food. Were it otherwise, in their periodical migrations sad consequences would follow. An omnivorous appetite can be accommodated in different localities, where animal and vegetable products abound, without impairing muscular force, or unfitting them for returning to such food as they subsist upon a part of the season North or South.

Pork.

Swine feed indifferently on flesh, vegetables, or garbage, without reference to its composition, even in a state of putrefactive fermentation. A knowledge of their habits may have

led to a prohibition of pork under the Mosaic dispensation. They have always been held as unclean, and, therefore, unsuitable for human food, from a remote antiquity, by both Jews and Mahometans.

Shaker communities in this country have uniformly abstained from pork. Trichinus spiralis, which affects men, women, and children, is traced directly to swine. Their minute eggs taken into the human stomach, or, indeed, any stomach, as far as we know to the contrary, resist the gastric juice; although it dissolves metals, their vitality resists its potency. Trichinæ reach the muscles, and the tapeworm keeps possession of the alimentary canal.

Scrofula, which is an enlargement and tumefaction of the glands, is also believed to be aggravated, if not produced by pork. The term scrofula is derivtaed from a word indicating filthiness.

Shakers are remarkable for their fair skins, clear complexion, and exemption from scrofulous affections. They very rarely have either cutaneous blotches, discolorations, moles, or eruptions, which confirms them in the opinion, that they are right in excluding pork from their tables, and living swine from their farms.

When swine are fed, as they usually are in the vicinity of cities, and populous towns, on offal gathered in carts, the back-yard accumulations from kitchens, sour, decomposing, or offensive, no pains ever being taken to preserve such collections from passing into a stage wholly unfit for food, their flesh becomes diseased, in consequence of being compelled to subsist on a vile hodge-podge—a perfect salmagundi of concentrated vileness.

Raised, as they are in back settlements of the West, on mast, which they gather in their free rambles in the woods, or when stall-fed on sound corn, the pork is less objectionable, and

not likely to be diseased. But it is safer never to use it, since it is difficult to decide in the market from whence it came, upon the quality.

Ladies who are anxious to preserve their fair faces free from roughness, redness, eruptive pimples, and glandular enlargements about the neck, must shun pork. They cannot breakfast on sausages without running a greater risk than with a pork-steak; because they are usually made of scrapings of bones, or the poorest quality of pork, so compounded with pepper, lard, and pulverized herbs, as to conceal the objectionable appearance or taint they would give out, were it not for salt, and the deceptive skill of the manufacturer.

Smoked hams pass through processes which are thought to destroy parasites burrowing in the best of them. By severe boiling or baking, minute eggs deposited in them are effectually destroyed, so that in that form, if pork is at all allowable, it is in a thoroughly cured and thoroughly cooked ham. Even when a long while smoked, if taken in sandwiches, raw—sometimes practised—there is undoubted danger of being infected with trichinæ and tape-worm eggs.

Discoloration of the Skin.

Moth-spots, those irregular yellow patches that appear on the chin, side of the nose, on the forehead, and near the ears of middle-aged women; irritable eruptions on the limbs, known as salt rheum; excess of dandruff on the head; moles, and spongy outgrowths,—are each and all of them aggravated by pork.

Cooking exceedingly modifies food for being more easily and rapidly assimilated. Hard and unpalatable articles, in a raw state, are quite savory when subjected to culinary

operations. But of all laboratories, the stomach is the most perfect. Vital chemistry is superior to art, and whatever enters the stomach is subjected both to mechanical and chemical influences, before the absorbents draw upon the mass for nutriment.

Further Observations on Sugar.

Sugar is an ingredient of most plants, roots, fruits, and grains on which animals subsist. So acute is the sense of smell in quadrupeds, especially the wild ones—and always active in the domesticated, as horses, oxen, deer, sheep, and goats—they select, with extreme care and accuracy, only such vegetables as yield it.

It is for our interest, as it is for the promotion of individual and public health, to cultivate plants and roots for our domesticated animals that contain the largest per cent of saccharine matter. Hence, beets, carrots, and turnips are excellent for them.

We have nothing to do with commercial interests in these deliberations. Reference is simply made to those products that have an influence on individual health.

Next to sugar, in the order of dietetic indispensables, are the cereals.

Starch passes through several interesting stages before it yields those elements on which its nutritive properties depend. Flour is first made into dough, and by baking is changed so materially, as to be wholly unlike its appearance either in flour or dough. Both in sapidity and in quality for the support of life, the processes through which it passes from the mill to leaving the oven, are remarkably curious; yet so common and familiar, a thought is never bestowed upon the subject except by teachers or writers on the phenomena of digestion.

If compelled to subsist upon any one article exclusively, even if it contains sugar, it ceases to be serviceable to man, but most of the animals live in excellent health through their whole allotted lifetime, as regulated by the law of limitation, on one kind of food.

Our food must be frequently changed, or compounded with different ingredients. Dogs, cats, and, indeed, all the carnivorous animals, are quite independent of sugar from plants or fruits, all that they require being manufactured within their own bodies. If they are fed on sugar a little time the relish for it soon subsides, and they lose flesh, become feeble, and die.

The following table shows the amount of sugar in fruits and grains, with which we are most familiar. Nature has made ample provision for the necessities of those whose organization requires it.

In one hundred parts, sugar is in the following proportion:

Figs	62.50	Wheat Flour	5.20 to 48
Cherries	18.12	Rye Meal	3.28
Peaches	16.45	Indian Meal	1.45
Pears	11.52	Peas	2.00
Tamarinds	12.50	Cow's Milk	4.77
Beets	9.00	Human Milk	5.50
Barley	5.21		

Fruits abound more in sugar than grain, but the latter furnishes starch. We cannot subsist on either alone, so well or so long as when compounded with other materials.

There is an inborn love for sweets and oily food which cannot be overcome by any system of discipline, so that the individual will not indulge in them when opportunity presents.

Bees fed on pure sugar refuse, for a few days, to forage among flowers. That, however, is only temporary, as we have

often repeated the experiment, and found that, after the syrup had been mixed in the honey-pouch of the bees, with the secretions of that organ, it lost its fluidity by evaporation, and left dry sugar in the cell. The bees immediately went earnestly to work, with united force, on discovering the appearance of things, and carried it all out of the hive, grain by grain, and then resumed their accustomed avocation in the fields.

When pigs are fed exclusively on boiled potatoes, though rich in starch, they fatten slowly, because no oily material is present. By simply mixing milk with potatoes or corn-meal, seeds or nuts, the fattening process is vastly more rapid.

Cooking Food for Animals.

Nothing is gained for domesticated animals by cooking their food. Cows, fed on warm swill, still-house waste, macerated hay; or swine, urged on to excessive fatness by confinement and cooked food, have ulcerations of the liver, and a bad state of the tissues. Meazly pork is a disease of the cellular texture, and, therefore, wholly unsuitable for the table, however disguised by pepper in sausage-meat, or bacon. When Majendie rationed dogs wholly on starch or sugar, they died unexpectedly soon. Butter or lard, fed to them exclusively, was equally fatal.

A duck fed entirely on butter, at the rate of 1,350 to 1,500 grains daily, died in three weeks. On examination, the butter was oozing from all parts of the bird's body. Even the feathers were saturated with it, and the odor was excessively nauseous and offensive.

Warnings against Vegetarian Reforms.

The lessons taught in these experiments are detached evidences of a fundamental law of life, which cannot be set aside.

Persevering attempts of vegetarian reformers to convert men and women to their theories, propped up by the representations of the saving to be realized by returning to acorns, never have succeeded. Every little while a new aspirant for fame springs into transitory notice, to melt away under the sunshine of reason. There is no lack of converts when a new dietetic doctrine is first announced. There is a kind of romance in subsisting on next to nothing. Instead of needlessly wasting precious hours of a short existence in roasting legs of mutton, making pancakes and pudding, the whole twenty-four devoted to rejoicings over a glorious emancipation from the restraints and refinements of a burdensome civilization, is more poetical than profitable. With all the enthusiasm which usually characterizes the ardor of new disciples to any ultra proposition, the vegetarians fall from grace, and ultimately sin against arguments that were plausible enough at first, by returning to their former habits of living like sensible beings, in conformity to the usages of society in which their destiny is cast.

How ridiculous to attempt reasoning men and women into a conviction that their five special senses are not to be gratified, because it is displeasing to their Creator to indulge in anything he has bountifully supplied, simply as temptations, but not for consumption.

Of all modern reformers, vegetarians have the most discouraging prospect of success. It is recorded that Paracelsus prided himself in having discovered the true elixir of life. It was an expensive preparation which only kings could purchase, in expectation of living and ruling for ever on earth. While glorying in his pride, that his researches in occult science had terminated so favorably, he died with a bottle of his life-preserver in his pocket, at the age of forty!

On What should we Subsist?

Not waiting for an echo to answer the question, reason says, whatever relishes. Any arbitrary system that prescribes positive rules and articles, to the exclusion of all others, must be wrong.

Dyspepsia was never cured by a spare diet. The false but fashionable direction for these whining, complaining, gaunt appendages of society, who are dying of indigestion, is the sure way of hastening their departure to that bourne from whence no traveller returns.

Dyspeptic invalids, besides slowly starving themselves in the midst of inviting plenty, pretty uniformly are all the while under medical treatment which is not required.

Assisting nature instead of thwarting her behests, by faring sumptuously every day on the bounties a kind Providence provides, offers a far better prospect of relief and a speedier restoration, than the slow, miserably wasting-away course usually pursued by intelligent sufferers.

This method of treating dyspepsia, the disease of comfortable circumstances, is no violation of the rational laws of health. Meet the malady with appropriate nutrition. Food for dyspeptics must be neither too fine nor concentrated, but a generous variety and of the best quality.

Those poor men and women who rarely gratify their palates with rich preparations which greet the uncertain appetites of the rich, are exempt from their peculiar sufferings.

Laboring people rarely ever have a symptom of that bane of pecuniary independence,—dyspepsia. They sleep soundly, and awake refreshed.

Fruits.

Fruits should be more freely used. Apples, especially, are exceedingly grateful to most persons. They may be cooked in many ways for the table, contributing largely to good living. Simply baked, they are excellent food, and, if eaten freely with every meal, act very beneficially on the stomach.

Fruit-eaters have health. Apples, pears, plums, peaches, berries, and, lastly, melons, may be eaten with impunity, if fully ripe. Children should not be denied, but allowed to revel in all the fruits in their season. They meet certain conditions, and, if withheld, the danger is far greater by a denial than from surfeit.

Parents are quite apt to limit children in the amount as well as the kind of fruit, on a presumptive theory of their own, that this or that would be injurious.

That is altogether a mistake. Crude fruits do derange the bowels, and produce disastrous consequences. But from ripe, unless they engorge themselves beyond the capacity of the stomach, no harm need be apprehended. Give children all the fruit they want. If it were not proper for them, they would not manifest an insatiable relish for it.

Cider.

When cider was a table beverage all over the apple regions of the Eastern States, forty or fifty years ago, there was a higher standard of family health than in these temperance times. When the temperance reformation was inaugurated, cider was anathematized as vulgar; besides, its tendency was to stimulate, and, therefore, it must be dropped. It disappeared, and reappeared in the form of apple brandy. After the denouncement of homely, honest cider, which facilitated digestion, and kept

up the strength of those hardy men who laid the foundation for the agricultural beauty and wealth of New England, dyspepsia made its appearance.

In those good old times, when honest men dealt honorably, cultivated their farms, paid their taxes, and brought up their children to respect all laws, divine and human, physicians were rarely called to their families. When the cider went, dyspepsia came in at the opposite door.

Malic acid facilitates digestion, without leaving any of those bad effects which follow the use of distilled liquors. Cider refreshes without leaving a sensation of lassitude, or disturbing the nervous system,—taken, as was formerly the custom, with dinner and in the field.

There were, occasionally, hardened old cider-drinkers, who took it immoderately, so as to be remarked upon as simply ridiculous, but drunkards are a later race. They came into notoriety with the multiplication of distilleries and the unpopularity of cider.

Physicians are guilty of a great moral wrong, by encouraging the use of whiskey, the curse of this magnificent country, where man alone is vile. Were dyspeptics to adopt cider as a diluent of their food, and totally abstain from tea, coffee, and, above all, whiskey, brandy, and wines, they could not be worse for it, and might regain their health.

There must be caution in the purchase of what is sold for cider. It is now manufactured extensively out of anything but apples. It is sold under the name of champagne cider, and that, too, is an outrageous imposition, and a dangerous compound for invalids.

The true medicinal cider—that which a dyspeptic lady or gentleman might take by the tumbler-full several times a day—should be such as is put up in barrels by the farmer in the inte-

rior, who is ignorant of the cheating ways of trade. Drawn from the barrel as it is to be used, and never permitted to stand till it becomes stale and loses its effervescent smartness, it will accomplish all that is claimed for it in this plea.

In these generalizations, in reference to a very common condition of ladies of middle age, and sometimes in young ladies whose lives have been too artificial, we have urged a new way of meeting their thin, shadowy forms, pale faces, attenuated arms, flat chests, hollow cheeks, and lassitude. Exercise on foot, indulge in luscious fruits, take less tea and concentrated food, and, by all means, patronize good, fresh, effervescing cider. The farmer's daughter escapes dyspepsia till she resides in a city where physicians are as plenty as lamp-posts, but not always as useful in showing the way.

Exercises.

Proper exercise in the open air, which has been urgently recommended in these pages; an elastic, light bed, in a properly ventilated dormitory; early rising, if the lady has no further inclination for sleep; occupation alternating with agreeable amusements in the society of friends, or books; and always keeping physicians and drugs so distant as to be seen only through a telescope,—would bring feeble women, and pale, slender, drooping girls into the fold of Hygeia. Women have great need for making an effort, for they not only have very much degenerated, but they are further deteriorating, especially in cities.

Resolve to rise above indolence; and instead of reclining in an easy chair, with an India shawl over the shoulders, occasionally tasting with a teaspoon some delicacy, and when the clock strikes, very punctually taking either drops or pills—discard the whole of them.

Arouse from the insidious lethargy that holds you in its folds, and face the breezes on foot many times in twenty-four hours. When fatigued by long walks, take a refreshing nap; next some substantial refreshment, and at reasonable intervals, repeat the exercise; when the weather is unfavorable, oversee the house, look into the larder, calculate what will relish for next day's dinner.

Timing Food to the Season.

Fruits come to maturity at precisely the period when they are most serviceable. In their perfection, when their juices are fresh, and grateful to the palate, the system is immensely benefited by a free use of them. It is not material whether a peach, a melon, or a cluster of grapes, is taken at break of day, with breakfast, at noon, night or midnight. When the stomach craves them, it is the time to feast upon them. Still it is heralded from sources respected as oracular, by those who never think for themselves, the eating of fruit should almost be regulated by statute law.

Those persons for whom no one seems to care, those who get what they can, and when they can, unrestrained by arbitrary rules in respect to living, suffer none of the predicted evils from satisfying their appetites at any hour.

It is simply convenient to have specified hours for meals, because an orderly system is introduced into the arrangements of a family. There is economy of time in having regular hours for all employments. An established habit of dining or supping at any particular hour, educates the stomach for that period. Any marked deviations from a habit disturb its functions, simply because the digestive organs are not ready, or having been so, and not being provided for, ruffles the temper, quick-

ens the pulse, and thereby produces nervous irritability. Fruits are of such inestimable value in the maintenance of individual as well as public health, efforts should be made, particularly in compact cities, to provide the poor with it on a scale of liberality never yet inaugurated.

Poor children seize upon unripe and decayed remnants with a ravenous desire for them, as the season approaches for their appearance in market, which quickens the death record enormously; but ripe fruits correct and fortify the system just when a summer atmosphere is charged with elements that require counteracting agencies abounding in ripe fruits.

Benevolent schemes for ameliorating the circumstances of the poor will not be complete till some kind-hearted Crœsus provides for supplying them with generous supplies from the advent of strawberries to the gathering of grapes in autumn.

A benevolent Frenchman, Monsieur P. P. F. Degrand, left a handsome sum at his death, in Boston, the interest of which is to be annually expended in picture books for poor children. Besides gratifying the curiosity of the poor little recipients, who, otherwise, could never possess such a treasure as one of those instructive works appears in their estimation, they develop a love for reading, cultivate their taste, and bring out the first desire for improvement.

Fruits are always dear in this very fruitful country. The production has never been equal to the demand. Perhaps cultivators never wish to have them, as it would interfere with their profits. It is certain, that an acre of ground devoted to the growing of almost any kind of fruit would yield a far larger revenue than corn, potatoes, or grain, requiring a severe expenditure of labor in ploughing, hoeing, and harvesting. Why are not hundreds of acres set with fruit trees where there is now not one?

The poor long for fruits they cannot have, on account of the

price, disproportioned to their means. They barely procure what are called necessaries—which means beef, pork, etc.; but it may be positively affirmed that fruit is quite as necessary, and far more important to them in their season.

A relish for fruits is not an acquired one, but born with us —and for the purpose of introducing acids, saccharine juices, and delicious flavors into the system.

Farmers! raise more fruit, and let the rich distribute it generously in tenement-house, cellars, shanties,—indeed, everywhere, in lanes and filthy streets, where the poor are doomed to reside. It would arrest diseases, it would relieve sufferings, meet the urgent demands of the sick and feeble, and stimulate them to efforts for improving their circumstances.

Many imperfections in our civilization might be corrected, politically and morally. We are a confederacy of meat-eaters, without much regard to its quality or quantity. We all consume too much meat. Once a day is enough in this climate.

Fruit-raisers are vehement in their assertions that it is not only an unremunerative branch of industry, but there is also a danger of over-stocking the market. There is not the slightest prospect of overdoing the business. Since the process of preserving fruit is thoroughly understood, not a peach need be lost, or a pear allowed to decay. The whole world over, they are regarded as luxuries, and have a sure sale. If there is anything to be apprehended unfavorable to the fruit-growers' interest, it is that his avarice may urge him to ask more than they are worth. Fruit-extortioners require rebuking.

To be Encouraged.

As eminently contributing to the stability of public health, and to the every-day comfort and improvement of the people, the use of fish and fruit should be encouraged and upheld by

special laws. In China, the consumption of fish is amazing; and nowhere is the public health, considering the denseness of the population, more satisfactory. If rice and fish, the staples of life there, are reasons why neither plagues nor endemics are common, they might enter more freely into our own dietary with manifest advantage. The Chinese are strong, well developed, and possess extraordinary powers of endurance. True, they require prodigious quanties of rice twice a day, fish being scarcely more than a savory relish, although they consider it essential to strength and vigor.

An educated Chinese brain, even under their objectionable civilization, is abundantly able to cope with the best diplomatic skill of Europe. Much as they are underrated, their government antedates the oldest in Europe by thousands of years; and many of the useful arts and important discoveries—pillars on which the proud edifice of modern institutions are sustained—of incalculable importance to progressive humanity, actually originated among those Mongolians, whom we are taught to believe our intellectual inferiors. We may not drink as much tea, stow away as much rice at a meal, or be as well satisfied with fish at every meal, yet they are by no means to be undervalued for their attainments in art or government. Both are venerable for age.

Too much Meat.

Women with us consume too much meat—the result of a mistake in the beginning. Neither the severity of the climate, nor the necessities of their systems, require it in large quantities.

Their indoor employments, with few exceptions, are such, a lighter and more easily digested food than meats would be better for them. Farinaceous articles, including an abundance

of fruit, fresh, cooked, or preserved, should be provided in all well-regulated families, especially where there are female children. Eggs and fish are proper, and avoiding pork always. Mutton is the most wholesome next to good beef. Sparkling eyes, an elastic step, elegant figures, a good temper, and quiet deportment, depend essentially on the food we are habitually consuming.

Irritability,—a desponding, dissatisfied state of mind, which gives a false coloring to nature, and makes women dissatisfied with themselves, and with all with whom they associate,—may be often traced to their improper food.

It is their mission to keep man, who is prone to displays of passion and outbursts of rage, in a bearable condition, by their talismanic presence. They would not be bearable even to one another, were it not for the magnetic influence of woman, who is the agent of all civilization, and certainly of refinement and morality. Even when silent, she rules the storms of human fury, and calms the savage exhibitions of wrath in men, by the charms of her character.

To succeed, she must neither dine on pork, nor inflame her blood with heavy, indigestible aliments.

Finally, less animal food than is now customary; abstinence from all heating, fiery drinks, which are never necessary for man or woman; varying the diet, so as not to become weary of any particular article or composition,—would improve us. It would give young growing girls a robust constitution, provided there is no limitation to out-door freedom. With such simple means, the women of this country may be regenerated; and their successors, the mothers of the coming men of renown, would be sound in body and strong in mind.

CHAPTER XIV.

Internal Structure of Women.

Character of the Chest—Compression of Blood-vessels—Healthy Children—Their Management—Scheme of the Circulation—Effects of Anger—The Heart—Its Irritability—Origin of its Power—Sudden Death—Be Moderate—Dropsical Effusions.

There is no apparent difference in the form or functions of the viscera of the chest, or in the structure of the stomach and its appendages, in men and women.

In consequence of the cramped position of the inferior ribs, forced mechanically out of the line of natural incurvation by stays, it is possible that the shape of the lower portion of the lungs might give a clue to the sex to which they belonged, in a judicial inquiry where that point was a question.

The chests of young ladies in our time, and in all Christian countries in which there is an upper class, are trained with quite as much care as gardeners bestow upon running vines to give them direction. An experimental effort, to determine from whence a pair of lungs were taken, might be decided by the distortion of the bones about the cavity from which they were detached. On the supposition that no interference with the bones had ever occurred, neither exterior nor interior structural appearances would be any guide in reference to the sex of the individual.

It is barely within the limits of possibility that a great crime might require a decision in answer to a judicial question, Were these the lungs of a man or a woman? A key for unlocking a

mystery is to be found by a simple examination of the inferior margins of the lobes.

In a normally developed chest there is breadth at the base; whereas, in artificially shaped ones, the lower part, which should be roomy, is contracted, which obliges the lungs to conform to the cavity in which they are lodged.

The lungs must necessarily expand with each inhalation of air. If the pulmonary cells are unnaturally small in one section of the lobes, others beyond the sphere of restraint, by reason of outside bands, will enlarge to abnormal dimensions higher up. Surface is essential for the aeration of the blood. If that process is imperfectly accomplished, vitality is either quickly reduced, or may never have been fully developed after the body was fashionably put into harness.

A pale skin, feebleness, unsound health, are the penalties for tampering with such delicately organized tissues as enter into the composition of the lungs.

Between the extremities of the superior ribs—seven in number on each side—the breast-bone, in children, is made up of several distinct pieces. Through all the early periods of childhood, it may be readily forced from its normal relations by keeping up a continual pressure in front. The sternum, or breast-bone, is simply a front wall, while the ribs and spine are lateral and posterior protections of the contents of the pleural cavities.

Modifying the Chest.

Being never firmly ossified, even in advanced age, in females, it is always in danger of being injured by their modes of dressing. Women can be remodeled, on coming from the studios of nature, under the plastic hand of the goddess of fashion, to almost any pattern.

By lacing the chest in unelastic corsets the form is materially changed, always to the injury of the individual. But that seems not of the slightest consequence, since to live, breathe, and have a vulgar form, which the Divine Artist gave to humanity, has been entirely ignored by our refined, chaste conceptions of what female humanity should be, to meet the approval of cultivated taste.

The lower pendant extremity of the breast-bone (*zyphoid cartilage*) is quite flexible. If garments are tightly fitted to a waist already warped inwardly, to diminish its transverse diameter, the cartilaginous point is forced further inwardly, so as to encroach on organs lying directly behind.

Some years ago, in the course of daily lectures in a school of medicine, it was discovered, incidentally, that the skin was abraded and extremely red over the pit of the stomach of the female subject upon the table.

Evidently, there had been severe blisterings, which indicated some local difficulty that external irritants were intended to relieve. A history of the case could not be obtained. An exploration revealed the fact that the lower end of the breast-bone had been so pressed upon by force from without, as to bend it almost at a right angle. It was actually pricking, as it were, perpetually. Internal inflammation resulted, and no doubt the patient had suffered long and intensely from a deep-seated pain which no treatment could relieve,—it being, literally, a thorn in the flesh.

Both the pancreas and considerable of a patch of the under surface of the diaphragm had become diseased by being near the engorged vessels.

This illustrates the danger that may ensue by interfering with a living body regularly and harmoniously performing its functions.

It is quite familiar to surgeons that when an artery is enlarged into an aneurism, if one side of it touches a bone, gradually the solid structure will be removed by absorption at the point of contact.

Bones will not resist continued pressure without exhibiting disturbance. Therefore all appliances unfortunately imagined to improve the female form, even when quite gently commenced on the chest, are positively reprehensible. Girding the chest when the bones are imperfectly ossified, is extremely dangerous.

Swathing the frail, imperfectly made bones of newly-born children with bandages, rollers, or bands, a custom of almost universal practice even among intelligent mothers, on the mistaken idea that their backs require some support,—is worse than barbarism.

It is as absurd to swathe a new-born babe as the Indian custom of lashing them to a piece of bark, to make them straight. Civilized cruelty inflicted on an unresisting infant is a crime, which, in a more advanced state of civilization, may become an offence recognizable by the law.

Besides irritation of the skin, many a suffering child has been sent screaming with torments into eternity through the well-meaning intentions of an affectionate mother, who would have felt herself guilty of the sin of neglect had she failed to begin to make her child beautiful while its body was flexible and yielding.

Elastic flannel bandages, especially made to be easy, are abominable inventions. Cotton swathes, or any other bandaging, is a dreadful source of annoyance and misery to a nursing babe, of which they would loudly complain in tones far louder than crying, if they could speak of their misery.

Swathed from their arm-pits to their hips compresses the

blood-vessels; prevents the action of muscles that ought to be continually exercised, and must in the nature of things be a torment an adult would not submit to, even in stays, were it not for the impression that those who are thus self-tormented, are making their forms more agreeable objects for other eyes to contemplate.

Muscular Freedom

Perfect freedom of body should be granted the child from birth. No restraints, not absolutely necessary for cleanliness, should be imposed. Poor little things, they are dosed with nauseous drugs, made to swallow composing-drops unwillingly, and killed by well-intended measures for improving their forms. All the anxieties and difficulties attending the rearing of children, might be avoided by simply letting them alone. The poor raise large families successfully, because they have no time to spare in killing them by attempts to undo what nature will do, if not meddled with while engaged in perfecting her beautiful designs.

Children come into the world with all the machinery of organic life new and perfect. The mother's milk, which is their due, and not that of a hired nurse, contains precisely the materials for increasing the dimensions of the whole system and providing nourishment for each individual organ. Civilization, however, is not satisfied with appearances, and immediately commences schemes for improvement.

Like some unskilled artisans who, overrating their own acquirements, often spoil what they vainly attempt to improve, —so children that would have lived are victims to rude attempts to better what the Creator pronounced good when it left the laboratory, where it was fashioned in marvellous beauty and perfection.

Infantile bandaging, commenced when the bones are ductile, is the beginning, oftentimes, of a narrow chest, which would have had ample dimensions, had it not been tampered with before the framework of the skeleton expanded into full proportions. This civilized cruelty is the origin of an enfeebled constitution. If no interference were practised with a determination to alter the shape which would have been developed, the physical condition of woman would not be so generally defective as it is now known to be.

Were children from the first permitted to breathe uncontaminated air, by being removed from the too frequently vitiated atmosphere of an over-warmed nursery, nurtured on the mother's milk, instead of that of another woman's, whose physical and moral condition are entirely different, the child would present, in all its after-life, a very different condition. Milk from another source, although secreted in the breast of a healthy nurse, may introduce into the structure of the babe elements that immensely modify its original constitutional circumstances.

A Mother should Nurse her own Children.

Here is the gist of the whole matter. If we are to have beautiful and healthy children, the mother must nurse her own babes. Very many mothers who have no milk for days, or even weeks after confinement, under the impression that no secretion will take place, abandon attempts to promote it, too hastily. By repeated solicitations, allowing the infant to draw, as though the lactic flow were intact, stimulates the gland, so that milk rarely fails to come by patient perseverance.

Fresh cow's milk, especially that from a young animal having a calf, is safer to feed the infant upon till it appears in the fountain prepared for its secretion, than to furnish it from a

wet-nurse, whose age, temperament, mental, physical, and even muscular condition are totally unlike those of the mother.

Leave off all swathes and bandages: that is the second important lesson to be remembered. Trotting young children violently, when they cry, to quiet them, is a fearfully reprehensible practice. Their frail bodies cannot bear such violence without endangering internal organs, by actually tearing away their attachments, and producing inflammations. Indeed, it is always hazardous to throw them about in the lap, as customary with nurses, without the slightest reference to their tender age and unfinished anatomy.

By allowing infants to lie on soft beds most of the time, till their spines are sufficiently strong to support them in a sitting posture with their playthings, in very loose clothing, unsmothered, in airy rooms, always sleeping alone, the next generation of women in the United States would be such beings as Nature intended,—fair, sound, and intellectual.

CHAPTER XV.

Over-working the Heart.

Value of Rest—Heart's Irritabilty—Arteries—Circulation—Influence.

Sudden emotions derange the functions of the heart. No persons are more familiarly conversant with the effects of painful or pleasurable emotions, or the extraordinary influence of sad or joyful intelligence, than woman.

Every one's experience furnishes conclusive evidence of the reflex influence of good or bad news, and the varying pulsations of the heart, resulting from mental impressions. When two beats are made in consequence of some sudden emotion, the contractility of the organ being quickened to perform twice the service it usually does in the same measure of time, it obviously tend to its injury.

In lesions, engorgements, abnormal depositions of fat within the pericardium, or the valves becoming slightly ossified, so that the auricles and ventricles are imperfectly closed, the administration of medicine is nearly useless.

How is it possible that a drug in the stomach, however potent in character, can remove a mechanical obstruction within the cavity of the heart?

Rather than retire from the turmoils of business, or fashionable excitements, or striving for social or political positions, diseases of the heart are multiplying. They are not produced by ordinary circumstances, but are generally the result of excessive effort in some direction for the attainment of an object,

worthy or unworthy, which accelerated the activity of the heart,—a forcing engine on which life depends,—beyond its capacity. No permanent relief need be expected in the shop of an apothecary. There is no balm in Gilead for an enlarged heart, made so by compelling it to labor too much, or too long, at a rate beyond the motion it has when no unnatural stimulus has hastened its systole and diastole,—a succession of relaxations and contractions, which are natural and safe. Unnatural movements endanger its mechanism, especially if often repeated.

Value of Rest.

Rest is a far better remedy for any irregularity in the circulation than medicine. Removal from the scene of excitement, and being out of the way, and beyond the sphere of associations or things which recall emotions that quicken the heart's action, is the true way of giving relief when diseased.

Where there are no extraordinary occurrences, but each day is a calm reproduction of the past—where broad fields, grazing herds, twittering songsters in the trees, and outgushing flowers invite admiration, and the contemplation of nature in the quietude of rural life, there should patients with irregularities of the heart take up their residence.

It requires a nice power of discrimination to determine whether a palpitation is caused by some interior difficulty, as for example, a thickening of the margins of the valves, ossification, obstruction in the coronary vessels, or arises from nervous debility.

In the latter case, the muscular power runs on uncontrolled, when the nervous power is weak, or nearly exhausted. Thus, after great fatigue, cramp seizes the limbs, the muscles contract spasmodically and irregularly, simply in consequence of

nervous exhaustion. Sleep, food, friction, and stimulants replenish the battery, and then the muscular force of the voluntary cordage is perfectly subservient to volition again.

The Heart's Irritability.

With an endowment of a kind of vitality peculiar, and, to some extent, independent of all connection with the body, beating and throbbing when completely detached from the chest, the heart is a wonder in itself. It is the first to live and the last to die.

Laid upon a table, unconnected by either nerves or vessels, the heart of a reptile will expand and contract by the touch of a pin. Though blood is its appropriate stimulus, it dies gradually, but may be partially revived by the introduction of air, or the point of a needle.

The vital tenacity of the human heart is equally surprising. It will withstand violent assault, deep wounds in its substance, and encroachments of disease, far longer than would be supposed, were it not for revelations of morbid anatomy, which occasionally demonstrate under what strange mechanical derangements it can sustain life. Still it is a mortal machine, on the regularity of which depend life and health.

When the heart fails prematurely under the pressure of undue excitement, death is an inevitable consequence, which neither skill nor science can avert.

To determine the amount of derangement in the system, if any exists, physicians feel the pulse at the wrist, by pressing the radial artery against the bone. The number of beats there corresponds uniformly with those of the heart. Being telegraphed through the fingers of the examiner, intelligence reaches the brain, where they are diligently compared with his watch.

One large vessel carries all the blood forced from the heart. By giving off branches, which ramify extensively and minutely, the most distant fibre receives a proper amount of the vital fluid.

Arteries.

Those intricately ramifying tubes, finer than hairs in their ultimate distribution, furnish blood from the centre to the whole circumference, in which, held in solution, are properties for the growth and reparation of whatever it passes through, over, or among.

When those soluble vitalizing elements have all been left along the track, according to the needs of each and every part, the blood then passes into the extremities of veins, by which it is collected to be returned to the right side of the heart.

The blood goes out of the left venticle, from the left side of the heart, of a rich red color, but it comes back to the other side of the heart, of a dark bluish color.

When the ventricle is fully distended, the walls of the heart suddenly contract with a twisting motion of its fibres, forcing the bluish blood through the pulmonary artery into the lungs, where it is brought in contact with atmospheric air, from which, in the twinkling of an eye, it absorbs its oxygen, gives off carbonic acid gas, and then plunges into the left side of the heart to repeat its rounds again.

Circulation.

Thus the blood is going and coming unceasingly from the first pulsation the heart ever made in its elementary, unfinished condition *in utero*, till its last beat, a death-kell at the close of life.

When the heart pulsates too slowly, or too rapidly, the physician forms an opinion, decides upon the character of the disease for which his advice is sought. He ought to be so thoroughly instructed, the least deviation from a normal standard of health may be quickly recognized.

In this climate, ordinarily, the heart beats from about sixty-five to seventy-eight strokes in a minute. Some, with the aspect of sound health, have only sixty, or even fewer, and there are others in equally sound condition, whose pulse habitually exceeds eighty.

A pulse, however, varying through the whole twenty-four hours, according to the stimulant effects of food and drinks, does not indicate sickness. There may be a sudden alarm, through the acoustic nerve, the instantaneous apprehension of danger through the optic nerves, by the sight of the edge of a precipice, a falling rock, an approaching wave, or terrific explosions of thunder, or the flashings of lightning in the sky, which may instantaneously increase the action of the heart to more than a hundred strokes. Through the nerves of sense, so great has been the shock that the heart has burst.

Influence of Anger.

Extreme paroxysms of anger are sometimes fatal by an explosion of life, as it were. The heart resists spasmodic demand made upon it to empty its cavities, and bursts. Rents in its walls, which are almost instantaneous death, have often been found produced by extreme exhibitions of rage. It is always dangerous to indulge in unrestrained wrath, especially for women of a nervous sanguine temperament.

With some, the pulse is preternaturally rapid. Others are equally remarkable for the moderation of the heart, always moving at a very nearly uniform rate.

Blood, which is a vital fluid, is driven through the arterial canals at an average velocity in health. It is neither hurried nor retarded by trivial circumstances. When the heart beats a hundred times in a minute, it is a sign something is wrong, if it continues for a considerable time to throb and labor thus actively. When by treatment that rapid action cannot be moderated, death's messenger is in waiting. With all the poetry with which the human heart is invested, it is simply a forcing-pump of immense energy. Instead of being kept in motion by exterior stimuli, it contains within itself contractile fibres, which are obedient to the contact of blood. Its presence in the interior of the organ calls into action a mass of winding muscular threads, whose combined contractile force is equal to the grip of a strong vice, in expelling the current that has just arrived.

A relaxation succeeds the violent contraction of the walls. For an instant, those ever-working muscular filaments rest, then resume labor again.

The Heart·a Double Forcing-Engine.

More critically considered, we really possess two hearts. One of them belongs to the lungs, while the other is for the body. They are joined together, and, therefore, have the appearance of a single organ. Nature invariably economizes room. By uniting the two hearts, the necessity of having separate apartments was obviated, when one would answer all purposes.

In some reptiles, the two hearts have been found separated. We have an indistinct recollection of having read of a case in which the two hearts were at considerable distance from each other, in a patient carried to an European hospital.

One heart receives all the deteriorated blood, by which is understood that gathered up and brought to the right heart, having left its life-sustaining properties in passing through the body. Being again forced into the lungs by an immensely powerful forcing-pump, it there again imbibes oxygen from air waiting for it in the cellular structure of those membranous sacs. From thence it is again forced into the upper part of the left heart, on the left side of the chest, and next into its ventricle, more powerful as a forcing-engine than any of the others, which drives the living current into a single elastic tube, the aorta, to pursue its mission through the system again.

The irritability of the heart, from the earliest embryotic condition to one hundred years—and in Henry Jenkins, one hundred and sixty years—is not well understood.

Two French physiologists have announced the discovery, says report, of two nerves that have heretofore escaped the inquisitive researches of anatomists, creeping out from the side of the vertebral column, which ramify extensively in the tissues of the heart, and through their instrumentality the motor power is kept up.

A certain Dr. Cyon, of France, has sent forth a learned dissertation on the heart's innervation, explanatory of the function of those newly discovered cords. One of them is recognized as the accelerator, and the other the motor nerve.

How it happens that a heart pulsates when severed from its connections entirely, for more than half an hour, makes the problem of its independent vitality more abstruse.

Excitability.

As a people, we have a reputation for being always in haste. As a consequence of this hurrying propensity, both men and

women wear themselves out prematurely. Merchants are over-anxious to be rich; ladies, too, ambitious beyond reason, over-work their hearts.

Sudden death from heart-disease is a common coroner's report. Juries of inquests have not assumed the responsibility they would be justified in taking, by a verdict of over-excitement of the brain, or over-taxing the heart.

Competition in trade, deferred hopes, unexpected disappointments, pecuniary losses, a reckless determination to carry measures which are extremely hazardous, often resulting in disastrous failures, shock the nervous system by a reflex action upon an over-excited brain that recoils upon the heart.

A familiar expression—*broken heart*—is not inappropriate. They do break. Mental emotions may be so intensified as to produce paralysis of the heart. A fatal spasm of its muscular walls is induced from a sudden painful impression or fright. Sudden deaths from such causes cannot be reasonably doubted.

A fearful penalty of a violation of a law of health, is when a person concentrates too much will-power suddenly. Revenge or hate, while under the influence of stimulants or excessive political excitement, may end in instantaneous death from a spasm of the heart. When a contraction is accomplished under such circumstances, it holds its grip, and death closes the scene. Sometimes there is a rent in the flesh of the heart, through which a gush of blood escapes into the heart-case,—*pericardium*, and that is a death-lesion for which there is no relief.

Moderation in legitimate pursuits should be encouraged. "Be not too ardent" is a caution to be remembered, especially by youthful, sprightly, passionate young ladies.

Formerly, the heart was supposed to be the abode of moral sentiments. It has the credit of being open to amatory impressions, as the focus of the affections and the fountain of love.

When that idea was taught as a truth, the bowels were exultingly referred to as the real seat of compassion! Both theories were found to be erroneous; but the mistake had been so long and extensively propagated in poetical fictions, in the language of all nations, the heart and bowels have been permitted to keep possession of those two attributes, and we continue to appeal to the deep feelings of the heart, and the yearnings of the bowels.

Women are not quite so much prone to the development of diseases of the heart as men, because they are generally less exposed to violent turmoils which wreck the constitution. They, happily, are removed from arenas of political strife, and from dissipations that make the blood boil. They never haunt drinking-saloons, those plague-spots of a city, nor carouse through the night in boisterous hilarity. They cannot, however, bear up under assaults upon their reputation, nor heroically defy slanders, without reeling under their crushing weight. Innate pride, the strong power of innocence and a consciousness of doing no wrong, sustains them awhile under such assaults, but they give way at last. They have dropped dead from a sense of injustice.

But women oftener rupture the heart by a paroxysm of dreadful rage, than from other causes. They have a safety-valve in a copious flood of tears. Under excitements that would explode life in some men, a woman is instantly relieved when the tears flow. They take off the tension.

When the brain is once charged with blood, by an increased action of the heart, by reason of exasperation, carried in faster than it is carried away by veins, an apoplexy would probably follow, were it not for immediate relief in a hearty cry.

Men breast a storm of passion better than women, but there

is no merit in it. They oppose whirlwinds with whirlwinds, and yield at last at the sight of a woman's tears.

Death from ossification of the valves or coronary arteries, those which immediately supply the heart for its own support, together with sudden paralysis, are far more frequent among men than women. Those maladies are on the increase. Merchants, bankers, speculators, and radical political leaders, who meet with damaging rebuffs just as they are expecting to win the prize, are those who fall suddenly dead.

Women have hearts preternaturally enlarged. They also are predisposed to have accumulations of fat around the organ, that impede its motions and mechanical regularity. Enlarged hearts may result from other causes, among which is excessive grief.

Disappointments, in which the affections are deeply involved, may be a cause of diminished vitality.

Dropsical effusions are apt to follow that state, accompanied by functional derangements.

An intermitting pulse, with an occasional twinge in the region of the heart, indicates, generally, in women, nervous debility, which may be aggravated by mental excitements or continued apprehensions of a calamity.

The reticence of women, their secretiveness, and the tenacity with which they conceal the causes of their unhappiness, when their pride is wounded or their preference slighted, obliges a physician to guess at causes very frequently. His prescriptions, under such circumstances, are random shots in the dark:

> "Earth hath no rage like love to hatred turned,
> Or hell a fury like a woman spurned."

CHAPTER XVI.

Their Lungs.

Hereditary Consumption—Ventilation—Tobacco—Origin of Pulmonary Consumption—Not safe to doctor one's self—Gymnastic Exercises—Changing Location—Contracted Chests—Resuscitation—What to Do and what to Avoid—Violation of General Laws of Health—Pleurisy Suspended—Not Cured.

Women, oftener than men, do violence to their lungs. It may not be agreeable to be told they are habitually abusing those very essential organs.

It is a melancholy reflection that the progress of pulmonary consumption in this beautiful country is largely due to a vice in dress, which interferes with the development of the chest.

A residence in a crowded city, or, indeed, wherever there is a dense population, is attended with some degree of peril in respect to the purity of the air. If it is mixed, and charged with noxious vapors, or there is a deficiency of oxygen, animals breathing it cannot be in the good condition they would be in, in localities where no such vile elements were inhaled.

Consumption is alarmingly hereditary. Sporadic cases are also increasing, induced by causes which might be avoided to some satisfactory extent, if the demands of fashion were not so extremely arbitrary.

A sense of smell warns us of the bad quality of air in the vicinity of certain manufacturing establishments, such as gas-works; bone-boiling nuisances; slaughter-houses; putrefying carcases; decomposing vegetables, or other sources of impurity that would be injurious if inhaled.

Our olfactory nerves are special sentinels, promptly announcing sources of offence, and giving timely warning that they may be avoided.

Hereditary Consumption.

Hereditary consumption is a hopeless form of that dreadful malady. Those influences, or agencies which bring on inflammation of the lungs, are comparatively few, compared with the annual devastation of human life from transmitted sources, propagated in families from one generation to another.

No sensible physician admits that pulmonary consumption is either infectious or contagious; while those knowing the least about the laws of disease firmly believe, as in Cuba, that it may actually be communicated by a touch of the furniture, or air of an apartment in which a patient with that disease has died. Hence, a theory sometimes assumes the dignity of a fact, and ignorance is better received as authority than scientific intelligence.

Medical authors assume it to be a firmly established opinion, that pulmonary consumption is a concomitant of modern civilization. While our ancestors, in the United States, occupied ruder dwellings, through which the air traversed freely, and they subsisted on plainer and coarser food, consumption was rare. With the advent of warm houses, coal furnaces, heated apartments, luxurious tables, and a tainted atmosphere, made so by imperfect ventilation, increase of population, domesticated animals, and manufactories of every imaginable description, the death rate has increased to an appalling degree.

Proofs are not wanting to show, also, that modes of dressing, imperfectly adapted to the varying temperature of the climate, is another prolific and very certain source of lung difficulties in females, which terminate in the ulceration and

destruction of those organs. Indian habits at the West furnish abundant materials for determining many propositions respecting the development of thoracic diseases.

Those who are surrounded by domestic comforts, protected from atmospheric humidities, or chilling blasts; who sleep in properly ventilated apartments, and are warmly clad at seasons when the weather demands special attention that perspiration shall neither be excessive, nor suddenly checked by exposure, are also subject to the same class of pectoral inflammations as those who repose on the ground in the smoke of a wigwam.

The diet of the Indian is mostly animal, and simple enough as far as it goes to meet the approval of an exacting stickler for plain food; and yet they die frequently of pulmonary consumption.

Dr. Rush assured his readers it was unknown to the aborigines of this country. He was eminent in his day; but more extended intercourse with tribes all through the interior of the continent since that distinguished author passed away, demonstrates the existence, and the melancholy ravages, too, of that plague among savages, quite as severe in proportion to their numbers, as where the resources of civilization are unlimited.

Prevalence Among Savages.

Red Jacket, the famous chief, whose name is interwoven in the web of modern American history as a wild man of extraordinary intelligence and political sagacity, assured a Buffalo physician about the year 1823, that no less than seventeen fatal cases of consumption had occurred in his own family, including ten of his children.

Other memoranda of a similar import might be given, con-

clusively establishing the fact that the disease has always been regarded by the Indians as incurable.

The reason why it is incurable, in its advanced stages, is because there has been a destruction of portions of organs, without which life cannot be sustained.

Aboriginal habits, customs, privations, and their brave darings in the chase, in war, and their ardor in feats of strength, must expose them to severe colds when heated or in a glow of perspiration. Lying down on the damp ground to sleep; wading through jungles, and shaded from the life-giving properties of sunlight by wide-spreading branches of trees in those forests where they prefer to roam, must lower their vital temperature and predispose them to the development of many painful and fatal maladies.

Sporadic pulmonary consumption, therefore, on reflection, seems to be most frequent with the Indians; while hereditary forms of it predominate in civilized society.

Ventilation.

Apartments may be satisfactorily ventilated by the latest patented contrivance, without essentially modifying the condition of the air in them, if it is laden with the products of low lands, noxious gases, or the putrid decomposition of animal remains. There is room for improvement in the management of wool and cotton mills, dye-houses and gas works, so that they shall not interfere with the health of operatives.

Where large numbers of females are employed, further efforts should be made for giving them pure air for respiration.

In manufacturing establishments, especially in those where several hundred women are congregated, the messengers of death soon approach them in all imaginary forms, if ventilation

is neglected. Females thus associated suffer more than men placed under similar circumstances.

Private residences, school-rooms, basement apartments, and stables are too much neglected in respect to fresh air. Where windows are not frequently opened and fresh currents allowed to displace those accumulations of dust, invisible spores of minute vegetations accumulate in an undisturbed atmosphere. Eggs of insects and impurities of various kinds destructive to health, generate also numerous diseases. In such conditions of air we oftentimes breathe, without being conscious of the existence of such subtle agencies. A lodgment of these microscopic irritants in the lungs are met by nature's only means of defence,—an extra secretion and pouring out of a fluid from a mucous surface to wash away offensive irritants.

Tobacco an Offence to the Salivary Glands.

On that principle tobacco is an unwelcome injurious excitant, and the salivary glands pour out an immense amount of saliva to float off the obnoxious quid. When the effort is first commenced to chew or smoke, the quantity of saliva is more copious than after the individual has schooled his salivary apparatus to bear the presence of a terrible narcotic with some degree of acquiescence; but the glands never, at the end of fifty years, cease to manifest a dislike to tobacco in any form, by an increased activity of all the buccal and sublingual secretory organs at the instant it is introduced into the mouth.

Both smokers and chewers are constantly expectorating and spitting, to the disgust of those in their company, and certainly to the manifest injury of themselves.

A Common Origin of Pulmonary Irritation.

In consequence of the lodgment of tiny particles of matter in the lungs, they produce a very slight irritation at first. A cough, however, is generally sure to follow, and that is simply a mechanical effort to throw off the irritant.

If the adhering atoms cannot be removed by a spasmodic blast of air from the lungs, then the next effort to overcome its offensive presence is by pouring out a large amount of adhesive mucus to entangle them, as it were, affording a better chance of expelling the intruders by acting on a larger mass. Thus there is a hacking expectoration.

Thus a settled cough may be produced. By constant repetitions, convulsive throes actually lacerate the air-cells, and ultimately involve the whole respiratory organs in disease.

When lesions become extensive, and one air-cell is ruptured, so that two, or three, or dozens become one cavity, the thick mucus collects in such quantity, besides being exceedingly tenacious, that a cough cannot raise it. The collection finally distends those delicate receptacles, more and more deranging contiguous cells,—and that is the formation of a pulmonary abscess.

By its weight and purulent character, respiration becomes not only painful, but hardly surface enough remains in the contiguous respiratory cells to oxygenate the blood sent to them to be vitalized.

This is the last and hopeless state of pulmonary consumption.*

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* It is a well-recognized fact that the colder the climate, the higher the latitude, and the drier the atmosphere, the less liable the inhabitants are to suffer from consumption. In Iceland, from 1727 to 1837, there was not a single case, and Sir R. Parry, in his history of his northern explorations, noticed the rarity of throat and lung affections among the inhabitants of Greenland and Labrador.

It is not the object of this publication to provide a guide for the practice of medicine, nor attempt to persuade those who may honor it with a reading, that they can prescribe for themselves when sick.

In the two British stations of the Mediterranean, Gibraltar and Malta, long known as favorite resorts for the consumptive, we find the disease to be actually more prevalent than in Canada, with its long cold winter.

In Canada, six men per thousand of the British army are attacked by, and half that number die of consumption.

In Malta there are nine per thousand attacked, and four per thousand die of the disease. In Gibraltar the number attacked is seven, and the number of deaths three per thousand men.

In the Bermudas, where the climate is uniform, eight men per thousand become consumptive, and five of that number die. But in Newfoundland, the mortality from this disease is but four in ten hundred.

In tropical countries, the progress of consumption is more rapid than where the climate is temperate. Deaths from this ailment are more numerous in Brazil than in Russia. Owing to the extent of territory, and the different latitudes and climates embraced in the United States, there is, as might be supposed, a corresponding variation in the prevalence of consumption. We find the mortality from this malady to be greater in the New England States than in any other part of the Union.

The death rate by consumption in the States and Territories of the Union is shown in the following table:

Alabama	1 death in 25	Mississippi	1 death in 18
Arkansas	1 death in 22	Missouri	1 death in 26
California	1 death in 100	New Hampshire	1 death in 4
Columbia District	1 death in 6	New Jersey	1 death in 7
Connecticut	1 death in 5	New Mexico	1 death in 72
Delaware	1 death in 10	New York	1 death in 6
Florida	1 death in 21	North Carolina	1 death in 18
Georgia	1 death in 35	Ohio	1 death in 11
Illinois	1 death in 13	Oregon	1 death in 9
Indiana	1 death in 11	Pennsylvania	1 death in 8
Iowa	1 death in 11	Rhode Island	1 death in 4
Kentucky	1 death in 11	South Carolina	1 death in 30
Louisiana	1 death in 13	Tennessee	1 death in 13
Maine	1 death in 6	Texas	1 death in 27
Maryland	1 death in 8	Utah	1 death in 20
Massachusetts	1 death in 5	Virginia	1 death in 11
Michigan	1 death in 6	Vermont	1 death in 4
Minnesota	1 death in 29	Wisconsin	1 death in 10

The small proportion of mortality from consumption in California was

Not Safe to Doctor One's Self.

It is a maxim with lawyers, that he who pleads his own case has a fool for a client. Those who expect to be their own physicians, on the self-complacent notion that they understand their own constitution better than those who have been laboriously studying the morbid conditions to which humanity is incident, make a mistake which cannot be readily rectified.

To show how incipient forms of disease may be avoided, as well as caused, with plain suggestions respecting the maintenance of health, is of more importance to non-professional readers than a volume of recipes.

Medical Impositions.

Beware of medical impostors. This country is an active theatre for the display of their peculiar talents. It is a profitable specialty to trade in advertised falsely-called remedies for consumption.

By baiting the trap, as a hunter would say, which is nothing less than encouraging a forlorn hope, those who have sought relief without finding it, purchase liberally and pay dearly for stuff that cannot accomplish cures when the substance of the lungs, or portions of them, are actually destroyed.

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accounted for by the fact that the greater part of the population was composed of miners and emigrants from other parts, who were over 25 years of age, and not so liable to its attacks. More recent statistics have confirmed the assertion, that consumption is much more prevalent on the Atlantic coast than in California.

Daily variation in the temperature is believed to be the great cause of the excess of mortality in the Eastern States.

In proportion to the population, the number afflicted by this "destroyer of mankind," is frequently greater in small cities than in large ones.

Treat with contempt advertised certificates constructed for encouraging hopes that never can be realized. Shun consumption doctors as you would seventh sons, clairvoyant seventh daughters, pickpockets, and professed swindlers.

Indian doctors! those hypocrites and ignoramuses who announce themselves as having been taught by savages to do what men of science cannot do, is an absurdity. No person of common intelligence believes one person can see further into a millstone than another.

If those who have studied the minute anatomy of the body, and have watched the operation of drugs in every possible phase in great hospitals, under the critical instruction of distinguished clinical professors, cannot arrest the destructive march of pulmonary consumption, is there any good reason for supposing that ignorant, vulgar pretenders, half of whom can neither read, speak, nor write their mother-tongue grammatically, possess knowledge superior to such as are educated under all the advantages of the age?

There are consumption curers entirely ignorant of the mechanical structure of the lungs, as they are of other viscera in the cavities of the body, who seem to magnetize those falling within the sphere of their operations, so that some very sensible people become their victims.

Consumption is an exhaustless theme. Weak lungs or strong lungs are subjects for discussion when no such expressions are scientifically allowable. Susceptibility to certain influences as sources of irritation to those delicate organs, is what is to be understood, and not that in the sense of a strong muscle, or a strong rope, or a strong beam, are they to be represented.

Contracted Chests.

Women, far more commonly than men, have contracted chests, which mechanically prevent a full inflation of the lungs to the extent they would be filled in a chest of larger capacity.

When air is simply inhaled, there is taken from it oxygen, —an element that sustains life. That being accomplished, the waiting air, thus deprived of one of its constituents, is forced out through the same tubular passage by which it was drawn in, carrying with it carbonic acid gas.

Such is the process and the object of breathing. By respiration, blood meets air in the lungs, where the exchange is made of something that cannot be safely retained, for that which maintains life.

Carbonic acid gas is taken up largely by growing vegetation, which they exchange for oxygen, that supports animal life.

With the cessation of respiration, the pulsations of the heart gradually terminate, and then unconsciousness follows. In drowning, those phenomena succeed each other in rapid succession.

Resuscitation.

Left thus, an individual is popularly considered dead. But if quickly taken from the water, when all the functions of life are apparently forever ended—the heart no longer beating, the lungs collapsed, and consciousness gone—vitality may be recalled by persistent efforts.

Artificial inflation, the application of warmth, and the pursuance of directions extensively disseminated by humane societies, for the express purpose of informing people how to

proceed for the recovery of drowned persons, often recall the apparently-dead to life again.

Such restorations are splendid triumphs of science. Alternately filling and pressing out the air from the lungs, by working the intercostal muscles, enlarges first the pleural cavity, then it is as suddenly diminished by the expulsion of the air, imitating natural respiration.

The air-cells are thus expanded to their full capacity. By continuing the process perseveringly awhile, the blood begins to absorb oxygen. As soon as that takes place, the heart feels the stimulus and contracts.

Through the agency of muscles thus manipulated, a reflex power is transmitted to both heart and lungs, and they then continue to act without assistance. The soul is recalled.

Where was the soul during suspended animation? Whence came it, by carrying on this mechanical effort, to bring the dead to life again?

Value of Gymnastic Exercises.

Reasonable gymnastic exercises are exceedingly serviceable. The inner capacity of the chest may be very considerably enlarged by systematic exercise of the exterior pectoral muscles. The further an individual advances in age, the more difficult it is to overcome rigidity, or spread bones held closely by inelastic ligaments.

By commencing seasonably, before that condition is established, the conformation of the thorax or chest, which may be too narrow and too flat for a full development of the lungs, may be very considerably expanded. Robustness and vigor may be attained, of the highest importance in regard to health and longevity, by simply compelling motor cords and strap-like tissues to pull back, out of the way of the swelling lungs, those

too much incurvated ribs that prevent a full inhalation of air for filling the air-cells.

Ladders, inclined planes, swinging at arm's length in slings, climbing suspended ropes, pitching quoits, driving a ball, or following out the directions of acknowledged experts and public benefactors, who teach hygienic laws, to the saving of thousands of valuable lives that otherwise would long since have been entombed, had it not been for their valuable lessons, —is far more agreeable than emetics, blisters, tonic tinctures, or other products of a drug-store.

When lesions exist, there may be hemorrhages, or a tendency to expectoration of blood from a continued inflammation of the lining membrane of the bronchial tubes, indicating a condition that forbids gymnastic exercises. It is then best for a person thus circumstanced, with graver symptoms to be apprehended, to change location.

Changing Location.

Avoid medicines, then, which are not decidely tonic, it being impossible to bear up under the action of drugs which have a sedative influence, or those which, like active cathartics, suddenly reduce the vital force.

In making a removal, it is essential to seek a residence where the atmosphere is dry. Humidity is the bane of consumptives.

Sleeping over stables, with an expectation that evaporating filth from fermenting manure will heal ulcerated lungs, or strengthen feeble tissues in air-cells, is quite as unphilosophical as a residence in the Mammoth Cave for the same purpose.

St. Paul, Minnesota, has a reputation for being a hopeful temporary abode for consumptives, provided the patient is

prompt in going there before the disease has made that destructive progress which a change of climate cannot arrest.

It has been questioned by some medical men whether St. Paul really does work the change which has been claimed for it, as a resource for consumptives. Possibly the journey from any considerable distance contributes more directly to their benefit than may have occurred to those who warmly recommend a dry, elevated position.

Florida, also, has its advocates for the same class of invalids. Many have been exceedingly benefited by a residence of a few months there. Avoiding the harsh, cold, damp winds and easterly weather, of New England particularly, when the inclement winter of the Atlantic shores sets in, by escaping to the mild regions of the South, must certainly afford relief to diseased lungs, and give the general system some chance for recuperation from that extreme debility which follows in the train of a protracted cough.

Two miles from the mouth of that celebrated cave just referred to, remains of huts may still be seen, roofless of course, where numbers of emaciated strangers in all stages of consumption resided in thick darkness, if their lamps happened to go out.

Constant coughing and the repeating echoes of those sepulchral sounds that were forerunners of approaching dissolution, together with smoke, which were as unendurable as their individual pains, soon destroyed the romance or hallucination, whichever it may have been, and those who survived those isolated trials in search of health in the gloomy bowels of the earth, were glad to return to their inviting homes.

The theory which influenced consumptives to wend their way to the great Kentucky cave, was that the saltpetred atmosphere in the interior was a remedy for ulcerated lungs.

Pulmonary consumption is everywhere. It is quite as well to remain at home, under certain forms of the malady, as to seek relief in other latitudes.

The little that may be temporarily gained by long and expensive journeys to some imagined place of restoration, is not a compensation for deprivations of society, and those friends and associations, devoted relatives and sympathizing acquaintances, medical attendants and familiar scenery, which are enhanced in value the farther we are removed from them.

What to Do and What to Avoid.

Horseback exercise; all forms of gymnastic feats which give a wide range of play to the pectoral muscles, together with a generous diet, are always first to be tried in incipient forms of this particular disease.

Avoiding a free out-door exposure when the weather is clear and dry, is a mistake. Humidity, heavy dews, rain and cold, give activity to those processes of derangement in the lungs which hasten a fatal termination of life. Therefore it is important to sleep warmly protected, while there is a free circulation, or, at least, a free admission of air into the apartment, without fear of inhaling dangerous elements from that source.

Eating whatever relishes is not to be overlooked in a desire to take advantage of all available circumstances for promoting the comfort of a consumptive. There should be no restrictions in regard to food. The appetite is exceedingly capricious, therefore whatever is coveted may be taken with impunity. If oily food, butter, cream, fat meats, etc., agree with the individual, the more freely they are taken the better.

Systematically, that is, at regular periods, at suitable intervals, take cod-liver oil. Its value has not been overrated. For

a time there was danger of its utility being undervalued in consequence of the general repugnance of patients to taking it on account of the disagreeable fishy smell, and the nausea induced by it in some irritable stomachs.

Happily for the reputation of modern pharmacy, cod-liver oil is now so admirably prepared, its objectionable taste is overcome, so that it may be taken without hesitancy,—all its unpleasant taste and odor being taken away without impairing its medicinal properties.

Cod-liver oil is not considered medicine, in the common acceptation of that term, but nutritious animal food that furnishes materials for repairing a wasted form.

Abstain from whiskey and similar heating stimulants. Physicians who have urged such treatment have done the country an irreparable wrong.

Unintentionally, they have made drunkards, by developing a morbid inclination for ardent spirits, which cannot always be overcome, when the discovery is made that the remedy is as bad as, if not worse than, the disease for which it was prescribed.

One of the simplest precautions for preventing inflammatory attacks of the lungs, is to be shod and clothed suitably. Ladies, particularly, invite death's doings, by being in extremely thin shoes, and light dresses that conduct off the caloric of the body, which should be retained by non-conducting clothing, when they find themselves threatened with a cough.

Thinly dressed, with the chest half exposed to direct blasts of cold air; standing at open windows in a current, or sitting out-door in a damp atmosphere, leaving a warm room for a cold one; dancing till heated by exercise, and then stepping into a carriage in a glow of perspiration, half protected by a silk cloak, a thousand dollar gossamer shawl, instead of a wool-

len blanket, are so many ways of inviting conditions of health which no medical skill is competent to manage.

The mucous passages, especially those leading to the lungs, are the first to suffer under such courses of imprudence. The lungs become engorged with blood when the lining membrane is flushed with a commencing inflammation, which rarely fails to be accompanied by a hectic cough.

Violation of General Laws of Health.

Happily, women are beginning to discover the dangers that surround them, in conforming to the wild caprices of fashions. Those who escape pulmonary consumption by their violation of sanitary laws, are frequent sufferers from pleurisy, usually originating in the same kind of imprudence which generates other formidable evils.

Pleurisy.

Instead of being confined to the lining membrane of the cells within the lobes of the lungs, pleurisy means an inflammation of the pleura, or living membrane of the chest in which the lungs play.

Whenever the inflammation becomes acutely painful in pleurisy, the attempted full inflation of the lungs must necessarily press against the inflamed surface. A stitch in the side, a common expression, simply means that the outside covering of the lungs has become attached or glued, as it were, to the membrane next the ribs—and the stitch is but tearing them apart—or rather, bridles of adhesive serous fluid, put upon the stretch, cause that acute sensation, a pain always attended with danger.

Instead of patronizing shoes, the soles of which are scarcely thicker than paper, it is quite as proper for females to wear them of sufficient thickness, as for men.

When the feet are cold and kept so for hours, in consequence of the waste of warmth through thin soles, the circulation of blood in minute vessels at such a distance from the heart, is partially interrupted. That cannot be habitually practised without deranging the general circulation. Swelled feet are the result of cold and compression.

The torture of tight shoes does not wholly consist in the development of corns and bunions, but in the production of conditions in the mechanism of the circulation that may degenerate into actual organic lesions.

Ladies should have their feet and ankles as completely protected as men who would soon be incapacitated for active pursuits were they put into the frail shoes and gossamer stockings, which are the pride of a well-dressed woman.

Suspended, not Cured.

Hereditary consumption cannot, with certainty, be averted. It may be suspended, as it were—or rather kept at bay by changing residence to a propitious climate. But all such measures are regarded as temporary. Nothing is more difficult than to stop the progress of a disease which destroys the organ by which life is positively sustained.

Sporadic, or that form of pulmonary consumption, induced by carelessness or unfortunate exposure to influences that could not, or would not, be avoided at the time, is to be managed differently.

By an imprudent exposure to cold and humidity, an impetus is given to the development of quiescent tubercles. They are

suddenly inflamed, and suppurate. In hereditary consumption, tubercles are actually found imbedded in the lung tissues of new-born infants. They may remain many years perfectly indolent, if those precautions are taken which are pointed out in the foregoing observations, that have a tendency to awaken them from a long slumber into activity.

We do not believe hereditary consumption can be arrested permanently, so that it may not be transmitted to the children of such unfortunates. But it is quite certain life may be considerably prolonged by a judicious reference to latitude and longitude, before grave symptoms indicate an ulceration of the air-cells.

CHAPTER XVII.

Digestion.

Digestion and the Functions of the Liver—Opinions of the Profession—Disagree—Indications—Ancient Doses—Modern Indication—Illustrations—Intricate Mechanism—Demand for Sugar—Diseased Livers.

It may be surprising intelligence to those who importune physicians as to what they should eat and drink, or what they might take into their stomachs with impunity, to assure them that medical practitioners are no better judges on that subject than themselves.

Because medical men are supposed to be laboriously interrogating Nature for information that may be of service to those who employ them, they are held accountable to a certain extent by a confiding public, in regard to the health of those who seek their advice.

Unfortunately, medical Solomons disagree among themselves. There is no standard by which to regulate the sanitary condition of society. They entertain theories enough to perplex all the universities on the globe; but the facts which always have precedence over speculations, are comparatively few, and not much relished by those who are ambitious for establishing theories as substitutes.

Digestion is a familiar topic, especially with persons profoundly ignorant of their own organization, and indigestion is still less understood by many who assume to be extremely wise. There is no definite system to be pursued, that will insure immunity from indigestion, by recourse to drugs.

Were we to say let medicine alone entirely, it might be

thought a selfish purpose was in view. Unhappily for those seeking reliable information respecting the course to be pursued to insure the highest standard of health, medical philosophers strangely disagree, so that invalids are perplexed, and, on the whole, derive about as much benefit from one source as another.

No one set of stereotyped directions meets every case of indigestion. There are no specifics for dyspepsia. Treatment that has been efficacious for one person, is of no service to another.

It is curious to examine the rules laid down by different doctors in reference to the kind of food that should be taken, under certain conditions, and that should be avoided, on the score of being non-digestible.

Many of the wise decisions on that point are from non-scientific sources. But they exercise an arbitrary influence over the minds of those who conceive it necessary to select a diet with express reference to its speedy, or rather easy, assimilation. And yet, gross mistakes are made, not through the false indications of science, but through ignorance of the first principles of chemical science.

For example, one recommends soft-boiled eggs; another, hard-boiled. Without being conscious of it, our likes or dislikes exert an arbitrary control over the judgment, and we think we are guided by scientific principles, when, in fact, we are managed by no principle at all in matters that purely concern the stomach.

Physicians differ exceedingly on the worn-out subject of diet. The various schools of medicine have their hobbies, while the representatives of each have their eccentric advocates.

Allopathics charge their patients as artillery officers load cannon, with all the gun will bear without bursting; therefore, ten grains of calomel, fortified with ten more of jalap, the prac-

tice of twenty years ago repeated, was the sheet-anchor of the old-fashioned practitioners.

Reforming homœopathics go to the other extreme. Struck with compassionate horror at the magnitude of incompatible compounds, they prescribe attenuated dilutions of something that can be neither smelt, tasted, nor felt. The one hundred and forty-ninth part of a grain, in forty gallons of water, is fearfully potent, administered by skilful hands.

Men of honor have never agreed in politics. It would be miraculous if there were no diversity of opinions in medicine. Each party is honestly impressed with the value of the dogmas they profess. Thus, inquiry is kept alive; otherwise there would be a stagnation of intellect, and another dark age. New and important truths are developed, in consequence of a difference of opinion among men equally honest and equally desirous of arriving at definite conclusions.

Evanescence of Theories.

Theories have been repeatedly advanced from opposite directions touching the mooted question of what kind of food is best for human beings.

Civilization cannot settle the question. Savages give themselves no concern about it, devouring whatever is attainable that assuages the demands of hunger.

Notwithstanding the inculcations of physiological scholars, that certain modes of living tend to longevity, while others interfere with vital laws, and abridge the natural duration of life,—both savages and barbarians live as many years on the average, even less molested by the invasion of disease, than the most favored of mortals who fare sumptuously every day on viands that meet the approval of the soundest medical scrutineers.

We require a proper mixture of animal and vegetable food, it being of little consequence whether the first is roast beef, canvas-back ducks, sea slugs, roasted rattlesnake, boiled crabs, shark's fins, dried grasshoppers, fish, fowls, or turtle's eggs.

Some of all these usually considered disgusting, but largely consumed articles, actually nourish the body as completely as artistic dishes prepared according to the highest gastronomic authority, every one of them containing nutritious materials.

Science and civilization refine, but the empty stomach obeys an imperious law,—*eat or be eaten*,—making no apologies for dining on whatever satisfies the urgent demands of hunger.

The benefits derived from animal or vegetable food are to be measured by the results in respect to growth and reproduction.

Mechanism of the Stomach.

A stomach is a receiving sac, into which food is taken, from which, by a series of extraordinary vital processes, materials are elaborated that enter into the composition of solids and fluids of which every living body is composed.

Every animal, small or large, except in the most rudimentary forms of life in particular families of infusoria, possesses a stomach, modified in structure to meet the peculiar conditions of each species. Some have two, some three, and the peaceable, patient ox has four, the food passing from one to the other before reaching the intestinal canal, where nutriment is separated from the useless matter with which it was united before digestion commenced.

All food requires a preliminary preparation before being swallowed. Thus, chewing, grinding, and lubricating it by being mixed with saliva,—a product of glands in the mouth and

throat,—facilitates its descent down the œsophagus, and fits it for being more readily acted upon by the gastric juice.

The presence of food in the stomach stimulates its inner lining membrane to pour out a thin, bland fluid, which is a powerful solvent.

By alternate contractions and elongations of the fibres of that marvellously constructed organ, the mass is rolled to and fro, so that, being thoroughly mixed with the gastric juice, it is changed in appearance and consistence, preparatory to further vital processes.

Digestion is due largely to a succession of muscular movements commenced at the base of the tongue. One set of fibres takes up the action where those above leave the morsel, and thus it is propelled from point to point, till it falls, by its gravity, into the receiving-pouch, for such is the stomach in one of its functions, being quiescent till the cardiac orifice closes.

Teeth deserve a more extended consideration in this connection, than can be bestowed upon them at this stage of investigation of the laws of digestion.

As soon as they have ground down masses, and rendered them pulpy, soft, and easy for deglutition, they pass through uplifted arches at the top of the throat, not unlike a portcullis in their office. Fairly through, the gate closes, and next they are passed between two spongy bodies, the tonsils, the use of which is to oil them, as it were, to prevent friction or hindrance on the passage down the tube which leads to the stomach.

Finally, the circular and longitudinal muscular threads of which the œsophagus is constructed, contracting behind, urges morsels, assisted by gravity, till they fall into the membranous receptacle, where active chemical action is commenced.

Progress of Digestion.

In a few hours, the food thus treated mechanically at first passes from the stomach through a narrow orifice, controlled by a sphincter muscle, which relaxes or spasmodically closes the orifice according to the sensation it receives from the approaching mass waiting to pass through the pylorus, into the upper portion of the duodenum, the first section of the intestinal tube, spoken of by old writers as a second stomach in man.

When a bit of bone, for example, has been accidentally swallowed,—a nail, a metallic button, a piece of money, or, indeed, anything that might produce irritation, or do violence in the intestines, it is not allowed to proceed, but is arrested as a prisoner in the stomach, where it is acted upon by the gastric juice till reduced to dimensions suitable for traversing the whole distance, nearly thirty feet, without injury to the delicate walls of the canal, then it is permitted to proceed.

The circular controlling muscle watching over the safety of parts beyond, is a vigilant sentinel that rarely ever fails of doing faithful duty.

Indigestible articles, or rather those which for a very long while resist the decomposing action of the gastric juice, move up to the pylorus in the mass waiting for exit through the gateway, but the never-sleeping watchdog—the sphincter muscle—detects the effort, and invariably drives it back.

Unless ejected by vomitation, an unwelcome traveller, urgent to go on the journey that he has commenced, may be thus retained for one or two years, and then be found in the stomach, if composed of elements on which the gastric solvent acts very slowly, or not at all.

Swallowing Articles Accidentally.

Pennies, thimbles, ivory and small glass balls, marbles and similar articles, the playthings of children, are often swallowed by them. When smaller than the ordinary diameter of the pylorus, such bodies are permitted to pass through unmolested, and they are soon voided without producing any disturbance or injury.

If, on the contrary, they are too large, they are detained till they have been so much reduced in size by the gastric secretion, as to pass with impunity.

Balls of hair are frequently found in the maws of cattle, when slaughtered, which must have been detained there a very considerable time, and which never could have been removed on account of their size, nor melted down to smaller dimensions, because their composition resisted the otherwise powerful chemical energy of the gastric juice.

They are of various dimensions, in cabinets from half an inch to four or five in diameter, and usually perfectly globular, as though they had been constantly rolling about to acquire that symmetrical form.

In the season of shedding their hair, cattle are in the habit of currying each other with their tongues. The surface of that flexible organ is covered with projecting eminences, called papillæ, which point towards the gullet. In raking off loose hair, it accumulates on them as it does on a currycomb. Not being able to dislodge such accumulations, and eject them from the mouth, they are swallowed. While detained in the first stomach, additions are made to the mass from time to time, which are matted on and felted there by mucous fluids, and, finally, the ball becomes not only large, but exceedingly compact, and hard as wood.

When a cud is raised to the mouth, those imprisoned balls, unquestionably, are also carried to the cardiac orifice, through which the cud ascends, but they are refused a passage. The same refusal is met at the other outlet towards the intestine. This, then, explains the origin and detention of such bodies in the stomach of ruminants.

Chemical Potency of Gastric Juice.

One of the most remarkable cases on medical record, demonstrating the irresistible solvent properties of the gastric juice—quite as intense in man, and nearly as concentrated as in sharks and serpents—occurred in Boston over fifty years ago, in the person of a sailor by the name of Cumings, who actually swallowed several pocket-knives. About one year after the event, two of the knives had entirely disappeared. The third was more than half gone when the patient died of gastritis.

Had the exact character of the case been understood, the surgeons and medical gentlemen in attendance at the hospital where Cumings had been admitted, not believing his constant assertion that he had penknives in his stomach, a course of tonic treatment might have been pursued that would have sustained him till Nature had completed the grand process of dissolving them, and thus relieving the poor sufferer, who was considered a lunatic.

When food arrives at the intestine from the stomach, it meets there with several peculiar secretions from small glands imbedded in its coats, each of which performs a specific chemical action on what is passing over the tract of their location.

Bile or Gall.

About twelve inches from the stomach, gall is poured into the moving mass, and various fluids from ducts opening into the interior of the intestine. A little lower, pancreatic fluid is introduced into the common avenue, which converts butter, fat, oils, etc., in an incredibly short time into an emulsion, which prepares them for digestion. Otherwise, without that particular fluid, those aliments would pass the whole length of the abdominal tube, and be ejected without having been essentially altered, or imparting any nutrition to the body.

Lacteals.

Still lower in that same membranous tube, minute orifices are discoverable in its walls, opening into it. Those are extremely numerous, and extend through the entire length, but are more aggregated into clusters in some places than others. Those are the mouths of lacteal vessels. There are millions of them scarcely larger than fine needles. The outer extremity running back, ultimately terminates in fleshy bodies, known as mesenteric glands. It is the office of those lacteal mouths to suck up, from the mass passing by, chyle,—a sort of milky-looking fluid, the product of digestion, which is carried directly into the mesenteric glands.

After remaining a little while there, probably mixing with a secretion peculiar to themselves, the fluid passes out through minute tubes on the opposite side, which finally empty their contents into a mealy-white tube lying on the side of the spine.

The mesenteric glands are way-stations, where the milky fluid, or chyle, undergoes chemical modifications before taking a departure for the thoracic duct, a reservoir into which the

rich product of digested food, that which alone is nourishment, is conveyed.

Lying partly in front, but inclining to the left side, is a white ascending tube, under the name of thoracic duct, which finally makes a graceful curve, and enters into the great jugular vein at the root of the neck, at an angle formed by the junction of the subclavian vein from the arm with the jugular.

Where the Chyle goes.

A small, gentle flow of that milky fluid is constantly mixing with venous blood from the left arm and the brain, at the point described. From thence the new white fluid unites with blood that is on its way to the heart to be revivified, and loses its original color or whiteness.

Thus tracing the chyle from its origin, we ascertain the manner in which nature provides materials for sustaining and keeping in repair a living body.

Oxygenation.

Although material for making blood is thus explained mechanically, one further process must be completed to vitalize the mixture and fit it for the purposes of life.

Being carried to the right side of the heart, the auricle into which it is received contracts and forces it down through an orifice into the ventricle, a strong chamber.

That next contracts, it being a forcing-pump of prodigious power, and drives the new blood up through the pulmonary artery into the lungs.

When in the lungs, the blood thus driven in is distributed into unnumbered millions of fine tubes which ramify and spread round small air-cells. Next, we inhale air, which dis-

tends those cells into air-balloons. In the act of swelling with the inhaled air, the waiting blood imbibes from it oxygen, and then the lungs expel the air, thus deprived of an essential element, and, in expiration, throw off carbonic acid gas.

The blood is now vitalized and ready to fulfil its mission. For that purpose, being collected, it is again forced into the auricle of the left side of the heart. From thence it is forced into the ventricle of that side, and from thence driven into the aorta, a tube about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. That is ultimately subdivided into smaller and smaller arteries, by which the blood is freely distributed over and completely through every portion of the body, as already described on a preceding page.

A Double Heart.

The right and left sides of the heart are quite independent of each other in function. There have been cases recorded where the two halves were separated at considerable distance from each other. Nature invariably pursues a system of economy in all her beautiful works, and this union of the heart of the lungs with the heart of the body is an illustration of the principle. By joining the two, less space was required, while muscular power was gained for both.

Such are some of the complicated processes on which life depends. A brittle thread, at best, is vitality, but without just so many cords, tubes, and tissues, there would be neither motion nor consciousness.

There is no difference in the anatomical appearance or structure of the digestive organs of males and females. They are precisely alike. The secretion of nutriment and its final diffusion in no respect differ in the two sexes. Their food, therefore, should be the same.

Women, in the higher social walks of society, oftener deprave their digestion than men, by subsisting on aliments too concentrated. This important fact is purposely repeated many times in this volume.

In the relation to which these remarks are applied, their food is not bulky enough, and consequently the alimentary canal is not as fully distended as it should be.

Some take food in too small quantities, for fear of obesity, and hence the abdominal region is gaunt and contracted, thereby compressing the hollow viscera too closely.

Those who by free exercise in open air have excellent health, also have an active digestion and a vigorous appetite. There is a better development of their frames; and both strength, beauty, energy of character, and those qualities which distinguish those who attain distinction, are due to perfect nutrition and freedom of body and mind.

The foregoing propositions may be considered trifling to those who have given no special thought to the philosophy of digestion. But the soundest, brightest, and most promising children are born of mothers who have a good digestion.

Feeble, sickly, peevish children, who live to become men and women, are always complaining and taking medicine. They had mothers from whom they inherited most of their physical, to say nothing of their moral and mental disabilities.

Numerous functional derangements, together with grave indispositions, are popularly charged to the liver. It is an organ uniformly supposed by those totally ignorant of its offices or construction, to have a controlling influence under circumstances where it probably has none at all.

Some physicians, especially those the least qualified by their anatomical acquirements to give a correct diagnosis, find it a convenient retreat for concealing their ignorance, to refer to

that organ as the seat of many morbid conditions, which cannot be readily refuted if they happen to be wrong, on account of its locality.

The liver is a gland of gigantic size, weighing in a woman of medium stature about four pounds. Before birth it is vastly larger and wholly disproportioned to other organs in the abdominal cavity, as they appear in adults.

A reason why it necessarily has such dimensions is in consequence of having nearly all the circulating blood from a maternal source sent directly to it. At birth, with the first breath of the infant, one half the blood that went to the liver before is instantly diverted from it by the closing of a valve in the middle of the heart.

In consequence of being thus suddenly deprived of so much vitalizing fluid, the liver hardly maintains its volume. Certain it is, it remains stationary in size for a long while. In the meantime, other parts which were somewhat rudimentary, as it were, or imperfectly developed, grow into their predestined proportions and assume more active labors.

From blood sent into the liver, gall, that intensely bitter fluid, is secreted. One of the specific uses of the liver is to elaborate that extraordinary product from venous blood. Arteries convey florid, vitalized blood to the intestines and digestive apparatus, where it leaves its vitalizing influence. When that is extracted, the remainder flows through another set of vessels, veins, which carry it to the lungs, to be recharged with oxygen from inhaled atmospheric air. On its way there it is compelled to pass through the liver, and from it certain vessels take out of it bile, and, as we shall learn in the sequel, some other products.

Intricate Mechanism.

No mechanism, on the whole, is more intricate than the network of tubes by which bile is separated from the passing current of venous blood. When detached or drawn aside by itself, a transfer of it to the gall-bladder, where it is stored for after occasions, is one of the great curiosities of animal construction.

Physiologists, with all their ingenuity and indomitable perseverance, have not yet definitely settled the question of the use of bile in the economy. That it is of importance in digestion can hardly be doubted, and yet there are more theories extant than facts to show where it goes, or what it is for.

Bilious affections, bilious stomachs, a bilious habit, and such like expressions, are flippantly banded about by medical practitioners as they are by persons who learn them as parrots do from hearing repetitions of the same phrases, without attaching any meaning to the words. It is an evidence of ignorance rather than scientific attainment, when guessing passes for profound pathological acquirements.

Too much is charged to the poor liver, and tons of pills and useless prescriptions are directed to the correction of faults it never had—to the cure of diseases in which it had no agency.

Regarded by non-professional persons as performing offices which it does not perform, their deductions are, of course, as crude as those who pretend to more knowledge without being a whit wiser. Bile is considered a terrible foe to health in common parlance, a disorganizing bugbear, a maker of melancholy, a breeder of low spirits, jaundice, and a host of other misfortunes that beset mankind.

Allusion has already been made to the sugar-making services of the liver, coupled with observations on its complicated functions before and after birth. It being a comparatively recent discovery that man and all the lower families of terrestrial animals carry within their bodies a sugar-mill, we cannot pass over the natural provision for meeting the demands of organic life, without dwelling particularly on that remarkable function, on different pages of this work.

Demand for Sugar and Bile.

Sugar must be provided from some source. If it does not exist in sufficient abundance in the food of each day, the deficiency is supplied by the liver,

Attached to its largest lobe, lying underside of the diaphragm to which it is attached, is a small bag, about the size and form of a small pear, into which bile is stored for future use. A slender duct leads from it to the first portion of the small intestine some twelve or more inches from the stomach. In the process of digestion the bile flows into the upper end of the intestinal tube, and, undoubtedly, there performs an active part in chemically preparing the passing food for yielding up its nutritious elements; but what becomes of it afterwards has not yet been positively ascertained.

Carnivorous animals secrete more bile than graminivorous; and ferocious fishes, as sharks, torpedoes, wolf-fish, etc., require far more than social dwellers of the sea.

Admitted to be indispensable to perfect digestion, how it acts, or what becomes of the quantities secreted, since it does not pass off with waste materials in the ordinary manner, very much exercises the inquiring minds of physiologists.

That noble servant of man, the horse, feeding exclusively on vegetable food, as those animals do which chew the cud, has

no gall bladder. His liver is of ordinary appearance exteriorly. If bile is secreted in the horse's liver, where are the excretory ducts that conduct it to the food? But that an organ of such magnitude and weight, occupying so much room, has no service to perform after birth, is hardly probable. Naturalists have the mortification to acknowledge the impossibility, at present, of explaining its true function in the horse.

Ignorant as we are, and humiliating as is the confession, that many guess at much they do not understand, the diseases of the liver are of a character to perplex and baffle the most experienced physicians.

In certain climates it becomes indurated, enlarges enormously, and besides, scirrhosity, abscesses, and ulcerations are common in all climates, as a penalty for violating sanitary laws, which can never be pursued for any great length of time without a fearful constitutional reckoning.

Malarious influences emanate from the ground in warm, moist regions, where vegetable decomposition fills the air with something neither seen nor tasted, but which, nevertheless, when inhaled, produces extraordinary disturbance in the liver of man. Thus, fever and ague are derived from that source, while another condition of the atmosphere in the East Indies gives rise to various enlargements and hardness, which defy the ordinary resources of medicine.

Authors have not sufficiently investigated the effects of certain kinds of food in the production of anomalous disorders of that viscus. That the profligate use of curry in the East Indies—a fiery hot powder made of red pepper, mustard, turmeric, and perhaps a dozen other ingredients, which would excoriate the skin, externally applied, about as quickly as a burning coal,—taken into the stomach at every meal for years in succession, must, in the nature of things, derange not only the

stomach, but associated organs. So it may be admitted, inasmuch as curry-eaters have indurated livers, that peculiar appetizing compound has some agency on the organ.

Whiskey, rum, or, indeed, any of the fiery strong liquor disgracefully in request in this whiskey-smitten nation, acts banefully on the liver. Those who keep themselves stimulated by the needless use of distilled spirits, must break down under its undermining tendency. Medicine furnishes no cure for an enlarged or schirrus liver.

When it becomes diseased in any way, then there is a failure to perform the office for which it was mainly designed, and, consequently, the whole body quickly betrays its need of something it formerly had, in a yellowish, or rather, a deadly hue of the skin, loss of flesh and strength, and waning health.

Next, that which is required is a sufficiency of saccharine matter, from which are elaborated, by vital processes, elements to be distributed for the benefit of the whole body, and perhaps, too, for the mind.

The liver, in short, manufactures sugar. It is not exactly sugar of the shops in appearance, but a sweetish paste, that takes the name of glucose.

The mass of the liver appears to be made up, in bulk, of an immense congeries of arteries, veins, nerves, lymphatics, bile-tubes, ligaments, and a semi-elastic tissue, which serves as a bed to keep all those different parts from interfering with each other.

When this natural sugar-mill turns off more sugar than the system requires, it is recognized as a disease known as *diabetes*. Nature has but one convenient way of carrying off the excess, and that is by dissolving, and floating it away to the kidneys. Those organs separate the sugar from the blood in which it

arrives, and forwards it to the bladder to be voided. By boiling the urine, the sugar may be collected, very much resembling ordinary brown sugar.

Diseased Livers.

Severely as the liver suffers from over-excitation by drinking ardent spirits, an instructive article might be written on the unnecessary medication to which the whole system is subjected by the mistakes of physicians, who blindly pursue a course of practice based on a theoretical condition of the liver, for which the poor stomach is intolerably dosed. There is no more direct means of reaching the liver in any of the morbid conditions to which it is predisposed from climate, abuse, or from dissipated habits, than through the circuitous route of the circulation.

Mercury was formerly prescribed immoderately, on the supposition that the liver was answerable for at least half the ills to which humanity is incident. Salivations, ulcerated tonsils, loose teeth, inflamed gums, and even caries of the bones were the result of that one-idea practice now obsolete. But the liver was too frequently the focus to which nauseous preparations were directed, when it was, perhaps, in no way involved.

It is impossible for any medicine to reach the liver directly. There is no tube or avenue opening between the stomach and liver. Therefore, it is ridiculous to suppose the latter can be acted upon in any other manner than through the blood.

Some persons, more distinguished for general intelligence than their knowledge of anatomy, speak of ulcers, or abscesses of the liver, which discharge into the stomach. That is positively impossible, unless an opening has been ulcerated through various tissues, and lastly, through the walls of the stomach, before any such imaginary communication can be established.

Hastily fattened cattle, stuffed with rich food faster than it can be appropriately digested, or fed on warm slops, become singularly disordered in their liver. Red spots, ragged, ulcerated patches on the upper surface, and enlargement, evidently show that properties may be introduced into the circulation, which, on arriving at the liver, are arrested, and stopping there, throw the organ into a morbid state of action.

Hypertrophy, induration, and abscesses are conditions of the liver in men who have no mercy on themselves by excessive indulgence in strong liquors. Women rarely have diseased livers. Happily, they have a nicer sense of propriety. Their livers seldom become disorganized, or suffer from those hepatic woes that beset tipplers.

But women induce hepatic difficulties by a custom in dress, indicated by a yellowish, tallowish complexion, usually associated with a depraved appetite.

Tight-lacing compresses the right lobe, lying just behind the short ribs; if the waist is closely girded, that part of the organ is pressed into close quarters, which must interfere with a free circulation of the various fluids which it secretes, independently of arterial, venous, and biliary currents.

If the bile is impeded in its progress to the gall-bladder, or from thence into the intestines, in consequence of ligating the waist, very serious consequences are liable to follow.

Here is found an explanation of an often asked question, Why young ladies are so frequently tinged with yellow, accompanied by indigestion? The bile is obstructed by compression of the liver, by waists of dresses and belts, and being taken back into the system by absorbments, is diffused over the body, and escapes through the skin. Jaundice is simply that condition,—the bile not flowing off through the pipes in which it should go, owing either to exterior mechanical

compression, gall-stones, or an inflammation which closes them.

A celebrated manufacturer of corsets, having satisfied herself that women will wear them—which is admitting there is no necessity for that kind of abdominal support—has invented a substitute. It may be worn with comfort, as it neither compresses the chest, ribs, nor the sternum. Her object is simply to hold up the bowels, so that they cannot be forced down upon the pelvic viscera. Having the confidence of physicians, the inventress has extensive patronage, because the contrivance actually relieves the pelvic organs from invasions which ordinary stays produce.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Their Growth.

Men Taller than Women—Male Animals—Physical Aspect—Length of Lower Extremities—Osseous Development—Suspension of Growth—Inner Capacity of the Chest, Broad, Narrow—Short Necks.

Every circumstance in the history of an individual life, in a physical aspect, must be influenced by laws which govern all organized bodies. Even inorganic forms are regulated by fixed laws also, since there is nothing transpiring by chance.

There is a law of limitation in the growth of men and women, operating infallibly in the formation of each and all tissues, by which proportions are established.

Men ordinarily are taller than women, and stronger. Males of all orders are usually superior in size, and muscular force in them is also proportionately superior to that of females of their kindred. Such is particularly the case with quadrupeds and birds. They are more beautiful, too,—more imposing in their physique and bearing. Females are smaller, and destitute of those markings or colorings which are distinguishing beauties, including manes, fringed limbs, brilliant feathers, and other exterior appointments that give character to the males.

Woman, however, transcends in beauty of form, facial expression, and in the impression she makes on the spectator.

Among reptiles, usually, the female is the largest. A law of positive necessity operates in favor of that oversize above the male. The enormous number of eggs some of them extrude, or the number of young incubated within their own bodies,

requires room for the expansion of oviducts in which they are carried.

Thus there are oviparous and viviparous reptiles. Some void their eggs to be incubated by the solar rays, while others have them hatched in the abdominal cavity.

Birds, being of a higher type, have their eggs developed so that one is voided daily, or once in two or three days, ripening so orderly and rapidly too, that a larger pouch is not needed. If their eggs all matured at once, as in a turtle, a fish, or in thousands of insects, in parcels, which are extruded at intervals of one or two weeks, the bulk of the eggs laid in twenty days would equal, if not exceed, in bulk the body from which they were extruded.

Some tribes of fishes have amazing fecundity, actually producing millions of eggs in a single season. Were they brought together, their combined weight would exceed the weight of the individual in which they were formed by twenty-fold.

The rapidity of development of some insect eggs in a single day, from mere specs scarcely discernible, into fully distended globes almost as large as peas, illustrates in another form the extreme activity of vital force when aided by light, heat, and moisture.

Tall or Short.

Why a man ceases to grow taller on reaching six feet, six feet four inches or more, or why growth is ever arrested in the process of osseous elongation, is quite beyond the ken of modern philosophy. Theories prove nothing, while facts cannot be jostled out of sight. Speculations on this point, therefore, are to no purpose.

Admitting that men rarely exceed six feet in any country, if a few happen to exceed that ordinary standard of limitation,

they are called giants. Why women rarely reach the same measure, is quite as difficult to explain as the other proposition. A difference in height depends almost entirely on the length of the lower extremities in both sexes.

From the crown of the head to the ischiatic knobs,—two points on which we sit,—there is not much variation in the measure. Males and females have an equal number of bones, and the distance between these two starting-points is about the same. Below, however, the length of the thigh-bones determines the stature of the individual.

Some singular anomalies are noticed occasionally, which seem at first view to contradict a received opinion respecting the laws of growth.

George W. Crawford, of Sciota county, Ohio, fifteen years of age, in the autumn of 1869, was six feet and one inch tall, measuring around his shoulders three feet eleven inches; around his hips, forty-two inches; around the chest, forty-one inches; and he weighed two hundred and eight pounds.

Benjamin F. Kiplinger, of Rush county, Indiana, about the same period, who was fifteen years old September 20, 1869, stood six feet eight inches, measuring around his shoulders fifty-seven inches, forty-six around his chest, forty-six around the hips, and weighed two hundred and thirty-five pounds,—wearing number twelve shoes!

Seated at table, on the same level, men and women, taken indifferently, appear to be about equal in height, there being only a slight deviation from a horizontal line passing above their heads. On rising, some are exceedingly tall and others remarkably short. The difference is found in the femoral bones. From the knee to the instep, the tibia and fibula, or leg-bones, are correspondingly short also, to conform to proportions above the articulations.

At birth the lower limbs are very short and small, quite disproportioned to the scale of development of the upper extremities, which is explained by the well-known fact that they receive but a limited amount of blood while in utero. Immediately after birth, blood which circulated in the placenta, diverted from the iliac arteries, is then sent into the legs. But they seldom attain in females the length of the lower extremities of males, even when the nutrition is increased by an increased flow of blood. Hence, women are generally below the stature of adult males. Exceptions to the rule are considered anomalies.

Blood is circulated very nearly alike in both sexes, but the extension of bones is more actively carried on in boys than in girls, in bones below the pelvis.

This law of osseous development presents matter for consideration in regard to life-insurance investigations. *Physical signs of longevity in man* was a prize essay a few years since, published by a Life Insurance office of New York, abounding in very curious facts not very generally known in relation to life limitation. Some of them were as follows:

First,—Brothers and sisters of the same parentage, reared under precisely the same circumstances as regards food, clothing, ventilation of apartments, etc., have different statures when they arrive at adult age. Yet at birth, and through the developing periods of childhood and adolescence, they were apparently influenced, physically, precisely alike.

Unquestionably, therefore, there are causes operating disadvantageously, at times, for the growth of parts, if not of the whole body. In dwarfs, the deposition of ossific material stops suddenly. It may happen soon after birth, or at any period between the second and third year. Occasionally the process of growth ceases in a single limb, or it may in both so exactly

at the same time as to leave them of the same length. From some unknown cause, essential elements cease to be any longer deposited.

While there is a progressive development in the system, and all the mechanism is being enlarged in volume and perfected, there is intense activity. By and by, however, the law of limitation puts a stop to those long-continued internal operations.

Ossification is then completed, the muscles are full and strong. The future secretion and deposition of lime and other earthly components of bones, instead of being gathered in such abundance as formerly from food, are only just enough to keep those solid parts in repair.

Strength of Bones and their Decay.

An impression is entertained that bones of tall persons are more easily fractured than those of short people. Cylindrical bones, as the thigh and arm, when particularly long, are less in diameter than the same bones in those of short stature.

As individuals advance in age, gelatine—the mortar that holds the bony particles together like bricks in an edifice—is secreted less actively, and its adhesive properties are also enfeebled. Finally, the quantity is so much diminished, the bones of aged persons are easily broken. A sparseness of that natural glue explains why their fractured bones unite slowly, or sometimes not at all.

If, as some surgeons suggest, broken bones of short patients unite quicker than those of tall ones, all other circumstances being equal in respect to age, attentions, etc., it must be due to a more rapid circulation in the first, in whom the pulsations are quickest and most energetic.

It is a fact that vital force is strongest in short people. The blood has not so far to move, and there is less retardation of the current from friction, admitting that curves and short angles in arteries and veins offer some resistance.

A general impression is entertained among close observers, that longevity appertains to persons rather under size than to the tall.

A broad, full chest does not always belong to a tall man or woman. On the contrary, those under size are rarely fragile in form, or narrow across the thorax.

When the inner capacity of the chest admits of a perfectly full inflation of the lungs, the prospect of life is greater than in a constricted cavity where the organs cannot have play enough to oxygenate the volume of blood sent to them.

Short Women.

When solidification of the leg bones progresses slowly, there is commonly an active ossification taking place in the spinal column. Harmonious architectural proportions are not maintained in women as in men. There are more short females than males. Perhaps it may be there is a predominance of short men in a thousand, but whether tall or short, the scale of proportions is superior in the tall.

Among a thousand females of all conditions of life, the short immeasurably outnumber the tall—the upper parts of their bodies being generally better developed than the lower, which are not in exact proportion with the scale above the pelvic arch.

A lady may have a finely-developed chest, a round full bust, well-set shoulders, and a beautiful neck, while the thigh bones are so very imperfectly developed that she is disproportionately short.

Every internal organ, embracing the entire contents of the thorax, abdomen, and pelvis, are quite as large and perfect in function as in those ladies who are tall. The only anatomical difference is to be found in the length of the bones in the inferior extremities.

A lady distinguished for a particularly long neck, swan-like in gracefulness, may be considered to have an imperfect chest, and, therefore, her life expectation is not as good as that of one of the same age and physical condition whose neck is an inch shorter.

An explanation of this law of probability is found in the osseous structure. All men and women have twenty-four bones in the vertebral column, seven of which are usually in the neck. Those twenty-four blocks, which, collectively, are called the spine, are singularly locked together to prevent them from sliding out of place.

Occasionally an anomaly is recognized in the distribution of these bones. There should be always seven in the neck, twelve in the back, and five in the loins. But when the neck is unusually long, it has eight blocks. That takes one from the dorsal range, leaving only eleven in the back.

That circumstance necessarily makes the chest just the depth of the missing bone smaller, in its vertical direction, than it would have been had it remained where it is usually to be found.

Capacity of the Female Chest.

The lungs and heart, as a natural consequence, are compelled to act in a smaller cavity. That being the actual condition, those vital organs, on which the preservation of life depends, are cramped, and their expansion limited in the performance of their functions.

Thus, if the lungs have not room enough for full inflation, nor the heart for its diastole, the consequences are unfavorable for long life.

Here, then, is a plain mechanical demonstration of the anomaly of a long neck, and the consequences resulting from diminishing the capacity of the chest.

When the neck is remarkably short, it may have seven bones in its composition, but they may be so thin as to be a deviation from the type which nature in most cases prescribes.

Thus, the chest may be full and broad, while the physician recognizes in that kind of short neck a tendency to apoplexy. Irregularities or excesses of any kind, including sudden excite ments, pain, stimulants taken into the stomach, excessive paroxysms of rage, hatred, love, or joy, drive blood into the brain faster than the veins conduct it away, and sudden death ensues.

With a short neck and large chest the heart acts with great energy, forcing blood into the brain and deranging it, on account of the inability of the veins to carry it away fast enough. This is apoplexy.

CHAPTER XIX.

Their Eyes.

Force of Ocular Expression—Wearing Glasses—Desiring to Appear Near-lighted—Fashionable to have Defective Vision—Abuse of the Organ—Eyesight of Animals in General—Do without Glasses if Possible.

For brilliancy, no gems compare with the eyes of a beautiful woman.

Examples are unnecessary for establishing the truth of this declaration. There is a fascination, a bewildering influence in a pair of bright eyes that moves and, indeed, electrifies the roughest specimens of manhood with undefined emotions.

Fine eyes are potent engines. When the features are symmetrically moulded, eyes of some hues are irresistibly powerful. Set off advantageously by long silken lashes, a sweet expression is the highest type of female loveliness.

Men cannot explain, even to themselves, how or what it is that moves them so mysteriously in coming into the presence of a handsome woman. It is admitted there is an irresistible force set in motion, but in what manner it takes such hold is not of easy explanation.

That magnetism—an unseen agent—is the instrumentality with which women are made more potent than the strongest men, cannot be questioned. It is more than an equivalent for large bones and elephantine muscles.

Men brave tempests, dare enemies in bloody combats, looking destruction in the face with unflinching energy. Woman

shrinks back in timid consciousness of being unable to battle physically for her rights. In the very posture she assumes, the expression she exhibits, and the delicacy of her organization, she is more than a match for giants when they offer violence.

When an incensed woman fixes a withering glance on a wretch who threatens to do her wrong, or calls her honor in question, the weight of her scorn is unbearable. Such a villain suddenly cowers beneath her searching indignation, and wilts away from her heroic presence.

Regardless of color, the eyes singularly harmonize with the features. Complexion and general corporeal expression is a study gifted artists have not yet mastered, although they have been pursuing their investigations since the days of Apelles.

Vision.

Perfect vision is marred, and, indeed, the eyes that were perfect, and would have remained so through the ordinary circumstances of life, are seriously injured now-a-days by the caprice of fashion.

Inflamed Eyes.

Inflammation of the conjunctiva, the first membrane over the front of the globe, delicately thin and transparent, is kept slightly inflamed by too much light. The pupil—a round window through which light reaches the posterior wall of the eye—cannot escape injury, if the outer membrane becomes either thickened or clouded. Both of those conditions may be induced by applying preparations with a view to making the eyes more brilliant. It is a weakness of a very extensive class of ladies, who, in their desire to make them piercing, or, as they imagine, more captivating, cannot be convinced those preparations they

use are lamentably injurious. An irritant that inflames any surface extends its influence beyond where it is applied. Anything that directly offends the irritable anterior surface of the eye, instantly brings a flood of tears to wash it away. Streaks of blood are simply an engorgement of minute vessels, which, unmolested, are invisible behind the conjunctival membrane.

Inflammations thus exhibited conclusively prove there has been some wrong-doing, or incidental exposure to causes which produce that condition.

When an inflammation is established, and the vessels under the conjunctival membrane lying on the selerotica, or white of the eye, become strongly defined, if not subdued, they may shoot across the pupil, forming a veil that would obstruct the passage of light.

When there is a sensation under the lids like particles of sand, it indicates the development of projecting fleshy granules on the under surface, which chafe, and still further increase inflammation by the movements of the eye. The friction is intolerably painful in some cases, accompanied by an intolerance of light. Improper applications to the organs, in the form of washes or unguents, keep up a continued irritation that may result in the production of granulation or other equally severe afflictions.

Some persons are predisposed to a preternatural irritability of the margins of the eyelids. They have a red, inflamed appearance, generally aggravated by a sudden cold, a particularly strong light, or exposure to winds laden with dust.

A peculiar ferreted appearance of the lids, which is a chronic inflammation of their most exposed mucous surface, is attended by another inconvenience that may degenerate into a formidable malady, if too long neglected. It is a gluing together of the edges of the upper and lower lids by the flow during sleep of

an adhesive secretion, slowly soluble in cold water. Tepid water separates them pretty readily.

A continued use of cosmetics, apparently perfectly harmless, not unfrequently do great injury to the eyes of ladies who indulge in that reprehensible practice of attempting to improve upon Nature.

Eyes are constructed upon philosophical principles, so perfect with reference to the laws of light, that they cannot be tampered with, nor readjusted easily when once disordered. The refractive power of the lens may be altered by violence inflicted on the exterior of the globe.

So much of our knowledge, happiness, and every-day comfort depends on a sound, perfect condition of our eyes, we cannot be too choice of them. They are too precious to be jeopardized under the treatment of ignorant, self-announced oculists.

Wearing Glasses.

Many charming faces are completely bereft of the expression they would have had, unmolested by the silly desire of otherwise sensible ladies, for wearing glasses. An unaccountable disposition to have it supposed that they have defective vision, is another strange phase in the vagaries of fashion. To be near-sighted is a coveted grace.

In some departments of elevated society, nothing is more common than to see young ladies harnessed in spectacles, or peering through an eyeglass at their familiar acquaintances on the side-walk, as though it were extremely difficult to see them at all.

None but fops or idle pretenders of both sexes, who ape the artificial manners of some polar star in fashionable circles, think of making themselves ridiculous in that particular way.

It is conclusive evidence of their vanity and mental weakness. An eyeglass dangling from a splendid chain is a coveted ornament for a drawing-room. To be squinting through it at wall-pictures, or closely examining an object that a blind man might almost see, by those who have no imperfection of vision, is a common folly.

Everything, near or distant, must be scrutinized through an eyeglass. Not because they cannot see, but simply because it is extremely genteel to be purblind.

To gaze with profound attention through an eyeglass at a horse passing the window, with an avowed inability to determine what creature it may be by the unassisted eye, is an immense recommendation, indicative of polished manners. If a lady is ingenious in striking attitudes at the same moment, she may consider herself a queen of fashion.

No vulgarity is rated lower in the tablet of exquisite refinement, than having good sound eyes. Examining those to whom one has an introduction, with an eyeglass, as an entomologist would scrutinize a bug under a microscope, passes for extreme refinement.

Young misses, fresh from a boarding-school, are in ecstasies when they first have possession of an eyeglass set in a chased gold rim. They then cannot see those they do not wish to recognize—which is a decided step in their education.

Progress of Gentility.

On the whole, it is deplorable that civilization delights in blindness. Possibly a sentiment prevails that one can see enough with half an eye. But this, absurd as it is, is associated with another equally ridiculous habit, that has even got possession also of men of the no-brain order. To lisp

divinely, and be in poor health, is the climax of perfection in the constitution of a modern lady of unexceptionable social position. It gives a finishing perfection to a belle of the period.

These are follies that amuse people of sense for a while; but it is, nevertheless, lamentable that folly should have such prominent ascendency where genuine good-breeding and worth of character are at a discount.

Those who cannot afford to be blind voluntarily, like those who articulate their words distinctly, have no influence where near-sightedness and lisping are the criteria of social excellence.

Near-sightedness is most appreciated in circles distinguished for opulence. In the country, remote from the baneful influences and innovations of fashionable folly, the ladies have eyes keen enough to discriminate between affectation and malformations.

A real necessity for glasses appertains to advanced age, but rarely as necessary as those who have them to sell would have the world believe.

There is another unrebuked exhibition of vanity or self-esteem—it is difficult to determine which—viz., having portraits and photographs saddled with lunettes at the expense of a silly unmeaning expression. Artists dread them, knowing by experience of the impossibility of giving any character to the picture of a face marred by bows and glasses.

Portraits of men and women with strongly moulded features, full, animated eyes, in harmony with their other physiognomical attributes, are deprived of an essential part of their force of expression when painted in spectacles.

It is quite surprising with what tenacity some young, newly-fledged clergymen cling to glasses, whose eyes never had a

defect in them, on the presumption, it is theoretically presumed, that an audience associate with such toggery, profound scholarship, and deep theological explorations in the dust of ages.

No orator who moves the multitude by the power of his eloquence, wears glasses. To touch the hearts with fitting words, to arouse the deepest feelings of sympathy, or excite ferocious indignation by a recital of real or imaginary wrongs, the full, unshackled face of the speaker must be seen. Sentences that roll along the aisles like avalanches from the lofty summits of mighty mountains, would lose their effect if enunciated in the dark. An orator must not only be seen as well as heard, to accomplish the highest results of his burning language, but his face, and particularly his eyes, must not have their electrical energy intercepted by non-conducting glasses.

Each one of the special organs of sense is a faithful sentinel till the hour of death, if it has not been impaired,—even beyond a hundred years, in vast numbers of instances.

Taste and feeling rarely ever flag in a prolonged longevity. When three other senses are destroyed, there is consciousness.

Through the instrumentality of nerves, the mind receives intelligence of impressions, of whatever kind or character.

Vision ought not to give out till the lamp of life goes out in old age. Were we to treat our eyes with as much tenderness as they deserve, we should have distinct vision till the hour of death, at the most advanced period of human life. Our eyesight would be nearly as perfect when we have reached seventy years, as when we were young, were it not for the abuse of them by intense light, gas-jets, and the fatigue to which they are subjected by reading small type-books, and continuing the labor too long at a time.

Wild animals have perfect vision as long as they have ability

to forage for food. Birds, too, have distinct vision till they die of old age. A goose lives to upwards of eighty years in a state of domestication, with no failure of vision. Probably, reptiles and fishes also have perfect and accurately distinct vision at all periods through their long lives. If whales reach a thousand years, and sharks an extended longevity, their vision is, unquestionably, perfect and unimpaired all the days allotted them.

Tortoises have been repeatedly found with dates inscribed on their shells, indicating almost a century from the date of the marking, and they may have been ancient settlers when those dates were inscribed; yet their eyesight was keen enough for perceiving an enemy, or discovering appropriate nourishment.

Man, alone, has defective vision prematurely, and usually from neglect or over-working his eyes. Domesticated dogs, cattle and horses in the service of men, are subjected, to considerable extent, to conditions of exposure, which impair our own sight. A dog reposing in the corner, occasionally gazes into a blazing fire. Horses and cattle are approached with caution in the stall, or placed where artificial light acts directly upon their eyes. When, under the guidance of their own instincts, they retire, as the fowls go to roost, with the approach of night, and open their eyes early, as the sun gradually rises, so that no sudden glare impinges to their injury.

All animals avoid light, after evening shades set in, unless compelled to change their habits. That is the secret of their excellent and distinct powers of perception.

Were we to do as they do, we should have no complaint to make of waning vision.

Changing Axis of Vision.

The convexity of the eye undoubtedly varies so that scarcely any two persons have the same curve, and hence the focal distance of distinct vision must necessarily vary. One sees accurately at ten inches, another at twelve or fourteen, and another at eighteen or twenty inches from the eye. The scale of distance varies exceedingly in that respect, in the small number of a dozen persons.

In examining the moon, it rarely happens that twenty ladies and gentlemen agree in their estimate of its apparent diameter. To one or two it may seem about two feet across its face. Others are quite sure it is all of a yard, and possibly, it scarcely appears much larger than Venus to another.

By practice,—beginning, for example, in early childhood with the alphabet, and gradually learning to read with facility —the visual organs are trained so systematically, that we usually all have a focal point of clear and distinct vision at the ordinary distance at which a book is held for reading. Our eyes are systematically educated, as our legs for walking, or our tongues for articulating words.

Beginning in childhood, we insensibly instruct our organs of sense and our muscles, and finally they all harmonize at last; and judgment, which distinguishes man above all the races below him, is perfect or defective, according to the development of all the powers which belong to his physical organization. Perpetual repetitions of the movement give to each and all those parts controlled by our volition, the perfection which they may attain.

In early youth there may be some rigidity of the cornea, which does not readily yield to the training. If the curvature is too prominent for seeing at ordinary distances, most con-

venient for looking at a page, and practice in trying to see at that convenient distance is not successful, there is near-sightedness.

Near-Sightedness.

When just that condition has been ascertained, parents and the near-sighted child too hastily resort to concave glasses. If they would resolutely insist upon an unremitting effort to do without them, their eyes would gradually accommodate themselves to the task imposed, and vastly improve.

Prematurely putting on glasses arrests the progress of adaptation, which would very certainly take place, although in every instance it might not become entirely satisfactory. The experiment, however, is worth trying.

Avoid glasses as long as possible, whether short or long sighted, and thus allow the instrument to adjust itself to circumstances. The eyes of all land-seeing animals are constructed upon the same principle as our own. Light is admitted into the back region through the pupil, and there produces the same impression as it does in men and women. There is very little, if any, real difference discoverable in the anatomical structure in day-seeing eyes. But those of wild animals wear longer without becoming impaired, than the eyes of domesticated animals or man, simply because they act in conformity to natural laws. Daylight, while they are ranging over fields carpeted in green, or forests in which dazzling rays cannot act directly upon them, favors them exceedingly.

Oculists and spectacle-manufacturers are reluctant to admit the existence of this law of ocular adaptation, which is quite as readily demonstrated as many other problems of less importance.

Vision of Age.

Before spectacles were invented, there is good reason for believing that people had better eyesight than since. Historians speak of the blind, but nowhere is there a lamentation over the waning vision of old age as in modern times.

When, in consequence of advancing age, glasses are resorted to, they must afterwards be continued. The eye seems to lose its power of adaptation to varying circumstances, whenever artificial aid is provided. In other words, if glasses are prematurely worn—and they generally are prematurely put on, according to our theory—they cannot afterwards be laid aside without inconvenience.

When the time comes, as it does in the life of each of us, that the eye is less prominent than it was in youth, vision is less distinct than before, and we meet that flattening of the cornea by convex glasses, which apparently enlarges the letters of a book, and therefore they are more distinct.

That is precisely the period to resist the aid of glasses. Have patience, and regularly exercise the eyes to reading at the same convenient distance they were formerly used, and they will, after a while, return to their primitive convexity.

Will-force produces extraordinary results. Even pulsations of the heart have been suspended by it, and the organ again set in motion by the same agency. It is even claimed that it is possible to exert that mysterious nervous energy, so as to positively control the volitions of others.

With the approach of old age, there is a gradual relaxation of all the tissues of the body. Those of the eye lose their former tension, and the secretion and removal of the fluids within the globe on which the refraction of light depends, as also the chromatic perfection of the picture on the retinal can-

vas, is sluggishly performed. But if we urge them to the performance of their office, they begin to receive more vital influence, and readapt themselves to the work demanded of them. In short, the determination and persistency of effort may be crowned with success.

Without burdening these pages with narratives of eminent success by pursuing this course, it is quite sufficient to say that failures would be few in making the experiment, if those who are making it would on no account deviate from the directions proposed.

After weeks of hope, without apparent amelioration, two-thirds of those who may have commenced with a strong resolution to be thorough in their attempt at visual restoration, become impatient and fly to glasses, and then doubt the possibility of seeing without them in after periods of life.

Professed oculists are the bitterest foes with which the advocate for having nature consulted first, comes in contact. To a man, they recommend glasses number one, two, three, and so on, with a farago of nonsensical reasons for favoring the eye when it requires no such aid.

Duration of Vision.

Our eyes were designed to last as long as the sense of hearing, taste, or our fingers and toes; and they would, were they not culpably abused and overworked by the customs and habits.

Blue eyes are thought best adapted for all climates. Black predominates in tropical and semi-tropical countries. The farther north, the lighter the blue shade; and it is among the blue-eyed that the fewest glasses are worn, according to the observation of travellers. Such eyes possess qualities for a more distinct vision, all other things being equal.

Black eyes are lustrous, and carry with them an intensity of facial expression superior to gray, or any of the lighter shades of color. Black, hazel, etc., if not quite as liable to cataracts, or less formidable opacities, fail earlier than blue, subjected to the same treatment of brilliantly-illuminated rooms, bright blazing firelight, gas jets, and similar sources of injury.

There are beautiful blue-eyed ladies with blonde hair. The iris and hair generally are alike in color. When eyes are too light-colored to be sparkling, the hair is ordinarily yellow, and the brows thin and colorless.

With heavy dark eyebrows and black eyes, the expression is strong, and not unfrequently imposing.

Pretty female faces, with small eyes, cannot be roused into a look of majesty, although capable of inspiring poetical sentiment.

A tragic face must have full black eyes. A tragedian with light eyes must rely more upon costume for success than on his features. A grand, imposing actor, male or female, must either possess dark eyes, or divert the attention of the theatre by artificial devices—voice, dress, and gesture being the handiest instrumentalities.

There are actors whose faces alone, without the utterance of a single word, set an audience in a roar of laughter. And there are also players of another grade, who command a spontaneous burst of applause the moment they come in sight upon the stage, before they have uttered a word.

With a continuance of the present fashion, raging among young ladies, to be peering through eyeglasses, not in any respect necessary, and universally known to be for the purpose of giving the wearer an imagined improved personal appearance, twenty years hence there will be some singular anomalies in female vision. There will be elderly ladies whose two eyes

will not agree in focal axis. One eye will be long and the other short-sighted, the effect of squinting through a glass with one while the other is closed.

Possibly the difficulty may then be met by wearing glasses whose convexities are segments of spheres of different diameters.

It is for the future comfort, as it is for the preservation of their good looks, for ladies to use their eyes as they were intended to be used, together and not one at a time.

This unaccountable propensity for glasses, and to use them on the most frivolous pretences, has been a direct cause of thousands of defective eyes.

Since the introduction of gaslight in dwellings, various inroads upon vision have been recognized that were unknown in the days of candles and lamps. Oculists find their support in cities, particularly where gas and glasses are in the ascendant, and not in the country, where primitive customs still prevail in respect to lighting apartments.

Reading or sewing by gaslight, which is too brilliant, requiring protecting apparatus for shading the eyes, is far more trying to them than the old-fashioned lights. The oxygen of the room is rapidly consumed by gas-burners, leaving a sort of smarting sensation and a more rapid evaporation of the tears. We rub them, unconsciously, which promotes a more copious lachrymal secretion, which is temporary relief.

Drummond lights, gas reflectors, or a profusion of mirrors, gilded frames, and other reflecting surfaces in gas-lighted apartments in common family occupancy, are extremely injurious. Such continued stimulus of concentrated luminous rays produces internal inflammations of delicate tissues, and engorgements of vessels, which culminate in defective vision. All these sources of derangement give importance to ophthalmic surgery.

Gazing at grates of red-hot coal, as many do in their moments of mental abstraction, examining pictures by a vivid light through a strong magnifier, sitting in rooms habitually draped and carpeted in bright scarlet colors, and reading in rapidly moving cars,—are all of them destructive to distinct vision, and should be carefully avoided.

Furniture upholstered with dark colors, and carpets and curtains in which those shades predominate, are of far more importance where there are children, than has been suspected. Weak eyes, and even severe maladies, are sometimes due to such unsuspected sources.

CHAPTER XX.

THEIR TEETH.

Hereditarily Good or Defective—Hot Food—Smoking—Use no Dentifrices of a Doubtful Character—Those most Useful—Quack Dentists—Employ Men of Science—Cause of Caries—A National Characteristic, etc., etc.

MANY allusions and cautions have already been given in regard to the preservation of the teeth. But some more extended observations may be of service to those who have not given much attention to the subject.

A hereditary tendency to an early loss of those important organs is quite common; and when it does exist, no course of medication is of much value in arresting the progress of decay. It is possible to retard their early destruction by precautionary measures, but they cannot be saved in their original appearance of strength and beauty of structure.

It is within the course of general observation that defective teeth are more common in towns than the country. Different systems of cookery, condiments, and seasonings, together with the custom of taking coffee, tea, chocolate, and almost every dish that comes upon a table very warm, if not really hot, are just so many agencies acting directly upon the enamel, till openings are made through it to the bony structure of the body of the teeth.

Hot food, ravenous haste in eating under the plea of urgency of business, and hot drinks habitually, are unfavorable to the health of human teeth. If by their organization they resist such influences through a long life, as they do with some

persons, it only proves their powers of resistance are stronger in some than in others.

The tendency of hot food and table-drinks is to disease the gums rather than the teeth themselves, in those in whom they remain sound, but seem to rise slowly out of their sockets in elderly persons. They are also thrown off by the absorption of the bony cell in which the fangs are imbedded.

Each root has a minute orifice at its extreme point, through which enters a nerve, an artery, and by their side, a vein to bring back the blood sent in by the artery.

In the body of the tooth is a cavity in which the nerve expands in a delicate plexus, which is the seat of exquisite pain when invaded, in consequence of the crumbling away of the walls which protected it.

Destruction of the Enamel.

No branch of the dental profession has exercised the mechanical ingenuity of operators more than devising methods for preventing that calamity. If consulted early, when the first approaches of caries are discoverable, the arrest of the disease should be tried. Gold-fillings have the approval of the most experienced dentists. Various substitutes have been prepared and had a trial, but gold holds its reputation for superiority, and is not likely to be superseded. Why it is better than amalgams, artificial bone-paste, tin, or any other metallic filling, must be sought for in the publications and teaching of dental associations and colleges.

Through those decayed openings, sugar, cold water, etc., cause excruciating misery. When the pulp has been once invaded, it is rarely ever afterwards so secured as not to give frequent intimations of its sensitiveness.

Cracking nuts with the teeth, by no means an uncommon

vulgarity, is an abuse that may derange their connection in the sockets. There are so many ways of impairing the utility of teeth, it is quite hopeless to attempt enumerating them.

Domesticated animals fed on warm slops at distilleries, on kitchen refuse warmed and thickened with meal, with an expectation of increasing the quantity of milk—quite common with families keeping a single cow—do their pet incalculable injury. Cracks and exfoliations of the enamel follow such feeding. The perpendicular chisels that stand up in their teeth, of pure hard enamel, crumble and become black. Cold food is safest for them.

Tobacco.

An unfortunate opinion prevails extensively, that chewing tobacco preserves teeth. It is a popular error that has made many a toothless jaw. Grit, inseparable from the weed in curing, gradually wears down the teeth by the constant grinding motion, so that some men are met with in whom the tops of the teeth are nearly level with their tumid gums.

Women, happily, are not prone to that abominable, filthy vice of chewing tobacco; but they occasionally indulge in some of the Southern portions of this country in habits as reprehensible and obnoxious. They rub their gums with pulverized tobacco till it produces an agreeable sensation something like inhaling a few inspirations of chloroform. It is applied artistically with a brush, quite frequently when the habit has been established. Ladies smoke in Cuba. Some dilapidated females practise the same disgusting custom with us, but that circumstance does not lessen the objections that might be arrayed against it.

Tobacco-chewing is exceedingly offensive to those who do not use it. Chewers are nuisances everywhere, and especially

in public conveyances and private houses. Floors saturated with saliva, charged with tobacco and spittoons—an American contrivance for protecting carpets—are sources of disease. Breathing air in apartments where evaporation of such narcotic filth is going on, must be exceedingly prejudicial, and, if carefully investigated, no doubt, would be found to be the immediate cause of strange effects upon individuals of delicate organizations.

There are women who virtually unsex themselves by copying the habits of men of low degree, in the use of tobacco. Taking snuff is one of their bad imitations. It is considered unfortunate not to be handsome; and old age with its wrinkles, is dreaded by all women. But that a homely one should take to snuff is perfectly surprising, as she thus forfeits all hope of being an object of interest, even to a Hottentot.

Dentifrices.

Place no confidence in dentifrices, the composition of which is a secret. In this age of science it is a privilege to know precisely what we use as food, in food, and for medicine. It is prudent to know too, what we are using for our teeth.

When preparations for cleaning teeth are secret compositions, beware of them. Probably they contain an acid that would gnaw into the enamel, or discolor the teeth beyond the possibility of restoration to their primitive whiteness.

Teeth should not be brushed either with pulverized charcoal or pumice-stone, yet both are largely sold for that purpose. They insensibly wear away the enamel. To file off dark spots would be precisely analogous, only the latter would be quickly accomplished, while the other would be a gradual process. Thus fluids would reach the bony structure, followed by discoloration, decay, and tooth-ache.

Detergent soaps are allowable, being soft and free from grit. With a soft, flexible brush, soap, with cold water, removes adhering particles of food, and prevents the accumulation of tartar about the margin of the gums.

Immediately on leaving the table, it should be an established habit to cleanse one's teeth in that manner. Spasmodic attentions are to no purpose. Doing it when the thought occurs that they have been neglected, does but little good. It is by daily care that they are preserved.

When omitting to brush the teeth, even for a few days, with some persons, parasites actually burrow about their necks, and build up strong domiciles of calcareous matter, which destroys the periostic connections between them and their alveolar sockets.

Tartar, as it is called, a product almost as hard as coral, inhabited, too, by minute beings, which, under a microscope, exhibit active habits, should not be permitted to establish colonies in the mouth.

Dentists.

When caries appears, consult a dentist, and be careful to employ no second-rate one, because his charges are low. There are dental institutions and colleges where the whole art and science of dentistry is taught thoroughly. Allow no cheap operator to prescribe or place an instrument on the teeth. Neither permit amalgams of mercury, copper, lead, or indeed any filling, to be pressed into a hollow tooth, which has not the approval of the magnates of the profession.

There are quack dentists, who rank next to quack doctors. Risk neither health, teeth, nor purse with either. Strange as it may appear, there are thousands who place themselves at the

mercy of medical and dental pretenders, who would trust neither with their wallets.

A gentleman of New York, a little time since, consulted a medical gentleman on account of sore, inflamed gums, tongue and fauces. They had resisted a variety of medications till the gravity of the case alarmed the patient, and almost destroyed his confidence in the science of medicine.

After examination, shocked at the raw, inflamed appearance of the patient's mouth, looking as though burned, the doctor inquired whether he had any defective teeth. On reflection, he remembered that he had never discovered but a single decay in one of the back teeth, a long while before, which was promptly filled, so that his teeth might be considered perfectly sound.

The physician at once suspected the cause of such extensive disease of the mucous membrane had its origin there, and advised the immediate removal of the filling, and refilling with gold. His recovery and perfect restoration was immediate, showing there was a metallic poison in the first filling that had caused him so much inconvenience and suffering.

Nationalities in Regard to Teeth.

Dr. John Allen, a learned, skilful dentist of New York, has collected an immense amount of valuable information respecting the history of teeth.

The body of a man, says Dr. Allen, with all its different parts, is composed of only a few simple materials combined in certain proportions to give strength and utility to the whole structure. Those materials are component parts of the food, and, although nutrient substances used by the inhabitants of different parts of the globe, appear quite similar, yet the food

provided for them in various countries possesses the same general constituents everywhere essential to human organism.

Albanians of lesser Asia live principally on milk, cheese, eggs, olives, and vegetables. Sometimes they bake bread, but often eat their corn or maize boiled. Hippocrates says they were very strong in his day. Muscular, with oval faces, ruddy cheeks, and an animated eye. They had well-proportioned mouths and fine teeth.

In Central America, north of the Equator, the Mandingos have a barbarous custom of filing their front teeth to a point. The same extraordinary operation is extensively practised among tribes in various parts of pagan Africa.

In Eastern Africa, particularly, the Abyssinians have beautiful teeth, white and regular. Nubians, and residents of countries between Abyssinia and Egypt, distinguished for personal symmetry, having a dark-brown complexion, also are remarkable for their sound, white, strong teeth.

In Western Africa, and also in parts of Southern Africa, including Congo, the negroes are well made, extremely black, but noted for their superior teeth.

A people of that same vast continent, known as Khonds, of a dark color, straight and well-proportioned, are also remarkable for teeth of a pearly whiteness.

Turkish tribes of Kiptschak, the Tartars of Kasan, and all through that extensive region in the occupancy of bold, warlike, indomitably active men, are quite as celebrated for fine teeth as for their martial energy and determination of character.

Travellers represent the inhabitants of Eastern Arabia as being above the average stature of Europeans of a temperate zone. They are robust and active. With oval faces, copper-colored broad foreheads, black, bushy eyebrows, dark eyes,

quick and restless, their sound white teeth are a remarkable national characteristic.

Arabs generally have sound teeth, even in the jaws, and rarely irregular. Unless addicted to chewing betel, they wear through a long life unimpaired.

Between China and Hindostan, the Siamese blacken their teeth, and also redden the inside of their mouths with a masticatory of lime, caoutchouc, and betel, which (says Dr. Allen), gives them a disgusting appearance.

Betel-chewing is practised extensively among the fellahs of Upper Egypt. Their lips and gums look as though they had been recently burned with a hot iron. Their teeth wear down level with the gums in a few years.

Tahitans have splendidly developed teeth, but they have an abominable custom of interfering with them, under certain circumstances—such as extracting some of them. If unmolested, they endure white and perfect to extreme old age.

New Zealanders do not exceed the common stature of Europeans, and, in general, are not so well made about the limbs. Their color is of a different cast, varying from a pretty deep black to yellowish, with tolerably regular features. Their faces are round, with full lips, large eyes, black hair, straight and strong. Like most barbarians, their teeth are broad, fully developed, and white.

Capt. Fitzroy says of the New Zealanders, they are like those of the Tangians in regard to their dental apparatus. In old age they are either all worn down, or present an anomalous appearance.

Those natives residing near hot sulphurous springs or sulphur waters, on the borders of the lake of Roturna, have enamel on their front teeth yellow, although that does not impair their soundness.

To the eastward of the Society Islands, in the South Pacific, are the Gambier Islands. They are inhabited by a people fairer than the Sandwich Islanders. The average height of the men is about that of Englishmen, but they are not very robust. In their muscles there is a flabbiness, and in old men a laxity of integuments: their skin hangs in folds on different parts of the body. They have Asiatic countenances, with extremely white teeth; but they are represented to fall out at an early period.

In Easter Island, the most remote from the continent of all inhabited islands on the earth, there are finely developed inhabitants, with excellent features. The women are particularly handsome. Such beautiful teeth are nowhere else to be found. In the San War group of islands, all the natives have superb teeth. The Tarawan Islands, abounding in cocoanuts, fish, guava, banian trees, and sugar cane, the people have sound, white teeth.

The Great Vita, one of a group of islands between the fifth and nineteenth degrees south latitude, the inhabitants are celebrated for their sound teeth. So are the Feejeans. In fact, it has been the remark of voyagers generally, that the teeth of those distant islanders are always sound, white, and nearly as perfect as such organs can be, and remain so to extreme old age.

Vanikora, another cluster of islands, is inhabited by a black race, who cultivate taro, iguanas, and kava. Although small in size, they approach the negro in general physical appearance and organization, with countenances singularly resembling the ourang-outang,—their eyes being large, deeply set, and very much like those of the genuine negro of the tropics. Their lips are large and their hair crisp. An inveterate use of betel destroys their teeth early, which would last as long as those of the islanders of whom we have been

speaking, were it not for the vice of chewing that abominable product of the vegetable kingdom which destroys them.

The natives of Australia differ from every other race of men in features, complexion, habits, and language. They have black hair, a cinnamon colored skin, and a dilated nose, with high cheek-bones—often an elongated upper jaw, with large sound teeth, very rarely defective in any respect.

Throughout South America, and everywhere on the Pacific, all tribes which have been met with from the earliest period of Spanish exploration, are distinguished for sound teeth. Exhumed skulls exhibiting a condition of the ancestors of all the tribes for more than a thousand years before any of them were known to European navigators, show what perfect teeth they had when living. Even after a lapse of ten centuries, they are still white, sound, and powerfully strong.

All aborigines of North America had sound, white teeth. Natives of Eastern Patagonia, according to Dr. Allen's memoranda, are a tall, extremely stout race of men. They are of a rich brown, rather of a reddish tint, with broad heads, rather flat on the top, a large mouth, thick lips, and prodigiously strong teeth. In one of the islands in the Magellanic archipelago, where the men are not more than five feet tall on an average, they are quite as remarkable as any race yet discovered, for white, sound, well-proportioned teeth.

In such estimation are sound teeth among some South American Indians, that they actually wear collars ornamented with them. Those strange appendages of humanity are called Botacudos. The Chaymas, another wild race, very analagous in physical appearance and similar in the practice of rites and ceremonies, in the estimation of Humboldt, leading a very simple life, have fine white teeth.

Civilization in Reference to Teeth.

Civilization has been destructive to teeth. A few, out of many, resist those influences which bring on premature decay; but a majority of the population throughout the United States have either lost some or the whole in both jaws. Where are we to look for a cause of such universally defective teeth?

Dr. Allen is emphatic in denouncing the flour of which our bread is usually made, as the reason why teeth fall into decay. If flour were not bolted, but baked as it comes from between the stones in grinding, elements essential to the growth and reparation of the teeth would be disposed of in the system for their benefit. But the phosphate of lime, existing alone in the bran, is completely taken out in the process of bolting, leaving nothing for the teeth. That is fed to horses, swine, and cattle, whose teeth get the benefit of it, while we seek assistance of dentists, which would not be necessary, had we subsisted on food that had not been deprived of elements introduced in it to keep the teeth in sound working order.

Dr. Allen, closing his valuable researches on the anatomy and general economy of the teeth, expresses himself as follows:—

"According to our national statistics—1860—there were in the United States, 13,868 milling establishments for the manufacture of flour and meal, requiring 27,626 men, at an annual cost for labor of $8,721,391. Thus you see the number of men, mills, bolting-cloths, and dollars, that are employed in this great improvement devised by man for changing the proportions of one of the most important constituents in the country.

"The result of ignoring this mineral element from the staff of life is, undoubtedly, to a great extent, one of the most pro-

minent causes of this national calamity (poor teeth), that sweeps from the population 20,000,000 of teeth every year.

"The potter cannot make the bowl without the clay, neither can good teeth be formed without a due proportion of lime, which is abundantly provided for our use upon the outer portion of the grain; and in rejecting that portion of the cereals, we virtually refuse to use the requisite materials of which the teeth are formed. We also deprive ourselves of a due proportion of atmospheric constituents, especially in our crowded cities. And also of the requisite amount of exercise to promote vigorous health and good constitutions. If we would be instrumental in doing more good in our profession, let us do all in our power to diffuse these important truths among the people."

In order to form good teeth, the proper materials must be used to make them; otherwise they will be defective in their structure, and liable to early decay.

The materials of which good teeth are formed are as follows:—

Phosphate of lime, with traces of fluoride of calcium	67.72
Carbonate of lime	3.36
Soluble salts	0.83
Cartilage	27.61
Fat	0.40

The enamel or external covering of the teeth has a still larger proportion of the phosphate and carbonate of lime. These different constituents are furnished us in the food designed for our use. Other constituents are also thus provided, of which the soft tissues are formed. Although there are traces of the mineral element in other articles of diet, yet the largest supplies are found in the cereals, in the following proportions:—

In 500 lbs. of whole grain (wheat) there is	
Muscle material	78 lbs.
Bone and teeth material	85 "
Fat principle	12 "
500 lbs. of fine flour contain muscle material	65 "
Bone and teeth material	30 "
Fat principle	10 "

The Creator has not only provided the proper materials for building up the human system with all its parts, but he has also given us a fixed standard of proportions for each material to be used, which we should recognize as correct; but instead of doing so, we change the proportions of the mineral element (which is deposited in the outer portion of the grain) by bolting out nearly two-thirds of it from every barrel of flour, and discarding it from the staff of life, simply because it is the fashion to have our bread made of the finest flour, that it may be white instead of dark.

Now, it is estimated that a healthy child consumes half a barrel of flour in a year; and if this be fine, white flour, the child is denied twenty pounds a year of that portion of the grain which contains the proper materials for bones and teeth. This deficiency of the mineral element in the food causes the teeth to be comparatively soft and chalky in their structure; and the result is, in this country, where fine flour is principally used for bread, there is not one in twenty without more or less decayed teeth before they have passed the morning of life. On the other hand, those nations who do not change the proportions of the mineral constituents in their food, do not lose their teeth from decay. This fact is well established by various writers upon the physical history of man, in different parts of the world, and is a recognized principle of physiology; and yet, as a nation, we are regardless of the consequences, and sacrifice

many millions of teeth annually. This national calamity can be prevented to a great extent by simply popularizing a change of fashion. Let the bread of this nation be made from unbolted flour. Let us cease to change the fixed standard of proportions in the constituents from which the teeth are made, and then we may expect these organs to be well formed, and to last as long as the other parts of the system. If this love of fashion has too strong a hold upon the public mind to do this, let parents, who regard the welfare of their children, ponder well this subject, and decide which is best for their little ones—fine flour or fine teeth.

The essence of all arguments advanced to prove that our teeth decay prematurely, in consequence of the ill-treatment they receive, has been printed and promulgated from so many reliable sources, that it is lamentable no heed is given to such important information.

Phosphate of lime, which is essential to the good condition of teeth, is carefully sifted out of flour that bakers may have white bread to sell. The bran contains it. That being considered of no real value, though a little better than nothing, is given to swine, cows, and horses. Therefore there is fed out to domestic animals the most important element in grain, which, if used in human food, would insure better teeth and a higher development of many silly brains.

Because this important fact is of immense consequence to remember, that parents may pursue a course that might secure sound teeth for their children, the statement, like some other physiological lessons, has been often repeated in the foregoing pages, at the risk of being considered unnecessarily tautological.

CHAPTER XXI.

Their Hair.

How it is Abused—Desquamations—Depilation—Excessive Growth—Baldness—Coverings for the Head—Luxuriant Hair—Preservation—Hair-Dyes—Objections to them—Effects of Lead Preparations—Sulphur.

Women have fewer vices than men, but they have stronger prejudices. Whoever or whatever is liked they love; and whenever they hate, it is with the spite of a demon.

The opinions of women in regard to propriety and personal appearance allow of no interference; and in doing that which is actually detrimental to themselves, if satisfied it is the custom of a majority of the sex, they cannot be easily persuaded to change their sentiments. Reasoning is of no use with those who cannot be moved by arguments when they run counter to their wishes.

Women bear misfortune with heroism, but ridicule cannot be endured. Hunger, thirst, and innumerable privations are borne with becoming fortitude; but when they are objects of jest, in the way of derision, if no other way of escape presents, suicide is boldly perpetrated.

Nothing quite so completely engrosses their thoughts as dress. It is an idol of their adoration, and, therefore, an ever-present subject of contemplation. A woman unfashionably clothed had better be in a tomb, if she has aspirations for position. They also worship jewelry, especially in the form of rings, bracelets; and, above all, diamonds take such hold of

them, that they are fashionably considered anchors which will hold a ship at her moorings through all the storms that threaten the stability of social life.

One of the first thoughts of a woman, whether a queen or a chambermaid of a second-rate hotel, is to have her hair tastefully dressed. Were the house on fire, or an enemy sacking the city, a true woman would flee with reluctance from impending ruin, if her coiffure were unfinished.

A woman's hair is an ornament which serves her longer than the flushes of health, and it would remain beautiful, thick, strong, and ornamental quite into advanced age, were it not badly treated. Because they are perpetually doing something to injure it, it is spoiled. As in the practice of other violations of sanitary laws, some individuals have such a fountain of vitality as to resist influences which destroy others; so in respect to the human hair. Some ladies are remarkable for its profusion and fine color late in life, while most of the sisterhood contrive to thin it out and destroy it, unknowingly, of course.

A woman's hair is an ornament, independently of an important service it performs in her vital economy.

How Injured.

Because they are always endeavoring to improve its appearance by unremitting attentions, they are exceedingly apt to deprive themselves of the full development of a thickly-set head of hair by too much manipulation.

Some of the self-imposed cares which contemplate an improvement of their personal appearance, medicated washes, pomatums, etc., to their hair, do it an injury. Such violent discipline as it is subjected to with combs, not only breaks individual hairs, but inflammations are induced in the scalp

which impair the office of the bulbs by raking the cuticular surface too severely.

Females so circumstanced by their low state of civilization as to rarely dress their tangled locks, have an immense growth of it. Squaws, particularly, who are habitually bare-headed in all conditions of weather, not only have a profusion of hair, but it is strong, long, and so well set, that even combing, a process only occasionally undertaken, neither loosens nor breaks it. Exposure, therefore, to the open air is exceedingly conducive to a healthy condition of that natural covering of the head, which performs an office in relation to the brain of which physiologists have as yet a very imperfect knowledge.

Not satisfied with giving a parallelism to hairs in combing, when masses are twisted into cords or closely braided, the strain given at the roots not only injures the cell from whence each hair springs, but the hair itself is maimed, and, its connection so disturbed, it becomes brittle, breaks easily, or falls out entirely.

This explains how the comb becomes laden with hair at each repetition of combing. Ladies are alarmed at it, and puzzle themselves for a reason of such a phenomenon. But nature would rarely be at fault, if its processes were not grossly interfered with by ruthless hands.

Women would become bald like men, were their bonnets as badly contrived as hats for excluding air. Being light, generally of open work, which gives a free ventilation, perspiration escapes, and an increased temperature of retained air is prevented. Then, again, they seldom cover the head, even with their light feathery gear, more than a few hours at a time in the course of twenty-four hours. The materials of which their bonnets are fabricated are of a texture far more favorable for the protection of hair, or rather non-interference with it,

than felt or stiffened glazed pasteboard, made impervious by a coating of gum-shellac in all kinds of modern hats.

Hats.

A few manufacturers, having become enlightened in regard to the importance of having the same temperature within the hat as outside, have small orifices made in the top or sides, which no way mar its beauty. Ventilation, secured by small apertures, is philosophical; and had hats been so constructed from boyhood, they would probably have saved many from baldness whose heads have not a hair on the top.

Desquamations.

Desquamations of the scarfskin, in a mealy, white sort of powder, under the common name of dandruff, is wholly due to a protracted chronic inflammation of the scalp. Successive crops are thrown off, and they continue to be, just as long as the hair is kept too much on the strain, by being pinioned with side-combs and firmly-fixed pins.

Whenever the slow state of inflammation continues for a considerable time, patches of hair come out, leaving bare, bald spots which are rarely ever reclothed with another crop. There is a vital tenacity in the bulbs which holds out so that thin solitary hairs, short and sickly, give a hope of a restoration, but they possess but little strength, and seldom have much color or vigor.

Cases are cited, when, after partial baldness, new and vigorous hair shoots forth; but that depends more on the constitutional vigor of the individual than on drugs, pomatums, or other miscalled hair-restoratives.

When hair does reappear, it is certain the cells which, in their

aggregation, constitute a bulb, are intact. If they begin to secrete good hair, of a quality which was raised in youth, it must be a gratification, and the secret of it is the vital energy of the system.

Such bald places as have been described peculiar to women who bestow the most care upon their hair,—a reason for it is theoretically imagined to be the growing propensity of invisible parasites. But it is quite doubtful whether such mites are operating as extensively as supposed. In fact, whether any such destructive invisibles infest hair that is so often combed, brushed, and otherwise variously treated, is questionable.

A Bald Woman.

A perfectly bald woman is extremely rare; still, there are a few. Those partially so are common. Wigs are so ingeniously fabricated, that it would be difficult to determine which has succeeded best, Nature or Art. A system of hair-dressing, commencing with the day, leaves it roped, cabled, and pinioned, as though each mass were a prisoner.

With such a condition of the head, an arrest of depilation could hardly be expected. The first step towards improving the secretion of hair, is to abandon severe tension, and the next measure should be to dispense with caps night or day.

A coarse net, merely sufficient to keep the hair from falling into disorder, is the only covering that should be worn. No tonic application will compare with pure cold water, next to air, which holds the first place. Its value is demonstrated in the immense development of hair on the heads of those who wear neither hats, caps, nor bonnets.

Some ladies are deluded with a theory that hair is kept soft, pliable, and glossy, by being covered with oiled silk. With that expectation, those more than usually solicitous for its pre-

servation, on the appearance of deterioration, fly to that pernicious course, and thus actually hasten a catastrophe they are most anxious to avoid.

When a luxuriant growth of hair floats about so much unheeded by young misses as to be troublesome, the extent of confinement to which it should be subjected is the use of a net. Exhalations are not then impeded. If not as freely evaporated from the cranial surface as from the neck, face, and hands, of the roots of which such frequent mention has been made, will surely take on a morbid action.

Extraordinary Growth.

Very tall, slender, fragile young ladies, who develop prematurely,—that is, present all the physical signs of perfect womanhood from thirteen to fifteen, are generally distinguished for a profusion of long, soft hair. It is related that one of those delicate, and certainly too quickly-made women, who leaped, as it were, from childhood into the full proportions of a woman, without possessing a corresponding mental development, had such an unnatural growth of hair as to cause her death. It grew several inches in twenty-four hours, and consequently exhausted the vitality of her system in an unprecedented manner. Such examples are rare, but occur frequently enough to become matters of physiological record.

When it is apparent the development is in excess, the quantity and growth of the hair being wholly disproportioned to the rest of the body, and, therefore, self-evidently diverting nutrition from other channels, medical counsel is advisable.

Advice from old women, just because they are old, is not prudent. Hundreds of them in large communities are plethoric with receipts for human afflictions; but neither their opinions,

nor their ointments,—commonly farragos of incompatibles, chemically considered,—should be accepted. They may succeed in making water-gruel, spreading mustard plasters, or understand the way of preparing catnip-tea; but if health is a boon, never trust to any for prescriptions for preserving it, who are not conversant with the law of life.

Sign of a Vulgarian.

There are a plenty of bold men who might have been clothed in their own hair instead of a barber's wig, had they conformed to the usages of cultivated society—leaving their hats in the entry before entering a drawing-room. It is one of the rudest and most common of vulgarities, and therefore deserving a severe reprehension, that in some of the Southern States a man's hat is a permanent fixture to his head. Whether they are removed at night is a question. Certainly, they wear them in the presence of ladies as tenaciously as orthodox Israelites do theirs in a synagogue. If anything smacks of extreme vulgarity, it is to see a person claiming to be a gentleman, sitting in a parlor in conversation with ladies without removing his hat.

Antiquity of Wigs.

Revelations from the mummy pits of Egypt show that subjects of the Pharaohs of the male gender all wore wigs. They were extremely light and skilfully made of delicate materials, which permitted a free ventilation. At present, and indeed for many centuries past, since mummy-making was abandoned, Orientals have their heads closely shaven about every ten days. Even male infants pass through the same operation, and have it continued as long as they live. As mummies were shaven

hair bulb. The vascularity is apparent under microscopic inspection. Therefore, the less we do in dressing the hair beyond keeping it orderly, the better. By frequently cropping, it is supposed to thicken the hairs at their base, and encourage a more vigorous growth. To some extent, that may be true. When short, air is more freely admitted to the scalp, and insensible, perspirable emanations escape without raising an unhealthy temperature when pent up in ordinary hats, silk caps, and fur head-dresses.

The whole secret of having luxuriant hair is to keep it sufficiently loose for a free access of air, and never resorting to oils, pomatums, or bear's-grease, however sweetly scented to disguise their origin in lard, cotton-seed oil, or goose-grease.

No preparation compares with pure cold water, for giving a gloss and vitality to a lady's hair. Nothing equals it, and being within the reach of all, they have the means of securing a precious boon without money or price.

Gray Hair.

Another point in regard to hair relates to its color. Ladies become gray, occasionally, while they consider themselves younger than they really are. It is no evidence of old age to have white or gray hair as early as when just emerging from their teens. It is a hereditary affair in such cases, and shows itself through one or two generations. Nor can a defective secretion of coloring matter be restored by any art or application known to science.

It has been said the Chinese have a mode of meeting the difficulty by taking something into the stomach that supplies the blood with an element for restoring the hair to its original color. The chemists doubt it, and they know quite as much

and far more of science, than people of the flowery central kingdom.

Hair-dyes are extensively manufactured to cover up those premature indications of age, about which some ladies are extremely sensitive, without reflecting upon the fact that it is an incidental circumstance, sometimes quite independent of longevity.

Moral objections are urged against the use or resort to hair-dyes, on the score of its being a deception. But ladies practise other deceptions quite as heinous, and if one is wrong, the other is equally reprehensible; although no public censor has yet had the courage to particularize what those deceptions may be.

If the color of an edifice does not suit, the proprietor gives it another to meet his views, without causing any unpleasant comments of those passing by as to his right to interfere with a natural process of decay that is going on, or the moral ter-pitude of covering up a color which he does not like with another more acceptable to his taste.

Ladies have the same inalienable right to color their fiery red, yellow, or gray hair to black, brown, or any other tint which makes it more conformable to their individual standard of beauty, without scruple or apology.

It is a duty to look as well as we can to other eyes. If we can appear younger than we are by a little beet-juice on the cheeks, or have the hair at fifty look as it did at eighteen, there is no more wickedness in doing so, than in wearing artificial teeth.

If it is an offence in the sight of heaven to color our hair, it must be an offence also to substitute new clothing for thread-bare garments. The moment waning humanity attempts to rejuvenate in external appearance, there are troops of excessively

good people who denounce it with holy horror, as a profanation and an unpardonable offence against Christian propriety.

We are advocates for harmless improvements in our external appearance, even if it relates to the substitution of new clothes for old ones. As the hair first indicates the decrease of vital force, there is nothing criminal, or particularly offensive to the public sentiment in keeping up cheerful appearances to conceal the melancholy discovery that we are no longer young.

No one is so weak as to suppose that by staining the cheeks or coloring the hair, either will prolong their stay on earth, or prevent them going to that far-off country from whence no traveller returns. To remain at a stand-still point and be forever in the bloom of youth, with no indications of having passed a meridian, cannot be expected. But it is gratifying to some to conceal their infirmities, but not so easy as to cover up wrinkles or mount a wig.

Through the instrumentalities of art, ladies succeed admirably in covering up many evidences of having been in the land of the living considerably longer than they are willing to acknowledge.

Pharmaceutical preparations for external and internal administration, of no value whatever, are articles of commercial importance, because they are represented to do so much towards the rejuvenation of antiquated females. They cannot be convinced of the imposition, so strong is the desire to appear in perpetual vigor. An active trade in hair-dyes, under the title of *restorers*, *regenerators*, *invigorators*, etc., therefore, is mainly sustained by those of both sexes who fancy gray hair speaks too plainly of age.

Do hair-dyes interfere with the health of those who apply them?

Hair-Dyes.

Occasionally frightful accounts of their poisonous effects make excellent sensational paragraphs, and aid the sale of some new preparation that is represented to contain no injurious properties.

Under the impression that the skin absorbs fluids, hair-dyes are occasionally denounced. It is very questionable whether any cuticular imbibation can take place. Experiments, carefully conducted to determine whether it is possible for the skin to absorb any kind of fluid in which the whole body had been immersed for hours, and varied in temperature, it could not be detected in any of the organs, or in the secretions or excretions; nor by weighing before and after, was there any loss more than might reasonably be expected by evaporation.

Therefore, hair-dyes are not, and cannot be absorbed. It is possible to irritate the scalp with an acrid preparation. If there are abraded surfaces, cuts, scratches, or open ulcerations, then it is quite probable there might be both a local and a constitutional disturbance. But if no such conditions exist, then it is idle to dwell on the effects of a hair-dye, even if it is made up of such materials.

That lead may be held in solution to a very small extent in water drawn from lead pipes, in which it has remained considerable time, is not doubted. Some persons are extremely susceptible to its influence in the minutest form, while others are in no way molested by it. Thus, palsies are often traced to that source, and it is quite possible those supposed to have been partially or wholly paralyzed by hair-dye, received the lead in the water they drank, and not by its external absorption.

Most of the dyes have the reputation of being made of lead and largely of sulphur.

Lead pipes are objectionable, but it would be expensive to introduce a substitute. Millionaires only could afford to tap street mains with silver or glass tubes of sufficient strength to resist pressure from without or from within. Municipalities, boards of health, and chemists are convinced, by thorough investigation, that lead in solution in lead water pipes is so minute in quantity, as not to endanger public health. As well might printing be abandoned, and books and papers written with a pen, as before the invention of type, because one compositor in one hundred thousand has benumbed fingers in consequence of lead in their composition.

There is a vital chemistry—a preservative force constantly operating for the protection of the body—separating, carrying away, or neutralizing poisonous properties taken into the stomach in aliments and water, which, if allowed to remain unchanged but a little time, would be productive of painful consequences. It is in that way that lead poison is disposed of before so much of it accumulates as to become unmanageable by that conservative vital force which is a watchful guardian over organic life.

Some persons are infinitely more susceptible to certain impressions than others. On the whole, we must be reconciled to the contingencies of modern civilization. It would be absurd to abandon thousands of conveniences because it is possible some of them might raise a pimple, and thus mar the beauty of a fine face.

By no means run a needless risk in an effort to improve personal appearance; but in the application of hair-dyes, no danger need be apprehended, if the skin is not broken, and the scalp is free from ulcerations.

Simply moistening the hair cannot in any way conduct the fluid into the system. Hairs are not tubes which may be filled

at their outward extremity, like a bottle; nor are they hollow cylinders, through which a stream may be conveyed to the skull. Hair performs no such function. The fluid of which they are formed is taken directly from arterial blood, flowing from the base outwardly. No inverted action can take place. Neuralgic twinges, numbness, or giddiness, from the use of hair-dyes, are not produced by its absorption. If at all, it is by evaporation, and inhaling the vapor into the lungs, and thus conducting the poison to the circulation.

Hair-dyes contain sulphur. That, too, is denounced on the false supposition that it creeps insidiously through the hair, like a sand-gigger, into the system. Irritation is not absorption. Continued applications of solutions of lead or sulphur would unquestionably become irritants, and they indirectly affect the general health. A palsy of the muscles about the eyes, or sides of the face, or of the broad, flat occipito frontalis that covers the top of the head, from hair-dyes, must be extremely rare; and then, rather from sympathy, than a direct action of the dye to the extreme twigs of the first and second branches of the fifth pair of nerves, which are finely dispersed in the facial muscles.

Nerves of motion emanate from the vertebral column, while those of special sense have their origin in the brain. Threads of the superior, middle, and inferior facial nerves which control the muscles on the sides of the face, are wholly beyond and independent of twigs from quite another source distributed to the hair bulbs.

There is no valid physiological objection, therefore, nor pathological, to staining white hair black, brown, or yellow. If mixtures contain pulverized cantharides, or any powerful irritant, of course uncomfortable consequences will follow.

Some hair-dye manufacturers claim that they restore the

hair to its original color. That is a mistake, since it can only be accomplished by a natural process, the tint being carried to the bulbs by arterial action. Chemically changing the color is not a restoration, and, besides, it fades out in a few days, if neglected.

Vegetable dyes are always preferable to metallic. Turks, Persians, Egyptians, and other Orientals, who glory in their intensely black beards, have them stained by decoctions and inspissated juices of plants. Inmates of harems, too, avail themselves of simple products of the vegetable kingdom for their raven locks.

Sulphur is extensively used in American hair-dyes, but that need not excite alarm or apprehension. When applied, as it often is, to the whole surface of the body in the form of an unguent for cuticular affections, in baths or internally, no baneful effects follow. How much less direct, when simply applied to the hair.

Whoever gives to the patronizing-hair-dyeing public a purely vegetable coloring fluid, will reap a rich return.

CHAPTER XXII.

Their Feet.

Can't make them Small Enough—How they are Injured—Origin of Corns and Bunions—Tight Shoes—Enlargement of the Toe-Joints by Compression—India Rubber—Evil of High Heels—Remedy for Pains and Deformities.

Having adverted to the painful consequences of wearing garments that fit too closely about the chest, without the remotest expectation of gaining converts among those for whom these observations have been written, the consideration of another evil of serious moment to the every-day comfort of women, is a subject not to be overlooked by them.

It being admitted that Nature is superior to art, it is extraordinary that women of sense continue to torture themselves, with an apparent resolution to compel Nature to sanction their follies. Notwithstanding the most positive and undeniable proofs that have been given in public lectures, and in printed volumes, to explain intelligibly the injurious effects of tight-lacing, women are as obstinately opposed to any change in that respect, as they would be to a revolution that would abridge their freedom, or interfere with cherished opinions in regard to their moral duties and obligations.

Feet were designed to be used in walking, and it must be admitted that their anatomical structure admirably fits them for sustaining the weight of the body.

An architectural arrangement of seven irregularly-shapen bones of the instep, brought together in a manner to form two

arches, unequalled in strength and adaptation for the purposes contemplated in their structure, needs only to be examined attentively to convince a sceptic that the evidence of design is too forcibly demonstrated in the mechanical adjustment of that part of the foot, to be questioned by a sane mind.

There was a necessity contemplated for giving the lower extremities peculiar strength. The feet are complicated machines, managed by a multitude of vessels, cords, nerves, ligaments and voluntary muscles, and yet, with all their complexity, if not ill-treated, they rarely get out of order. They would outlast some of the apparently higher organs, and are always in readiness for use when properly treated.

Dissatisfied with Nature.

Women are notorious for being dissatisfied with that part of their own organization. Some of the kindest-hearted, sympathetic ladies, are intolerably severe upon their own feet, which they torture without remorse, when it would distress them painfully to witness the struggles of a fly in a spider's web. They comment, without apology, on the feet of other women.

They are harder upon their own feet than on the doubtful reputation of a rival, and recklessly tamper with their pedal extremities to their own discomfiture.

A small foot is more prized by some women than a full purse. She is a bold female who prefers comfortable shoes, if they appear to be large, while millions court the applause of fools who pretend to idolize little feet.

Laws of proportion are studied by artists in living beings; one may have a large head, another long fingers, a plump hand, or a coarse and angular pair of shoulders. Some are dis-

tinguished for short limbs, others are stilted up on immensely slender legs, hardly larger than the slender supports of a flamingo.

As people vary in dimensions, weight, strength or gracefulness, so their feet vary, but they are always precisely of the size they ought to be, to sustain the pressure from above. Unfortunately, ladies, as a general observation, do not see things in that light. An arbitrary ruling of the votaries of fashion has decided that feet must be small to be elegant. This is the reason why distorted feet are almost universal among women who are removed, by fortunate circumstances, above the lower stratum of society.

They patiently submit to severe grievances without complaining, but if their feet happen to be larger than the standard of gentility requires, their lamentations, though not always audible, are, nevertheless, nursed in secret through years of hope and ambition to be remoulded.

From the vanity of some ladies, whose thoughts are more concentrated on their feet than their education, it impresses spectators with an idea that they think more of them than they do of the culture of their minds.

Abnormal Conditions.

Corns, bunions, incurvated nails, callosities on the heels, riding toes, distortions, chilblains, and many other troubles of a less grievous character, are each and all of them the results of wearing such shoes as most commonly do not fit them, in consequence of determining to wear those which are too small. Tight shoes are the immediate agents in the production of all those pedal woes.

If small feet have their worshippers in worthless admirers,

there are those who view with sorrow a deplorable progress of that phase in civilization which cripples women in order to make them satisfied with themselves.

Swellings, œdematous enlargements of the joints, especially of the great toe, or a doughy fulness of the ankles, increased by too tightly-laced boots, are all the results of voluntary abuse.

By mistake, boots and shoes may be too small, but where there is a determination to conform to a prescribed standard, the wearer is not to be bluffed off by pain, or the outcry of oppressed flesh and blood at the point of pressure.

Continued compression cannot be endured long without disarranging the anatomical relations of the bones. The foot is built up of twenty-six bones, no two being alike, of the same weight, size, or shape, besides one or two additional ones, not always constant, called *sesamoids*, resembling split peas.

Development of Extra Bones.

An extra bone may be generated to meet certain contingencies. These sesamoids are two, three, or even four in number, depending on circumstances affecting the particular region where an extra bone may be developed.

Originally, only two exist, and these are at the base of the large toe, being props for lifting the long flexor tendon farther from the articulation, to increase its power. Bunions are an inflamed thickening of the periosteum and an enlargement of the ends of two bones making the great toe joint.

If there is pressure at that point, long-continued inflammation sets in. The irritation extends down from the skin to the periosteum,—the membrane immediately investing the bone, which thickens, becomes puffy and exceedingly sensitive when its vitality is roused.

Each tissue is thickened, and the exterior becomes red and painful. Unless all pressure is immediately removed and applications made to reduce the inflammation, matter forms and sometimes is copiously discharged.

If not opened with a lancet,—the pent-up matter being allowed to remain, the bone may become diseased, which greatly complicates the misfortune.

Ulceration leaves the joint a little enlarged, even when treated skilfully. No shoe ever fits precisely or easily, after the periosteum has once been roused to inflammation.

Topical applications are only temporary relief. It is preposterous to think of a radical cure without removing the cause.

Another tribulation connected with uncured bunions, is the spongy enlargement of the long metatarsal bone to which the great toe is attached. Once enlarged, it seldom ever falls back to its normal dimensions. As a natural consequence, a shoe worn over it reveals the distortion, giving that part of the foot an unsymmetrical appearance.

Persons are constantly met with one or both large toe-joints so much enlarged as to immensely distort the shoe. Every step is attended with torture.

When a bone becomes diseased, there is an exaltation of vitality of a peculiar character. In health it is of a low order, just sufficient to connect it with a living system, otherwise it would stand in the relation of a foreign body, not to be repaired when injured or governed by laws of the general economy.

The nerves in the bones are extremely attenuated, while the circulation of arterial blood is sent to the remotest section, carrying in solution materials for growth or repair. Yet even such slender threads, communicating as they do with nervous

centres, when contused or invaded, immediately communicate the fact. An injured bone cannot be pacified easily. Medications for them consist principally in topical appliances for reducing inflammatory action.

The severest sufferings from bunions or corns are not permanently relieved by unguents, emollient lotions, or paring away hardened cuticle. The remedy which is a cure, is simply wearing shoes that do not press on the tender spot.

Wearing sandals for a month, which have no vamps, would allow nature to reestablish order where it has been disturbed by tight shoes.

Temporary Relief.

A sensible way of seeking temporay relief practised by laborers, is to cut a piece out of the shoes or boot, over the bunion. A hole thus made, affords immediate relief from agonizing pain.

No outlay for advertised specifics need be expended. Freedom to the oppressed part is all that is required.

When ladies reach their dressing-rooms from a promenade, distressed by their beautifully-fitting boots, their first act is to exchange them for soft slippers—the older the better. Otherwise they sit in their stockings, shoeless, till the anguish brought on by exercise in their tormentors has somewhat subsided.

Corns.

Corns speak in forcible language, which makes those who have them realize that no half-way measures are successful in their treatment.

They actually spring into existence to defend the spot where they appear, from impending injury; and as faithful

sentinels, cry out at every movement which menaces th locality under their charge.

Barefooted people have no such afflictions, nor those wh wear cast-off shoes a size or two larger than their feet. Corn never appear unless the toes are wedged too closely. Bein *pinched* expresses the condition which develops those painfu prominences.

If the vamp of a shoe is too low, the pressure interfere with a free circulation on the upper surface of the toes. Inflan mation follows, the cuticle begins to thicken and rise above th ordinary level.

On its underside or base, a corn has a conical shape—th point, like a thorn, on the slightest pressure, irritates the in flamed periosteum below, and thus they act as messenger announcing through the nerve filaments something wrong i transpiring, which is thus telegraphed to the brain; which, i a sensible one, will remove the tormenting pressure.

In these pedal miseries, volutarily induced, a demand i made for a distinct profession to meet the contingency. Thu chiropodists are in the enjoyment of lucrative incomes. Corn doctors have a thriving business in cities.

Corn-martyrs do not deserve much commiseration, becaus they might have permanent relief by simply discarding tigh shoes.

Softening corns in tepid water, and afterwards paring ther down, is only temporary relief, with a moral certainty of speedy uprising again to the former elevation. The mor prominent, the worse it seems to dig down into the flesh below

Corn doctors are not infallible. They promise well, bu their operations must be frequently repeated.

Chilblains.

Chilblains—those burning red patches which are excessively irritable on the heel, the sides of the feet, and occasionally on the sole—are produced quite as often by pressure and the non-escapement of perspirable emanations from the feet as from snow-water.

Glazed leather and India rubber shoes and boots prevent the evaporation of perspiration from the feet, and hence they become extremely tender and liable to chilblains. India rubber constricts the toes, by tightening the bones and deranging their original relations.

Such shoes should only be worn for a very short period—for walking through muddy streets—and removed on entering the house. Aside from the injury inflicted on the feet by wearing them as some do, indiscreetly, days in succession, if the perspiration is pent up and not allowed to escape, the general health has been found to be disturbed from that cause. Habitually worn, India rubbers distort the feet and leave them extremely tender.

Thin shoes, too thin and light to resist moisture from without, particularly when there is snow on the ground, invite chilblains. Ladies should wear shoes as thick and strong as those worn by men, if they are similarly exposed in the open air. Thick soles ought not to be forgotten. Ordinarily, they are not much thicker than paper, which explains a liability to those erysipelic attacks which commence suddenly and run a rapid course.

Erysipelas of the Feet.

Solutions of common salt, sulphate of zinc, decoctions of rose leaves or camomile flowers, are each and all of them sooth-

ing, and not unfrequently effectual in dispersing the malady, if applied seasonably.

Effects of Continued Compression.

There is scarcely any difficulty or derangement of the toes or feet that does not originate in violence from compression. Cotton-batting, stuffed between the stocking and the corn or bunion, so as to raise the shoe above the corn, is an admirable way of obtaining immediate relief, when so circumstanced that no other more permanent treatment can be had.

High Heels.

Sprains, abrasions of the skin, etc., which are inconveniences, may frequently be traced to immensely high heels which ladies cannot dispense with, who make pretensions to fashionable equipment.

With these warning words, if they still persist in making themselves uncomfortable even to intense suffering, they must be given over as incorrigible and willing dupes to the arbitrary demands of fashion which imposes hardships upon them greater than they ought to bear.

It will be an amusing exhibition for a distant generation to have pictorially illustrated the phases of female fashions of this generation. The cut of garments, high heels, enormous hip and other paddings, pyramids of artificial hair piled on in such profusion as to be entirely out of all proportion to the rest of the body, with other ridiculous contrivances that must embarrass their freedom of motion—could not fail of being contemplated then as now, with mirthful astonishment.

A Graceful Step.

A steady, dignified step, is hardly possible on high heels. Mounted thus, the weight is thrown forward, the shoe becoming an inclined plane, which gives a peculiar stoop that took the name of the Grecian bend when first introduced. It is like standing on the roof of a building, cobbled up on high heels, being continually obliged to resist a tendency to pitch forward.

High heels bring immediate trouble to the toes, by wedging them into the extreme point of the shoe.

Absurdities in dress die out for a while and then revive again, as though humanity could not be satisfied without being slightly miserable. Just at this particular juncture, high heels are very high, with a base of support not much broader than a finger-nail. Shop window specimens exhibit the sacrifices women make to appear taller than Dame Nature ordained them. Fashion or death is the ruling spirit, and some have both.

Female pedestrians step out of their high-heeled boots as quickly as possible on a return from a promenade. Heels, even half an inch high, cannot be worn without bringing an extra strain upon some of the muscles of the leg, particularly on the long flexors of the foot.

Ridicule heelless shoes of Orientals as we may, they are philosophically right, and we are wrong. They are at ease with them, while our ladies are only comfortable when they are off.

How much rheumatism, neuralgia, and cramps are due to high heels, may be ascertained by the study of works on morbid anatomy.

Partial Adaptation to Circumstances.

By persistence in wrong-doing, that is, voluntarily making one's self uncomfortable, the muscles of the foot and leg after

awhile adjust themselves partially to the new condition, but always at the expense of a loss of tone, and of the full exercise of their normal power. Whenever liberated, they contract back to their former state, which is a permanent relief, if not again compelled to act unnaturally.

Men are no wiser than women in regard to the high-heel mania. Their boots are elevated quite too much at the heel; consequently, they are familiar with corns and bunions, enlarged toe-nails, unsymmetrical feet, and bulging out of the leather over those irregularities, created by forcing the foot forward into a narrow extremity of space.

We were all born with good pedal extremities, precisely adapted to the plane of the earth, and they would serve us admirably, free from excrescences, incurvated nails, riding toes, callosities, protruding joints, and other annoyances, to extreme old age, if they were never put into unyielding leather prisons, too small to receive them.

Antique Foot.

A small foot may be exceedingly beautiful in the estimation of those who have very large ones. If narrow, and the toes are in close contact, the foot is not a true type of the best form. Sculpture represents the toes spread, so that there is space between them, thus giving them a firmer hold and a broader base of support.

Camels are born with callosities over several joints on which they rest while being laden or unladen. Man has a thick, compact protecting cuticle in the sole of the foot, beautifully cushioned for protecting nerves, blood-vessels, and tendons under an archway of small bones, between the heel and base of the toes. The arch is kept in place by inelastic ligaments, run-

ning from point to point, so remarkable in the disposition made of them, as to show, beyond the cavil of ingenious doubters, that intelligence was exercised in their distribution, to give perfection to the foot. Without just that particular arrangement, the weight of the body would crush the structure into confusion, and utterly destroy the mechanism.

As we did not contrive our own bodies, we must admit of the existence of a Supreme Intelligence that did produce such marvellous mechanism.

Artists find the foot a profound study, simply looking to its exterior; while anatomists are rapt in wonder and admiration at revelations in its interior.

Both elementary anatomy and physiology should be taught in female schools and seminaries, that the pupils might have early insight into their own complicated organization. It would make them more careful of themselves, and lead to the observance of those laws, the violation of which, through ignorance, whether relating to their stomachs, their brains, their eyes, or their feet, embitters life, and destroys them before they have had as much of life as they would have had under a more perfect system of education.

A medical gentleman of Boston excited considerable derision some years ago, because his common-sense was superior to fashionable folly. One of his so-called foolish whims was, in having shoes for his children made exactly to conform to their outline, marked round on a piece of leather with a pencil. Their shoes had a comical appearance, to be sure, contrasted with modern manufacture, but an object of importance was attained, viz., good, sound feet.

Let those laugh who win.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Their Physical Necessities.

Is life essentially prolonged or shortened by the quality of our food?

Many physicians would answer no, if they gave the subject much thought. Each and all entertain theories which naturally have an origin in deliberations on the phases of disease, and the influence of diet.

Most persons have a vague notion in regard to themselves, in reference to what may or may not be suitable for the stomach.

Even those of eminent physiological attainments are often influenced by whims, rather than by facts, in their theories of life. Evidence is extant of the highest import, incontestably proving that it is of very little importance, or rather of no consequence, what kind of food we subsist upon. Longevity depends on a peculiar vital endowment, transmitted from parents to children. Neither food nor climate perceptibly modifies the life period, aside from outbreaks of pestilence and epidemics.

A beggar in the street lives as long as one who satisfies every craving of his nature. Wise, considerate, and learned men who believe themselves masters of hygienic laws, cannot arrest the progress of what is denominated self-limited disease. Nor is it easier to arrest the tendency to long life, when the food has been wholesome, without violence.

There must be specific laws regulating the life period of all animals and plants. With the aid of science, it is possible to

acquire a better knowledge of those laws of limitation. It is within the sphere of possibility to determine the precise day of death.

Female Medical Examiners.

This subject has been studied with earnest solicitude by life insurance managers, but, unfortunately, the inquiry has too frequently been confided by those institutions to medical donkies, instead of men of brain. It is very mortifying that medical examiners appointed for the express purpose of discovering the physical prospects of life in applicants for policies, are not often distinguished for ability, educational acquirements, or professional standing. A man of knowledge, fitting him to counsel executive officers in granting the benefits of life insurance, has not much chance of appointment, unless he is a relative of some controlling spirit of the institution. Were researches made into the organization of many companies, it would surprise the public to learn they are family affairs, largely owned and managed for the support of a president, secretary, cashier, and other officers, including fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, cousins, sons, and nephews, and occasionally doctors, all held together by a tether of consanguinity.

Women should be the medical examiners of women for life-policies. Reasons might be given for this assertion, of importance to companies. A female medical examiner should be attached to the office permanently, even if she were not a relative to the ruling elder.

Diminution of Vital Force.

When we have reached a period at which there is a full development of our powers and faculties, the scale is turned,

and a diminution of life-force is gradually perceptible. It is precisely so with animals, in whatever climate they are located. There is less activity in the circulation, a gradual relaxation of the tissues, and an increasing obtuseness in the nerves of special sense. A reluctance to engaging in pursuits that formerly were sources of pleasure, is another observable circumstance, indicating a culmination and downward tendency of the body and mind.

Though there may be a long lingering old age, the day of doom at last arrives. Rude winds rend a limb here and there, and by and by a gale in its fury levels the giant oak with the ground from whence it came. As it is with stately trees of the forest, so it is with monsters of the deep. A whale may roam in the depths of the ocean for centuries, able to withstand terrific assaults of formidable enemies, but the great heart that drove a column of blood one hundred feet at each pulsation, finally beats for the last time, at the end of a thousand years, —for aught we know to the contrary—in obedience to a law of limitation.

Though we understand many of the once-called mysteries of Nature, yet we cannot ward off a blow that will terminate existence, when most solicitous to live. Man, of all created beings, has a conscious knowledge of what must transpire in regard to the close of life, without being able to avert it.

Sanitary Precautions.

Moses gave the first code of sanitary regulations ever promulgated, which are substantially in force at the present day in most Christian countries. Wherever they are strictly observed in respect to animal food, the people enjoy the best health.

Were a catalogue given of the kinds of food on which

humanity should subsist, it would not be satisfactory, simply because articles that would be excluded as dangerous in one country, might be valued as very superior in another.

But man being omnivorous, he can be sustained on anything which yields nutrition to graminivorous or carnivorous animals. In Arctic regions, the demand of the stomach is for fat meats and animal oils. On approaching the Tropics, both the quality and quantity is constantly varying, the craving being for a mixture of vegetable with animal food—the appetite for the first rather predominating.

At the Equator, fruits, grains, nuts, seeds, and roots are the principal food of the inhabitants; but, according to travellers, a desire for animal aliment becomes so perfectly uncontrollable at times, as to lead to terribly revolting exhibitions of cannibalism.

Disgusting feastings on human flesh are almost certain to take place every few months in the gloomy interior of that part of Africa which is rarely penetrated by white men,—the home of gorillas,—if meats cannot be procured from other sources.

A demand for elements, nowhere else found but in animal food, partially explains those barbarous acts of feeding on a fellow-being, which characterize the rudest condition of human society.

There really is no positive standard, that is, a catalogue of articles which are proper, and exclusively so, for nourishing the body.

Were a butcher to sell horse meat in our cities, he would, unquestionably, be prosecuted for vending an unwholesome article, unfit and unsuitable for human food. A feeling of intense exasperation would probably agitate the community where such an outrage had been perpetrated. Yet, in Paris, horse-beef is a recognized market production, and well esteemed

as nutritious and proper. There were eight markets in which it was extensively sold before the late revolution.

Let a prosecution be commenced almost anywhere in the United States, against some one who had the hardihood to sell horse-meat, and, ten chances to one, there would be an array of medical experts to testify it was an infamous transaction, destructive to individuals, as it would be to the public health.

Man is omnivorous, and, because he is so, amply qualified to range over the globe, regardless of circumstances which restrict most animals to particular localities in which their appropriate nourishment is provided.

What would become of the inhabitants of Lapland, deprived of fish and seal,—no vegetables to be had there?

Necessity compels those at the Arctic Circle to feed on that which will best keep up the current of their vitality. Under another condition of climate, millions subsist on rice. But the intellectual calibre of both fall infinitely below those in temperate zones, who are sustained on a mixed diet of flesh and vegetables.

Our jaws are studded with four distinct kinds of teeth,—viz., incisors, or cutters, in front; canine, called eye-teeth, for tearing and holding firmly; single and double molars, exclusively for grinding.

Carnivorous animals have no grinders, the graminivorous are without the canine, as they appear in dogs, lions, tigers, and the like. The motion of their jaws is up and down, cutting upon the principle of shears, with no sliding movement. Cattle, horses, camels, etc., grind their food into pulp before swallowing it.

Man both cuts, rends, and grinds. In short, he performs all the acts in preparing food for the stomach, which the animals

referred to perform singly. Thus, anatomically, is a proof found of his omnivorous nature.

Passing from the further consideration of the omnivorous character of man, to qualify him for a general superintendence of the earth's surface, it may be fearlessly asserted that those who confine themselves exclusively to a vegetable diet, will never be distinguished for their intellectual powers.

A flourish of trumpets and tempestuous declamations before weak-minded audiences of converts to any *ism* which happens to be promulgated by adventurers for notoriety, occasionally secure a disciple who is captivated with the announcement that we were designed to subsist exclusively on vegetables.

Their physical and mental deterioration begins when they adopt the system. A temporary brilliancy, and vaunted clearness of perception is imagined to result from an abandonment of animal food for baked apples, boiled turnips, and roasted potatoes.

Rapsodies from a change of habits are symptoms of approaching lunacy.

Women require a mixed diet. They should take, without reserve, whatever belongs to the family regimen. This is not to be construed into an arbitrary system of dietetics, from which no deviations are allowable. Whatever is relished and digestible, is proper.

Meats have been human food in all ages, and they will continue to be served while humanity remains the same.

If men were originally monkeys, they probably subsisted as monkeys now do, on nuts and farinaceous products. When men confine themselves exclusively to vegetable food, they will dwindle down again to the level of their putative ancestors.

A mixed food of animal and vegetable is a law of necessity in temperate zones.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Minor Sources of Annoyance.

Pride—Mutilations without Destroying the Intellect—Ligation of Limbs by Elastics—Freckles—Epidermis—Moth Patches—Nostrums—Grass Food—Danger of Topical Applications—Red Noses—Astringent Lotions—Smelling Bottles—Stimulants—Appearing to Advantage.

A natural instinct urges us to appear to the best advantage before others. That leads to placidity of deportment, propriety of conduct, and the practice of courtesies which are agreeable, if not essential, to a good understanding with those with whom we are associated.

It would be hardly short of insanity to seek opportunities for disgusting acquaintances by habits offensive to decency or the common usages of well-regulated society.

This inborn disposition impels us to efforts for improvement, and to conceal defects, real or imaginary, that might diminish our attractive qualities. External appearances have more influence with the majority of mankind than intellectual attainments or moral excellences of character.

When pride is in excess, it eventuates in ridiculous exhibitions that provoke comment and biting remarks. With a desire to improve personal appearance, the remedy is not unfrequently worse than the defect. Thus wigs, cheek-plumpers to puff out hollow mouth-walls, artificial eyebrows, gum-elastic bosoms, wooden calves to spindle-shanks, and some other devices for appearing developed to a commendable standard of excellence, cannot escape comment when the deception has been discovered.

Mutilations Possible.

There is a story illustrative of the pruning a living human body may pass through, without destroying life or apparently impairing the mind.

When Miss Jones became Mrs. Brown, the happy husband was nearly frightened out of his senses by the extraordinary metamorphoses through which she passed. He had gazed with pride on Mrs. Brown's fine proportions.

Knowing her to be a woman of discretion, whose forty years of singleness had afforded ample opportunity for qualifying the charming creature for superintending the genteel establishment to which she had been matrimonially introduced, Mr. Brown congratulated himself on the prospects of his domestic future.

Retiring, Mrs. Brown first removed a splendid head of hair. Next, on taking off a pair of gold-bowed spectacles, out came one eye. Laying both on a table, she then deliberately withdrew a double set of milk-white teeth. Progressing, a full panting bosom was unbuckled. Taking a position before a mirror, one side of her porcelain nose came off. Sitting down, a wooden leg was unscrewed, and then the left arm just below the elbow!

Such are among the mutilations possible, without in the slightest appreciable manner interfering with mental operations.

All artificial appendages which improve the corporeal proportions, while contributing to the comfort and sometimes to the necessities of the individual, are allowable and should be encouraged. It is high art to so improve and conceal defects which are unpleasant objects to others.

Dentistry has largely contributed to the restoration of im-

paired faces, and essentially benefited millions whose digestion was defective from the loss of teeth.

What has been Neglected.

Elastics for keeping sleeves and stockings in place have escaped observation. It is time they received attention from physiological reformers who devote themselves to teaching the way of long life by the avoidance of popular abuses, self-imposed and, therefore, the more difficult to remove.

Those girders obstruct a return of blood from the extremities, through superficial veins, and therefore should be abandoned.

A reason why some ladies have very small, bony limbs, is because they have not blood enough circulating in them.

Elastics below the knee block the cutaneous veins; and those articles under the name of sleeve-bands worn on the arms, obstruct the currents in both arteries and veins, as they press them against the bone.

Garters do not produce much pressure on the arteries, as they are deep-seated and protected from compression by their favorable location.

Hose should be kept up by elastic straps, a few inches in length, extending from a button on the drawers to another at the top of the stocking on each limb. That simple contrivance completely relieves the vessels. If the circulation is unimpeded, the limbs will develop under appropriate exercise.

Freckles.

Freckles are regarded as afflictions. Persons of a light, florid complexion, especially those having redish, or entirely red

hair, more generally than others, are apt to be marred with dingy discolorations of the skin.

Dark hair, dark eyes, and dark complexions are usually exempt from such anti-beauty spots.

Freckles cluster under the lower eyelids, by the sides of the nose, back of the hands, on the upper part of the neck, or, indeed, wherever there is an habitual exposure to sunlight in a particularly warm season.

Washes, lotions, teas, etc., without number, are everywhere on sale, represented as efficient in the removal of such defects. But they are utterly useless, doing damage rather than relieving the skin from offensive dingy discolorations, freckles, or yellow irregular patches.

Exclusion from solar light is a precaution, in the brightest part of the day. A veil is unquestionably a partial defence against intense rays of a brilliant sun, which corrugate the skin where the coloring pigment under it is thin or scantily secreted.

The epidermis, or first skin, is both thickened and corrugated at intervals of a few lines, by exposure to the sun's rays in many persons. Those of a nervous, sanguine temperament, and of a light complexion, are most susceptible to freckling influences.

It is consolatory to believe in the theory that freckles are protecting shields to parts immediately under them, particularly when the attempt to remove them is unsuccessful.

That freckles prevent the passage of some of the prismatic rays from reaching something that ought not to be impinged upon by them, is rather an assumption, than susceptible of proof.

Whether pores, or twigs of cutaneous nerves, are protected from injuries that might ensue, were it not for thickened places

in the outer tissue, requires more and closer observation than the subject has hitherto received.

Freckles are both mechanical and chemical barriers to properties in sunlight that would inflict an injury, if not intercepted. Such is the imagined origin of them with those who have more imagination than facts to build upon.

Possibly, extreme minute capillary vessels are protected in their labors by being covered by a thicker scale—for such is a freckle. Where there is one, it is a darker, thicker spot than the space between any two of them.

Moth Spots.

Moth-patches, as they are called, being irregularly defined discolorations of a yellowish hue, commonly appear about the chin, the base of the ears, on the forehead, and, indeed, just where they are conspicuously in sight: oftenest on the faces of ladies of a lax habit. Nursing women, and those who pass much of their time in poorly ventilated apartments, are most predisposed to such unwelcome appearances.

No calculation can be made respecting their duration. Young mothers are sometimes suddenly surprised by those yellow markings. Ladies, too, in middle life, without any assignable cause, are also the occasional subjects of moth-spots.

Quacks and nostrum-venders hold out encouragement for their removal by applications of secret compositions. But there is no utility in their farragos.

New Application of Steam.

A process has been successfully practised of late for the removal of those disagreeable discolorations, which is unobjec-

tionable, and far better than dosing with internal medicine that can have no efficacy whatever.

The place is covered by a cup, from the bottom of which extends an elastic tube communicating with a vessel generating steam. The hot vapor is thus applied at a bearable temperature, to thoroughly soften the skin to a point that it may easily be rubbed off by the finger on removing the cup.

That parboiling process also softens the pigment, which also slides off from the cutis vera, or true skin.

A return of the yellowish coloring matter may gradually reappear. Application of the steam-vapor a few times, at the same time circulating freely in open air, rarely fails of accomplishing the object.

On peeling off the mothy skin, cover the denuded surface with gold-beater's membrane or thin court-plaster, in order to exclude the air for a few days.

Avoidance of Causes.

Gross food, such as too frequent meat-eating, pepper, vinegar, or irregularities in diet, are thought to contribute to moth-spot development.

Pimples, elevated purple aureolar discs, minute vegetations near the wings of the nose, clusters of black dots, and hard, gnarly moles on the face, cannot always be removed without excision.

There is absolute danger from the topical application of so many falsely-named medicinal remedies; the compositions, when known, being invariably condemned by physicians. It is never safe to tamper with drugs of any kind; neither pills, powders, nor fluids, however prominently recommended, without approval of a medical adviser.

In taking preparations, the ingredients of which are unknown to any but those interested in the profits, difficulties are produced, not unfrequently far more serious than the minor ailment for which they were given.

A Red Nose.

A red nose on a lady's face is an extreme mortification. Sometimes an intense shining redness remains a fixture for months in succession, unaffected either by external or internal medications. An engorgement of cutaneous blood-vessels on the cheeks or nose resists discutient applications far more obstinately than inflammations on other parts of the body.

Sometimes the tip of the nose is of a shining tumid redness. The vessels of the skin are in a permanent state of inflammation. Cooling lotions rather aggravate than ameliorate the tumefaction, which is opposed to the theory that excessive local heat can be reduced by cold applications.

Lead water also aggravates the condition; and worse still, if persisted in too long, results in a loss of sensibility at the tip, by producing a paralysis of the cutaneous nerves distributed there.

For a red nose, mild treatment is safer and more successful than harsh measures. If air and light are excluded, very easily accomplished by a covering properly fitted through the night, and much of the time through the day, considerable relief may be anticipated.

But the best method to pursue is, to apply soft, emollient applications, mildly warm. Fine Indian-meal, in the form of a poultice, mixed in alum-water, should be worn through the night. Follow up the practice without intermission, for weeks. It is best not to have the mixture very astringent at first. The

astringency may be gradually increased by a solution of more alum.

The skin becomes gradually softened, the enlarged vessels diminish, and, as the inflammation subsides, the redness disappears.

When the poultice is removed on rising in the morning, favor the partially-parboiled surface with a soft piece of oil-cloth, pierced with orifices for seeing, breathing, and using the mouth.

Avoid smelling-bottles, pungent odors, snuff, and all other irritants of the nasal cavities, when a tendency to an engorgement about the wings or the nose itself exists.

A caution in regard to liquors may be unnecessary to ladies; however, it is certain that any extra excitement which drives the blood rapidly would be an aggravation of inflamed patches on the face.

Red-nosed smokers must abandon their idol, if they have a desire to recover their once good appearance. A volatilization of the essential oil, or whatever property is diffused in the smoke from a cigar or pipe, seems to add fuel to the inflammation.

Women being less prone to the use of stimulants than men, and less exposed to various demoralizing influences from profane and vulgar associations, escape many ills which are incident to weak and thoughtless men.

Women are occasionally seen with red noses, and morbidly flushed cheeks, who are egregiously imposed upon in their haste for relief. They are duped into purchasing vaunted specific remedies that have not the least medicinal virtue.

If ladies have more credulity than men, happily, they have fewer sins.

Many precious lives are sacrificed on the altar of female vanity, in the earnest pursuit of phantoms.

Every woman exerts herself to appear to the best advantage. That prompts them to appear neat and tidy in their persons, and if they have blemishes, real or imaginary, they strive to remedy the defect as speedily as possible.

That is why they are patrons of all sorts of advertised nostrums which promise more than can be performed. When all women are dead, there will be no more sale for patent medicines.

CHAPTER XXV.

Their Peculiar Organization.

To point out all the anatomical differences of the sexes, is not contemplated. No subject would be more difficult to popularize, and, were it accomplished, there would still be problems unsatisfactorily managed to meet the theoretical views of those who are always ready with objections, even when nature bears witness to the statements and deductions of medical philosophers.

From childhood to age, there is a marked difference between men and women in their physical structure and appearance. Moral qualities are laid aside in this examination.

There is a delicacy in the very bones of a female, that contrasts singularly with the strong, hard, rough skeleton of the male. But in some of the carpentry of the osseous system, it is obvious that intelligent reference is manifested in the variations recognized by anatomists to specific purposes which do not exist iu the male.

With the same number of bones, arranged in the same order, and fulfilling the same offices, and moved by precisely similar muscles, influenced by nerves exactly like those in man, yet a woman is not a man. She is of mankind, and yet she is by herself.

Though of a finer texture, and operated upon by subtle influences, regulated by a law of periodicity past finding out, she is really no more complex than a strong, athletic barbarian in her physical economy.

A woman is not a perfect being by herself, neither is a man. The two constitute one, and that is a relation contemplated from the beginning by the Power that fashioned them. From birth up to a pubert age, some parts of their system have been so slowly developing, the physiologist is perplexed in his attempts to make plain an interesting chapter regarding the phenomena of development.

While the brain enlarges in volume, the limbs lengthen, the muscles increase in bulk and strength, essential organs in the economy of animal life remain quiescent for years. Perhaps it is better to say *apparently at rest*—performing no office for a long while. That apparent quiescence is undoubtedly a period of extraordinary changes, with reference to a revolution which changes the child to a woman.

Precisely so are the conditions of boys through years of adolescence. At thirteen or fourteen, in most countries, a change of voice and the appearance of a beard indicate a sudden advance made from an imperfect to a perfectly organized man.

An early maturity characterizes animals generally. Insects have an exceedingly rapid series of evolutions. To be born and become the parents of a numerous offspring in a single day, and then give way to a coming generation, are extraordinary circumstances. Those living longest are the slowest in being physically perfected.

Poets have exhausted their magazines of imagery in their meditations on the helplessness of infancy. But the compensation for those years of incapacity of body and mind for any of the responsibilities of life, is found in the longevity of the race. The average of existence far surpasses the life lease of the general animal kingdom.

This subject will have special consideration in the chapter on longevity.

Whether the moon exerts any more influence on the adult female than on the adult man, is left open for the discussion of professors in their official intercourse with their pupils. Were some learned pundit to assert the planet Mars, rather than the cold moon, the controlling power, who is able to confute it?

There are peculiarities of structure and functions of ourselves, which are divine mysteries. Nature eludes our best concerted efforts for watching processes in her laboratories. Ever vigilant and uncommunicative, we are still profoundly ignorant of what we most desire to know.

We know how life terminates, but who knows how it begins?

CHAPTER XXVI.

Their Maladies.

A Repetition of Facts and Opinions in preceding Chapters—Childhood—Transplantation of Men and Women—Too much Comfort—Diseased Lungs—The Chest—A Stitch in the side—Incidental Infelicities—Temperature—Family Failures—Dosing too much.

Refinements are accompanied by a train of discomforts, particularly severe upon women.

Unfortunately, an impression prevails just where it ought not to be entertained, that their organization is so delicate they cannot have exposure to air, exercise, labor, or play, such as men are exposed to without detriment to their health.

As already explained, their anatomical structure is no more complex than that of males. There is a delicacy and a finer finish, if that expression is allowable, but otherwise there is nothing in the form or development of the female body which indicates its unfitness to resist atmospheric changes or any influences from without, which the physical constitution of the other sex can successfully withstand with impunity.

Hardships are met with in all conditions of life. Pleasures and pains are about equally divided. Finally, there is no special reason why women should not be as free from sickness or indisposition from ordinary causes, and endure as much and as long as men, all other things being equal.

Hereditary infirmities, such as scrofula and pulmonary consumption, appertain to some families. Easy circumstances present no reliable modifying conditions that promise less suffering than is to be met with in abodes of poverty.

CHILDHOOD.

Among the poor a deficiency of proper kinds of nourishment in childhood leads to physical conditions which are troublesome in adult years. Especially so in regard to female children. Restrained as they generally are from out-door exercise, allowed to boys, and restricted most unfortunately, more frequently than otherwise, to small, badly ventilated apartments, their domestic pursuits ordinarily being sewing, or of a kind that keeps them most of the day and all of the night in social imprisonment—they grow up with less firmness of bone and muscle than their brothers, since no one cares whether their faces are tanned by the sun, or their feet are wet by wading in gutters.

Frequent exposure to wind and weather, without reference to temperature or humidity, does very much toward building up a hardy body. Being kept from such influences debilitates, and those thus reared possess feeble powers of resistance. A boy braves the storm, while the girl wilts and fades away under circumstances of home discipline, that robust, stirring, boys could not endure.

On reaching womanhood, a girl is not able to resist influences that destroy her, while young men contend with the same contingencies without being moved by them in respect to health.

When the teeth show defects as early as fourteen to sixteen —not unfrequently much sooner—it is pretty conclusive evidence of the premature death of those organs, resulting from an insufficient supply of phosphate of lime. The bones are not usually so well grown nor so strong in young misses whose teeth exhibit a paucity of that element, necessary for the perfect development of the whole osseous structure.

We have already shown that in agricultural regions, where

cereal grains are easily and abundantly cultivated, the people are taller and their bones are both larger and stronger than the bones of those who live where crops are only sparingly raised.

In Western wheat-growing districts the inhabitants are proverbial for white, beautifully-set, sound teeth. When those materials, which once gave from forty to fifty bushels to an acre, have been exhausted by continuous culture, without returning to the soil an equivalent for what has been drawn from it, the product dwindles to fiften or twenty bushels. Then defective teeth begin to appear in young persons. The third generation, on the same ground, deteriorate in stature. Short men and women, descendants of stalwart parents in the same locality, would have been as tall and as perfect as their grandparents, had they been provided with the amount of phosphate of lime they received in their youth.

With an increase of population, and diminished products in a once fertile grain-growing area, the result of long-continued tillage, the inhabitants begin to seek new homes. This is the commencement in this country of removals to new lands farther off, which are rich. An improvement in the physical aspect, and, certainly, in the height of children born in the new locality, is noticeable when they reach an adult age.

In cities, a change of diet, even though they may have come from the pure atmosphere of the country, not unfrequently immensely benefits some persons by the removal. It is because their systems are provided with elements necessary for a complete development of their bodies, which their habitual food in the interior did not furnish.

Change of location is often quite as favorable, in a physical point of view, as change of position, after sitting for hours on the same seat. That law of change, in relation to man and animals, is recognized in another form, in respect to a rotation

of crops. It is a gross mistake to attempt raising on the same ground, perpetually, one kind of product. There must be alternations, which afford opportunity for Nature to replace, in her own way, elements that are taken away, and then, after awhile, the grain that had exhausted fertility may succeed again.

Rest.

No people have ever managed a farming interest so philosophically as the Jews, while they observed the requirements of their great lawgiver. Every seventh year the land rested one year. It gave it time simply for garnering up a new store of salts for raising subsequent crops.

In avenues of trade, handicraft, or in the exercise of professions, competition calls into activity parts of the brain which, in rural life, were almost, if not quite, dormant.

The transfer of some of their vitality from the muscles, as in holding a plow, or reaping a field, requiring no vigorous effort of mind, to the busy scenes and stirring enterprises of a great mercantile establishment, brings out intellectual force in country boys they were not conscious of possessing.

By degrees their faculties are systematized; they grasp at great undertakings in commerce, and when the brain has been educated to the new order of things, mental friction subsides, and slender boys become portly gentlemen, bold calculators, intrepid contractors with government, bank directors, and far-seeing financiers.

Transplantation of Men.

Society is immensely advanced, as a city is, in being recruited from the honest farmer's one-story house.

A transplantation of men and women is as important for the progress of society as the removal of trees from their native soil to ornament public parks.

Choice fruit-trees are invariably taken from a nursery while young, because they acclimate and accommodate themselves to the circumstances of a new locality.

Old trees cannot be removed so readily. They die sooner than expected. Nothing is gained, either in quality or quantity, by running counter to those general laws which are recognized by the uneducated as violations, when plants and children are rudely handled, or old trees or old persons are expected to do as well in new conditions, as when left to themselves in places where their habits have been established, and their growth matured.

Select boys and girls for removal to new spheres of life, as a shrubbery is chosen, for healthful appearance, vigor, and flexibility. They can then be handled with impunity, and made to develop where they will be both useful, beautiful, and ornamental.

With females, a change of residence, from rural freedom in a country home to a city, is not so satisfactory in all respects, as with boys. Conventionalities in elevated circles keep them under too much restraint for a play of the vital machinery.

When they come to town with impaired health, it is sometimes extremely advantageous to an enfeebled young lady to have the stimulus of a maritime residence; or in being transported to an inland town, where they escape the humidity of easterly winds, or long, wet, cold springs, that were causes of indisposition in the locality whence they came.

On being established in town, they find it customary, if not necessary, to adopt quite a new mode of life, which, in connection with close dwellings, heated by furnaces, instead of an open

fireplace, with a cheerful glow of blazing wood, together with regulations and preparations for the breakfast-table in one dress, for a promenade in another, at the dinner-table in something else, and lastly, for the drawing-room, in still another change of costume; and all those, independently of very formidable and elaborate transformations for the opera, are direct sources of debility, and, certainly, of great fatigue. She must have a remarkable constitution to withstand so many and unrelaxing causes of indisposition.

Too Much Comfort.

Women break down under too much domestic comfort, sooner than under domestic hardships. Thus, people, whose days and nights are a series of excitements, high living, and irregular hours, scarcely ever number as many years as those who are obliged to contend with poverty and privations. It is among females in the latter condition that extreme longevity is found.

Men fly about in open air, inflating their lungs with refreshing properties, while their beautiful wives and daughters, with pale faces and tallowy complexions, are lounging on sofas, complaining of *ennui*. How many of them fall like promising blossoms before the fruit is set, killed by kindness. Such is too much civilization.

Travelling for health is nothing more nor less than ranging about for vitality, which all the rich can neither find nor purchase, while the poor have it forced upon them through broken panes and cracks in the walls.

They are pitied because their lot is hard. They have no luxuries for their stomachs; no two thousand dollar shawl to protect their white shoulders; no velvet ottomans for their feet; no frescoed apartments to suffocate in, nor down beds for

sleeping away life in idleness. But they have what money cannot procure or physicians furnish, viz., rosy cheeks, sound lungs, white teeth, a good appetite, and other requisites for reaching three score and ten without converting their homes into a hospital.

A consumptive diathesis is most commonly transmitted from the mother. Whether induced in them by exposures, hardships, or transmitted to them from ancestors, cannot always be ascertained. If there were no consumptive mothers, however, there would be fewer victims of that frightful malady.

Diseased Lungs.

Nature is always conservative. The effort is invariably to repair, restore impaired parts, and to strengthen where there is weakness.

There is a contest between life and death in cases where the partitions between the air-cells of the lungs are ulcerated, and the function of respiration is, of course, imperfectly performed. Blood sent there does not obtain as much oxygen as the body requires.

Ulcerations extend and pus accumulates till in advanced stages of the disease extensive abscesses are formed, and cavities are distended, with thick, adhesive, offensive fluid. Breathing becomes more impeded and death ensues.

Usually only one lung is involved in the manner described. Were it within the province of surgery, as it probably will be at no very remote period, when there is more confidence in the resources of that great art and less timidity among operators, that half of the chest containing a disorganized lung will be opened for the extraction of the useless, diseased lobe.

When air enters the pleural cavity, the lung collapses in-

stantly. It would be relieved from inflation, and in that way set at rest. The sound lung on the other side, completely separated by a partition, and in its own pleural box, would sustain life unaided by its fellow.

Teachers of surgery set forth in frightful array the fatal effects of an inflammation of the pleura,—the lining membrane of the thorax,—should air be admitted to it.

Let them devise methods to prevent its access. No domain of operative surgery is so miserably handled as that of the chest. No progress has been made there in a hundred years.

There are thousands of medical men who remember the perpetual caution impressed upon them in their pupilage, not to wound the peritoneum. Even a puncture was to be avoided with scrupulous care, because it was a serous tissue.

On account of that bugbear of apprehended fatal inflammation, peritonitis was managed with difficulty. Now, in the extraction of ovarian tumors—nowhere more skilfully performed than in the United States—but few out of many are lost, and yet incisions through that membrane are extensive in ovariatomy.

Many women have died of those enlargements in past times, who might have been saved, had there been more accurate knowledge of what course to pursue in treating the peritoneum.

The late Dr. Mott remarked to a medical gentleman, while both were observing the progress of an operation involving parts he was cautioned in his youth to avoid, "Why, they cut the peritoneum now-a-days as heedlessly as they would cut an old shoe."

The Chest.

The lining membrane of the chest is also a serous one, performing an office very similar to that which lines the abdominal

cavity—viz., pouring out a fluid for lubricating the organs within.

When that fluid is in excess, the absorbents failing to take it away, the accumulation is a dropsy. To draw it off artificially, an instrument called a trocar is resorted to.

A puncture being made, the fluid is drawn off. The operation is substantially the same in relieving the chest, but not so often performed, as the inflammation apprehended is considered more difficult to control.

There is considerable unoccupied ground in the domain of surgery. The coming operator who has boldness enough—and it will be called daring—to cut into the chest, and take out diseased portions of a diseased lung, will secure great fame.

The right and left lobes open into one common tube; but if the branch pipe on either side were closed, the supply of air would be inhaled as before into the lung whose tube was free.

Not to enlarge further on this subject, deserving as it is of careful consideration, it may be asserted that many persons at this present moment are in vigorous health, who have only one lung.

Gun-shot wounds, bayonet, stiletto, and sabre-thrusts, have often punctured the thorax, and terrific violence to the lungs did not prove fatal.

A Stitch in the Side.

In severe pleurisy, adhesions are formed between the surface of the pleura costalis and the one covering the lung. As the lung thus tied begins to inflate, there is a sharp, painful sensation, called *stitch in the side*, which prevents a full inspiration.

When inflammation has subsided, the individual gradually

begins to inhale a larger volume of air. The bridle which held the lung, so that it could not be inflated without pain, gradually elongates, and finally normal breathing is reëstablished.

Females appear more prone to pleurisy, or aggravated inflammation of the lungs, than men. The manner of ligating the waist prevents the descent of the lungs with the fall of the diaphragm to where they ought to have gone in a full inspiration.

Girding the body with stays diminishes the lower end of the thorax. Its capacity is unnaturally small. Long practice has fixed the ribs where they are permanently held.

Such compression deranges the abdominal viscera. The lungs are forced higher up. Chafing, as they do, through a triangular membranous space at the root of the neck, the sharp horizontal edge of the first rib creates inflammation, and that degenerates into something worse. Matter forms, and cell after cell is laden with the accumulating pus.

The mechanical effect of girding the waist has been explained. A full inflation of the lungs keeps gradually forcing the upper part upwardly, till ultimately a portion rises above the level of the first rib.

This is the origin of many a case of consumption, developed by tampering with the body to make it take a form which is contemplated as an improvement. The penalty is a life of suffering to many, and premature death to a majority of all who have been made over in the barbarous manner so much admired by ladies.

Youth and beauty are sacrificed to the demands of a perverted taste. Thousands of brilliant young ladies have been carried to the grave, victims of stays, busks, and unyielding corsets, the real cause of their premature death not being suspected.

Incidental Infelicities.

There are indispositions of a temporary kind improperly considered as inevitable results of female organization. This not being a treatise on therapeutics, nor aspiring to the province of a physician, no details in regard to medicine-taking are attempted.

If women reflected upon the mission devolving upon them with more earnestness, they could not fail to perceive that they have not been forced into existence to suffer, nor to die prematurely. Their organization has incorporated with it compensating powers of resistance.

If women are the weaker sex, or in any respect inferior to men, the cause of it is a fault of civilization.

Direct causes of functional derangements, out of which grave difficulties arise, are traceable to actual violations of sanitary laws.

Too light clothing, improper food, imperfect nutrition, the wild waywardness of passion, the seductions of fashion, and the pride to look better than they fancy they appear, and striving to improve their form to correspond with an ideal model of exterior perfection,—are each and all of them dangerous, and, when carried too far, eventuate in some form of sickness.

Why should not a woman be clothed as warmly as a man? That question is not a new one.

Temperature.

A notion prevails, and perhaps not entirely without reason, that their ordinary temperature is higher than the vital heat of men under precisely the same circumstances.

Admitting it were so, that they have less need of thick

clothing, it fails to explain why they are ever dressed in such frail fabrics as are scarcely sufficient to resist a zephyr. Most of their garments are rapid conductors of caloric.

Mothers cannot be ignorant of this fact, that the clothing of their girls is far lighter and less substantial than that of their boys.

It has been heralded from Dan to Beersheba, in treatises expressly written for the instruction of females, and by warning voices, that the present method of clothing young girls in this fitful climate is wrong.

But it amounts to nothing. There is no improvement. An appalling percentage are doomed to die before they become responsible beings.

More females than males, according to necrological reports, die annually of consumption. Were men subjected to the same stay-discipline from a tender age, their ribs distorted, and their lungs preternaturally operating in a place too small for the oxygenation of the blood, the bills of mortality would exhibit melancholy memorials of the death-rate of the self-sacrificed.

Men die of consumption. When sporadic, and not hereditary, it may be traced to exposures that brought on severe bronchial inflammation, respiratory derangements, and their concomitants.

With wide-spreading ribs at the base of the chest, they resist, successfully, influences which the female chest in its distortions cannot withstand. Therefore their hold of life is less precarious.

Consumption is only one of many diseases to which females are liable, that may be avoided. If, as physicians assert, derangements in the lungs, engorgements and congestions of the mucous membrane of the pelvic viscera, are due oftener than

suspected to their insufficient garments, there is a remedy without resort to medicine.

Women expose themselves with thin shoes, and insist they are thick enough. In their thin silks, and other delicate dresses, in going into the open air, they cannot resist the sudden blasts that chill them in passing from one temperature to another.

A few of the many may have the moral courage to be comfortable at the hazard of being represented as eccentric or opinionated, regardless of what people may say of their oddity in not killing themselves in the wake of fashion.

Not Clothed Suitably.

Small girls in the house, the street, the school, and in their amusement, expose too much skin surface to the weather.

Fancy growing boys, wearing summer coats without sleeves in winter, their necks bare and bosoms open to cold breezes, with a postage stamp on their caputs instead of a hat, racing at foot-ball in kid slippers,—and they would convey no inapt idea of the scanty clothing of female children generally in the Atlantic States.

Bare arms, bare chests, light tight-fitting dresses, and, lastly, their shoes and gauze stockings, are their certain destruction.

Girls should be as warmly clad and in as thick clothing as their hardy, red-cheeked brothers.

Discussion is not invited. This statement is presented for the consideration of parents. Either allow girls to exhaust their superabundant vitality in unrestrained out-door rambles, barefooted and bonnetless, like vagrants, which would contribute to robustness and vigor; or dress them suitably for protection against cold blasts that they meet in their pastimes from an overheated parlor to an open piazza.

Immense numbers of young girls are always to be seen in attics barefooted, in clothing that outrages decency, whose cheeks glow with health. Their homes are cheerless; they lodge in rickety apartments where fresh air reaches their lungs through broken windows and unfastened doors. Their food being plain, coarse, and often cold, their digestion is not deranged by high-seasoned dishes, too strong coffee, or their nerves excited beyond a normal condition.

While such children move our sympathy, and the demoralizations to which they are exposed are deplored, they have what wealth cannot purchase,—health. The rich man's daughters pine with their feet on velvet carpets, and they repose on down-beds when their eyes are closed in slumber.

Poor girls are by no means wholly exempt from sickness. There are painful sacrifices of human life in the abodes of poverty. Yet decaying families are recruited from the ranks of those which oftener than otherwise are regarded with contempt by the vulgar rich.

This idea does not embrace the haunts of vice, but simply refers to the country where children generally inherit sound constitutions. Their capital in the future business of life for securing respectability, position, and independence, is made up more of honesty and energy of character than money in bank.

Family Failures.

In cities, especially those active commercial centres where wealth becomes literally immense, families deteriorate rapidly, and virtually become extinct in about two hundred years, pampered and placed above a necessity for exertion. Such is the progress of decay in a country like this, where no laws of primogeniture secure posterity a foothold on a landed estate.

If it is true that many noble families have been perpetuated in Europe, as their own historians assert, by having plebeian blood incorporated with their own, it is not improbable that a farmer's son, or a chambermaid engrafted upon a withering stock, will save many a name and many estates on this side of the Atlantic.

The ills of women multiply with the progress of social refinement. They are usually traceable to causes that might have been avoided. No revolutions for their special benefit are anticipated which call for an abandonment of customs or etiquette intimately interwoven with the present aspect of civilization.

More courage would be required to stem the current of popular prejudice among those who make up good society, in common parlance, than to subdue a rebellion against the government.

Therefore they are doomed to suffer, in order to be consistent; and they must die prematurely, because it would be unpardonable to live in defiance of the public sentiment in regard to what is deemed to be extremely respectable.

Dosing too much.

There are special infirmities appertaining to women—technically recognized as the better class—so common, and so many are afflicted, that a paragraph or two will be sufficient to open their eyes to impositions practised upon them by unprincipled medical specialists.

Both male and female pseudo-medical practitioners are equally guilty of fraud; and the only possible way of limiting their demoralizing manipulations, which generally aggravate conditions, is to expose their nefarious doings to the indignation of those whose confidence they wickedly abuse.

No one but a physician can estimate the extent and ravages that result from over-treatment of simple local difficulties, that would eventually correct themselves if left to the recuperative efforts of nature.

Young women, quite as often as matrons, present anomalous pelvic complaints. Even a slight congestion is magnified into a bugbear, requiring very special attentions. As the patient relies on the report of the only one consulted in her case, the opportunity for keeping up an alarm is quite within the control of the person consulted.

Since female practitioners have been recognized as being in an appropriate sphere, a woman very naturally gives them a preference. That is proper and commendable, but there are female quacks.

Because a seamstress can increase her income by announcing herself a physician, without the slightest preparation for the responsibilities of the profession, she should not be consulted before exhibiting some honorable evidence of her qualifications.

Very respectable physicians, in most respects, unfortunately for the progress of medical intelligence, have their hobbies.

For the last dozen years a mania for caustic applications for almost any engorgement, or slight inflammation of some mucous membranes accessible to the practitioner, has raged with the intensity of an epidemic. Thousands of women have submitted to a topical application with lunar caustic, who were injured excessively by it.

Because too many, improperly cauterized, have kept the secret of improper treatment to themselves, it is hoped this exposition of an imposition practised upon them, may lead to the correction of an outrageous kind of practice.

Let no woman in her senses submit to the nitrate-of-silver

treatment, without consulting previously the most commanding medical authority to be had.

Two-thirds of the self-styled female physicians, whose signs figure conspicuously in basement windows, are quite as ignorant as self-reliant, and without a ray of pathological knowledge.

When there is cause for alarm, induced, perhaps, by fatigue, or from any other cause, let nature have an opportunity at restoration first.

Nutritious diet, warm baths, a mild course of tonics, wine, new sights, new faces, and breathing another atmosphere, purer and less contaminated with street dust, coal, gas, or other impurities, are superior as curative agencies, and infinitely more to be prized, than a farrago of medications.

Gross impositions are practised on the credulity of sensible women, too, by unprincipled speculators in health.

It is their misfortune often to require advice, which they should have from reliable sources, but it is extraordinary that persons of good understandings are as often duped as those of no intelligence.

One of the reasons why medical gentlemen of reputation hesitate to give countenance to female practitioners is, because there are such impostors among them, unscrupulous cheats, deceiving their own sex whenever opportunity presents; and honest female practitioners have to suffer for their sins.

Moral influences, appropriately directed, should close the gates against medical adventurers. If the people, particularly the female portion of the community, are taught as they should be, in the course of education, the fundamental principles of physiology, they would not be so frequently deceived in matters pertaining to their own health, and by ignoramuses, too, whose ignorance is concealed under the title of doctor.

There are but few positively sound women in this country.

Many are unsound who might have been models of physical perfection.

Causes which tend to disease, and, consequently, to an abridgment of life, have been sufficiently set forth, but with no hope of inducing one in a thousand to abandon their idols.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Their Powers of Endurance.

What Women can do—Under Pressure of Misfortunes—Distinguish Themselves in Science—Being Misplaced—What Offices they could Discharge—Out-door Employments—Capacity—Iceberg Philanthropists—Children of Indigent Parentage—Exposures to Varying Temperatures—Development of Strength.

With a delicate organization, women certainly endure bodily sufferings with firmness and heroic resolution.

They can do anything in art or science which the other sex accomplish. Certainly, they have the ability for mastering languages, playing music, or carrying on nice mechanical operations. In sculpture, painting, and many ornamental arts, they vastly excel. If they had fewer muscles, or fewer bones, or even more than a man, they could not conduct manipulations requiring expert fingers and a well-formed brain.

Annals of war furnish thrilling accounts of brilliant achievements in arms, in which young women braved the hardship of a camp, with a fortitude that would have exalted the reputation of a veteran, without shrinking. They have often triumphantly gained a reputation for skill, bravery, and patriotism.

Their capacity for horticultural and general agricultural pursuits, is widely acknowledged. In their poverty and dependence on manual labor for bread, their strength keeps pace with their necessities. Thus, in Europe, they till the soil, drive teams, saw wood in the streets, act as hostlers, and to the disgrace of those communities in which their hard destiny

compels them to do the work which belongs to stronger and naturally rougher hands.

It dwarfs them, to be compelled to carry heavy burdens. Exposure to all weathers hardens and tans their complexion, while alternations of heat, cold, rains, and winds, bronze their skin. To be sweating and tugging in the laborious pursuits of a farm, is not their appropriate sphere. Still they do it, and adapt themselves to the hard fortune imposed upon them, without complaining more than the sisterhood whose destiny places them beyond the necessity of being industrious.

They bear up under misfortune, indeed, under all hardships, more cheerfully than men, without perilling their health or morals. Their instincts are always in the right direction.

A mother in the extreme wretchedness of some forms of poverty, ignorant, and dependent, manifests as much maternal solicitude, affection, and unconquerable love for her children, as the wife of a peer. She submits with fortitude to surgical operations, and endures protracted pains more heroically than men, whose physical powers of resistance, apparently, are far superior.

A citation from historical records to establish this proposition would be needless, since it has become a proverb that a woman is acknowledged to bear away the palm.

When circumstances require, women do as well as men as teachers, artists, or bookkeepers; and they are constitutionally more honest than those claiming to be lords over them. Having the same number of nerves, bones, and blood-vessels, why should they not do whatever men do in those economies which require brains and hands?

If they fall below the sterner sex in any sphere of action, it is because their education has been less complete. Give them equal advantages.

Immense numbers of men and women are unfortunately misplaced. Society, consequently, is a loser by not having them in positions where each would have contributed advantageously for the good of all.

Women quite frequently find themselves mismated as well as misplaced. It is a mistake they often make, in supposing that pearls and diamonds are worth more than intelligence. Jewels have no weight in an intellectual balance.

"When unadorned, adorned the most," is a trite expression, but it conveys a truth applicable to women of culture. They have an influence wherever they move, because there is a force in their deportment, and especially in their words, when properly directed, commanding both respect and admiration.

An unaccountable opposition is manifested against granting educational privileges to women.

There are unsuccessful merchants who would have been excellent farmers, and many farmers of the most thriftless order, who would have made enterprizing traders. The pulpit is burdened with stupid clergymen, whose voices are an anodyne, and their reasoning solid opium. Their congregations sleep as quietly under their clerical administration of the parish, as if they had taken a dose of chloroform at the commencement of the services.

Now, such somnambulant church-operators might have succeeded far better in pursuits requiring muscle instead of brain. Lawyers, too, profoundly ignorant of law, and physicians who literally know nothing of the profession they are permitted to practise, are familiar examples of social displacement.

One of the objections to giving women clerkships, or putting them in positions of accountants, actuaries, bookkeepers, bank-tellers, ticket-takers at railroad offices, and even conductors, and many other pursuits, which they might follow quite as accept-

ably as such services are performed by rough, coarse, unmannered vulgarians, loathed by those obliged to come in contact with them,—is from a fear they might become demoralized by such general intercourse with the outside world. Theoretically, but without any valid reason, they should be occupants of the house at all times, and the instruments with which they should become familiarized, are broomsticks, needles, and teapots.

It is discreditable to men, who have so little confidence in the moral perfections of their mothers and sisters as to exclude them from situations which would not only be eminently beneficial to themselves, but also to each and every community in which their fitness and capacity for such pursuits have been appreciated and encouraged.

Objections Urged.

It has been urged that women could not be relied upon in some very common offices in which men are in charge, on account of certain constitutional peculiarities, which forbid females from exposing themselves to varying temperatures, wetting their feet, etc., which would prove ruinous to their health.

Such apprehensions are unfounded. It is true, that those reared so tenderly as to make them unnaturally feeble, and therefore more susceptible, would not have constitutions for some industries; but a woman who has been allowed through her childhood to breathe in open air, to exercise her muscles out-doors, can resist any and all influences from atmospheric exposure, that a male organization resists. Early training, and not a congenital predisposition, fits or unfits either for activity and usefulness, in-door or out.

In all discussions on the subject of female suffrage, a sort of epidemic that breaks out occasionally, to the immense alarm of

politicians—especially those who dread the elevation of women, well knowing their intelligence and superior moral qualifications would be a death-blow to their own aspirations—it is assumed that they are physically unfitted for pursuits in which men engage.

Mental capacity is ingeniously left out of the account as much as possible; and those very wise doctors who, in fear of having well-informed women employed to nurse sickly or demoralized institutions, are continually harping on their inability, are careful to say nothing about their educational fitness to transact affairs far more successfully than thousands of party numskulls, whose only qualification for positions they disgrace by ignorance, is devotion to leaders bolder and more unscrupulous than themselves.

Where they would Succeed.

In courts of law; on grand or traverse juries; as coroners, sheriffs, and similar offices, which require tact, good manners, firmness, and an accurate knowledge of legal forms, women could aquit themselves far more acceptably than such coarse, profane, offensive occupants as sometimes hold those places.

In March, 1870, an experiment was tried in the Territory of Wyoming, for the first time since the formation of a civil government in America, of placing women on a jury.

A wretch, by the name of Cowie, was on trial for murder. The panel had upon it six females and six males. After a protracted deliberation of four days and nights, a verdict of manslaughter was rendered.

Of course, the ladies were exceedingly fatigued, but their resolution, and the dignity and solemnity of the occasion, won for them the admiration of the whole country.

Hardly, however, had the eclat of their services been heralded over the country, than it was bruited about that their husbands were dissatisfied with such a protracted absence of their wives from domestic duties. Worse still, a busy press was active in propagating a story that another source of dissatisfaction grew out of having their beloved helpmates shut up four days and nights with strange men, sturdy yeomen, of whom they knew neither good nor evil.

That must have been an attempt at merriment, or the outgrowth of a mischievous disposition to destroy the influence which women were acquiring in their praiseworthy efforts in a new and important sphere of action.

Hardy Discipline.

Children born to apparent affluence, tenderly managed, by unexpected family reverses have been often thrown upon the cold charity of the world to grapple with poverty in its severest forms. Iceberg philanthropists seldom thaw at the sight of wretchedness that can best be warmed by money.

In transitions from one social extreme to another, the body suffers from no shocks that essentially impairs it, while a hope is entertained of ultimately rising above poverty to the realization of influence and comforts. Some fall by the way, whose feeble organization is unequal to the depressing wretchedness of hope deferred. But how many live through painful scenes of want and mortification to reach old age in a better aspect than when they first began to battle with tribulations!

Children of indigent parentage throng the streets of every city, barefooted, hatless, bonnetless, thinly clad, and oppressed by hunger, braving storms, whose ruddy cheeks bear witness to the invigorating influence of fresh air.

Female children from such sources are factory operatives. They are domestics, and in whatever position they may occupy at service, are not only expected, but are ordered to do that which as often as otherwise obliges them to be standing in water—handling wet clothes, cold and chilling to their warm blood; and yet they sustain a higher standard of health than the pampered offspring of their masters and mistresses, imagined to have been born to a better inheritance.

It is no more dangerous to have one's feet in cold water than to have their hands in it. There is nothing in the anatomy of a woman's body that indicates a greater susceptibility in her feet than in her fingers.

The whole body, as individual limbs, or the face, may be accustomed to endurances that would be detrimental to a novice in such kinds of exposure. A sudden plunge into a cold bath reduces vital temperature. In coming out, it returns with accelerated force. But the after-glow, so much coveted by ladies, and of which they speak with enthusiasm, as delightful in the transition from a bath to a warm room, is a dearly purchased pleasure by some hydropathic advocates.

That after-glow draws largely upon the vitality of those of extremely delicate organization. It takes so much from the fountain, that it finally ceases to rise to its normal level. A lady may dissipate in a bath, to her injury, quite as readily as with chloroform or opium. Their effects, however, are widely different, though both lead to the gates of death. Excess in anything enervates. Regularity, even in the violation of organic laws, does not produce derangements immediately.

Sudden cold douches are as unbearable as electric shocks; still, by gradually practising, as, for example, keeping the hands or feet a long while in intensely cold water, no injury ensues.

Pearl divers descend thirty and forty feet, and walk about

deliberately on the bottom. Suspending respiration thus is an education of the lungs to meet the contingency of their profession. Washer-women in Paris paddle in the Seine with the freedom of ducks—always cold and wet; yet they live to the ordinary age of those who have had no experience in aquatics.

The muscle of men becomes stronger and more massive than in women, because they are more exercised in all forms of activity. Just as the twig is bent, so is the tree inclined.

As soon as muscles are required to perform an increased amount of service in a particular routine of action, an extra volume of blood circulates in them, which is equivalent to giving them more food than when their labors were less.

Thus, a blacksmith's hammer-arm is larger than the other, because the weight to be habitually moved in forging at his anvil requires increased muscular force. It is, therefore, more copiously nourished.

The stonecutter's arm becomes larger that wields a mallet, than its mate directing the chisel. Ballet-dancers, rope-performers, circus-riders, and professional pedestrians, have wonderfully fine lower extremities, while their arms appear disproportionably small, in consequence of not having an increased circulation directed to them.

On the other hand, porters, or those who are constantly handling, moving, and lifting heavy boxes, barrels, etc., or carrying burdens on their backs or shoulders, have a prodigious massiveness of the pectoral muscles about the upper part of the chest and lumbar region.

It is one of the strange sights at the port of Havana to watch the play of muscles of nude burden-carriers in discharging vessels, which stand out in living prominence.

Stevedores, in Sicily, walk up a plank with a bale of rags on their brawny shoulders, weighing, upon an average, four

hundred pounds. They move off deliberately, as though not particularly embarrassed.

We have a distinct recollection of seeing a Turkish porter, passing through a street in Smyrna, with a barrel of New-England rum slung to his arched back.

Processes which develop strength in men, will also develop strength in women. Arab girls, on the banks of the Nile, and indeed all over Syria, assist one another in raising heavy jars of water to their head, which they carry off to distant villages with apparent ease, rarely touching the vessel with their hands, so admirably are they poised.

Files of those dark-eyed, supple nymphs, in social chat, cheerfully wend their way for one or two miles, without the least apparent fatigue. Such habitual exercise of all their muscles brings out the finest imaginable proportions of the body. Every fibre is urged to a full state of tension.

Those bronzed females, whose symmetrical forms cannot be excelled in any country, know nothing of numerous complaints which are the burden of our civilization. They have neither distorted spines, drooping shoulders, or contracted waists. Maternity is rarely attended with anxiety. Apprehending no danger, they are never harassed by nervous anticipations, or depressed with thoughts of danger.

Were orthopedic surgeons, whose specialty is to warp distorted bones into position, to treat their patients to sustaining weights on their heads, and exercise with them, their success would be far more satisfactory. Put the muscles into action, properly directed, and they will certainly adjust the distorted parts, by contracting forcibly till the deviating bone is gradually restored to its natural relations.

Who are Distorted?

Young ladies brought up in luxurious indolence are the principal sufferers from incurvations of the spine. Family opulence is not unfrequently the destruction of heirs to an estate. Rich girls are made puny, feeble, and lifeless by their dresses, table luxuries, gas-lights when they ought to be in bed, by opera excitements, piano drillings, unventilated apartments, and brain-burning novels!

When very young, they should be permitted to range in loose garments, and be as free as the poor man's daughters. That is the way to form a good constitution. If, however, the misfortune of a spinal curvature overtakes them, let them promenade regularly with as much of a weight on the head as they can carry. Do it in the garden or open field, rather than in a drawing-room. Being lashed down to an inclined plane is an absurdity, and deserves professional condemnation. Liberate their oppressed ribs; give them coarse food, instead of dry toast and tea. Imitate the vigorous girls of Egypt. Theories disappear before facts in orthopedic surgery:

> "*Natura duce* was the text
> Of ancient Hippocrates,
> But we shall lead old Nature next,
> The force of art so great is."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Brain Force.

Mental Differences—Genius not to be Purchased—Soul—Molecules of Matter Perpetually Re-arranged—Duplication of Organs—Brains Look Alike—A Divine Mystery—Male and Female Brains—No Apparent Anatomical Difference.

No one pretends to question the universal opinion that intellection is manifested through the instrumentality of the brain, a poorly understood organ.

Brain force, that exercise of the will which places humanity at the head, and gives man control over animals, and, in fact, over the whole world, perplexes philosophers as much now as in the earliest periods of philosophical inquiry.

Science affords but little light for conducting investigations which have in view an easy explanation of cerebral functions. That positive something which is a power, exercised by individuals in producing great, or, indeed, any results, is potent, and almost irresistible in its fullest development.

Some are superior to others, because they originate thoughts. Mechanical inventors, those having the faculty of combining complicated motions, resulting in the production of labor-saving machines, or who conceive unique designs, and execute splendid works in art, must have brains intrinsically different from those who are totally incapable of exhibiting new and striking forms of talent.

Poets, writers of exciting fiction—admitted to possess active imaginations—create scenes and circumstances, which are trans-

ferred to paper, as the painter does an ideal image to canvas, to delight those who have no similar inspirations. Some, then, have a capacity for enjoying the mental productions of others. They have, too, a skill in searching out beauties, and of detecting faults, without a faculty of originating.

Yet, in a dissection of the brain, the most accomplished anatomist cannot detect the slightest difference in structure. One may exceed the other slightly, perhaps, in weight. But many a genius has had a small head, and thousands of distinguished fools had a brain surprisingly large.

Misers see phantom dollars upon the same philosophical principle that an architect sees in his mind's eye the structure he proposes to erect. Both contemplate an intangible representation, which is copied and made real.

Whether education changes the arrangement of cerebral fibres, requires further investigation. It develops and directs innate powers which otherwise might have remained partially dormant.

A knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, or utter ignorance of those useful branches, is no evidence of an inability to invent or make discoveries of importance to mankind.

Genius.

Genius can neither be bought, sold, nor transferred. It appertains to individuals. Hence they who possess it in an eminent degree, when directed for the advancement of the common good, are regarded as public benefactors. When extraordinary intellectual endowments are wasted in frivolous pursuits, or the envied possessor of rare cerebral gifts fritters away opportunities for enlarging his own orbit and advancing the interests of the community, society says he lived to no pur-

pose, and died without leaving a brilliant memorial of his existence.

A perfectly developed mind depends on a perfectly developed condition of the apparatus by which it is manifested.

A body may be mutilated to an extraordinary degree without at all limiting the range of intellect. A member of the British parliament was born without arms or legs, yet he is a man of clear perceptions and unclouded judgment.

When all distinguishing characteristics of a well-balanced intellect are active and even brilliant, every limb may be amputated, both ears removed, both eyes blinded, the teeth extracted, the tongue severed, and many more terrible mutilations inflicted without essentially impairing intellection, which remains as complete before.

The Soul.

When those material instrumentalities by which mind is manifested are injured or destroyed, then there can be no conscious volitions.

It is argued that the soul is something quite independent and distinct from the machinery of organic life, through the instrumentality of which its essential attributes are manifested.

If food is withheld too long, a debility of the body follows and the mind falters. If the tissues are not supplied with materials for repairing a waste constantly going on in the system, organs cease to operate. Death ensues, and the soul departs.

Our bodies are all the time receiving new materials, and throwing off effete substance that has imparted its vitality. Let this operation be suspended even but for a very brief period, and derangements and death would be inevitable.

Particles received yesterday are ready to be removed to-day, while new ones, just elaborated from food, take their places. Thus life is mechanically sustained.

It is, therefore, morally certain that mind is an independent, intangible something, which exhibits itself through vitalized matter. From whence it came, or where it goes, belongs to the province of revealed religion to elucidate.

Duplication.

Animals are organized beings, varying in their forms, both externally and internally, according to a specific service they are to perform in the economy of nature. As far as naturalists have carried their investigations, each and every one, including man, are duplicated in their bones, muscles, members, and special nerves of sense.

Two halves, rarely varying much in form, number, or weight, are united to make one symmetrical whole.

Thus there are two brains united, two eyes, two ears, two olfactory cavities, with two sets of nerves alike on the two sides, two kidneys, two arms, two feet, and, in the fœtal state, each jaw was in two pieces.

An obvious advantage in thus duplicating so many parts, is to increase and concentrate force, whether vital or mechanical. Even the heart is double. One heart throws blood into the lungs, while the other propels it through the body. By welding them together, less room was required, and compactness in packing is one of the wonders disclosed by dissection.

In respect to the brain, nerves, and muscles, when one set are out of order, or they can no longer perform their part in the circle of vital movements, thought, volitions, and muscular

efforts are solely carried on by the other half, which is unimpaired.

We hear with one ear, see with one eye, chew on one side, taste with half a tongue, secrete with one kidney, locomote on one leg, and do very well with one arm; and in a paralysis of half the body, drag it about for years, while all the powers of life are carried on and regulated by the sound side.

Worms are an aggregation of rings or sections, each of which is almost a distinct individual, having its own breathing orifice, its own ganglions, or nervous centres, equivalent to a brain, and its own independent locomotive apparatus.

Some of the annelides may be cut into pieces, and each one will become a distinct, complete, independent being.

One set of digestive apparatus answers for a double set of organs in all animals, as one boiler is sufficient for a double engine in steam-vessels.

Distinction without a Difference.

To all appearance, human brains are alike in structure. One may be larger than another, but it is quite impossible to discriminate a male from a female brain, otherwise than upon the received opinion that the latter is smallest.

On the dissecting-table, the most expert anatomist could not designate the brain of a statesman from that of a scavenger. They are essentially alike, and yet they differ in a manner, while living, which no one has yet been able to explain.

If we were not alike in regard to the number and arrangements of our organs, we could neither think nor act alike. Anatomists, however, discover no difference in the structure or disposition of the brain, nerve, or muscles. Therefore, a great mystery remains unsolved, notwithstanding all that has been taught in elucidation of the laws of life.

Passive Organs.

With eyes, an invisible conscious entity within the brain sees what is transpiring without. It hears with the ears, feels through the nerves, tastes with the tongue, and contracts muscles by a force acting from within. An eye cannot see, or an ear hear. They are completely passive, simply being instruments constructed for conducting to the soul's residence information that could not in any other manner or way be communicated.

Thinkers who exercise their muscles, in-door and out, discreetly, have a longer life than those who are careless in their habits, and sluggish in their movements.

More women are moved by the brain-force of others, than among an equal number of men; but there are female writers whose mental capacity has not been equalled by the other sex in any branch of literature.

Brain-force is a Divine mystery. Its influence is felt, but that is all we know about it. There is no art or device that did not originate in a brain. There, too, conceptions, complex and intricate, may be kept safely for future use, or remain quiescent till the golden bowl is broken at the fountain.

Whatever is fabricated by human hands, must first have existed in the brain—so legibly photographed there, the mind examined the pattern as the work of imitating proceeded till completed.

There being no apparent difference in the brains of the sexes, and experience favoring the opinion there is none, why cannot women do all that men accomplish of value to society? They are entitled in equity to all rights and privileges in the exercise of the talents God has given them, and no opportunity should be omitted, on their part, for exercising that brain-force in all lawful enterprises and pursuits.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Over-working the Brain.

Must be Exercised to be kept in Order—Must have Periods of Rest—Sleep—A Sound Mind—Predisposing Cause of Madness—Political Friction—Oriental Calmness—Sudden Death—Avarice.

There is a popular notion that the brain may be over-taxed; and it is well founded. Those who dwell wholly and continually on one idea,—a perpetual hobby,—injure the organ by compelling one set of fibres, tubes, or molecules, we know not which, to be too much and too long exercised without relaxation.

Relaxation is as necessary for the brain as for the muscles. Alternations of mental action and reasonable repose are necessary in the constitution of humanity.

Those who have exercised the brain pleasurably, through a long life of industry, have had clearer perceptions, and a higher order of intelligence, than those whose mental action is irregular: becoming suddenly excited, and then relaxing into thoughtless indolence, is particularly injurious.

The more the brain is used without abuse, the more complete its functions. It may be injured by concentrating cerebral force too long, or confining the mind to the consideration of one problem, or series of cogitations, to the exclusion of other thoughts, or the intrusion of impressions that might divert the mind from the order in which the individual is resolved to concentrate his thoughts.

Hence leaders of *isms*, furious reformers, radical agitators, inventors, who dwell long and earnestly on certain mechanical contrivances, as the quadrature of the circle; mad poets, those creatures of imagination, who feel themselves unappreciated, and, therefore, neglected,—become eccentric, and in extreme cases insane, because the brain has had no rest.

Alternations of Labor and Rest.

Intervals of relaxation of one set or parts of the thinking apparatus is necessary, while others are operating. The same law governs the organs of digestion. After the stomach has prepared the food received, it passes onward to the alimentary canal. In the meanwhile, it reposes till the next meal is received, thus recuperating in the intervals. Without such opportunities for rest, derangements would inevitably occur. In fact, they do in those who are continually violating the laws of health, by imposing too much service on that badly-treated viscus. Dyspepsia, gastric pains, and chronic inflammations are penalties for gorging the stomach too much, too often, and with materials that bring on direct disease, in an effort to digest what is indigestible. That is forced labor.

An eye must have repose, the heart is perfectly at rest an instant between its pulsations, and beats on, in some bosoms, one hundred years, unimpaired.

Birds sleep at night; reptiles retire to their holes; fishes balance themselves on their pectoral fins in the darkness of aquatic night in slumber. It is thus, while all is quiet, and each and every animal puts itself in a position most favorable for rest, that nervous force re-accumulates for meeting demands that may be made upon the system the coming day.

The brain must sleep, and, in hours of total unconscious-

ness, if there are no irregularities in the circulation or digestion, regathers that which invigorates it for the waking hour.

Imperfect nutrition of the brain is quite as much the cause of irregular action as being over-taxed with one burden, or a ceaseless devotion to one engrossing theme.

If the liver is diseased, the spleen disordered, the pancreas, scirrhus, or the stomach inadequate to the performance of its ordinary duties, the brain soon becomes impoverished. It is impossible to carry on its appropriate functions on a short allowance.

A Sound Mind.

A sound mind is intimately associated with good health, and that is maintained by nutritious food and perfect digestion.

Lunatic asylums furnish painful examples of impaired brains, but those institutions have not yet had the independence to publish such details as would satisfactorily explain many true causes of insanity in a large proportion of their inmates.

It is, perhaps, an exercise of philanthropic discretion not to report what might mortify, pain, or horrify.

A predisposing cause of moodiness, nervous excitability, melancholy, and various phases of insanity, may be traced almost invariably to a violation of some law of life.

An apology may be found for an unfortunate sufferer, by pleading his ignorance; but it is, nevertheless, a transgression. It is charitable to presume hard study has destroyed many promising intellects, but medical authorities teach us that the mind is oftener overthrown by the practice of vices than by an influx of knowledge.

Rather than admit the destruction of reason by intense literary application, writers are beginning to intimate that abuses self-imposed demand a more strict professional scrutiny.

It might be thought premature, or at least inexpedient to announce authoratively in annual reports, that restraints actually bring on madness in some of its saddest forms.

Our civilization imposes barriers against the indulgence of many natural wants. A reflex action deranges the brain.

When Mahometans are insane, it is usually caused by injuries of the skull, frights, sudden surprisals, deprivation of cherished rights, opium, hasheesh, smoking, etc., but rarely, if ever, from moral causes. Moslem fanatics, like those in Christian countries, become eccentric and insane too. Blighted hopes, disappointments in love, or religious fervor, seldom lead to alienations of mind in Orientals.

They have among them fanatical individuals, whose temperaments are like those of the same nervous type in all countries. When thwarted in favorite schemes for revolutionizing a neighborhood or a state, disappointment brings on analagous forms of insanity.

Political rebuffs, unsuccessful enterprises, religious theories which others oppose, self-imposed missions ostensibly for the public good, which were fully intended to be particularly beneficial to themselves, are avenues to lunacy. Each and all of them are proper examples of over-working the brain.

Still, over-working that organ is not quite as common as may have been supposed. A vindictive determination to do what is not agreeable to others, meets with opposition that not unfrequently reacts upon an excited brain beyond what it can bear. That, however, is not to be understood as over-working it. Does a calm, considerate exercise of acquiring, comparing, and analyzing tend to the brain's injury? No.

Have many young men or misses of sixteen ruined their intellect by study?

That their minds have given way in early youth is undeni-

able; but not by schooling the brain in the ordinary manner of being educated. One-idea people are numerous, and in this country among women, particularly. When necessity compels them to laborious devotion to one unvarying pursuit, as stitching with a needle, running a sewing machine, braiding straw, reading proof-sheets, or similar exhausting industries, the nervous system is often seriously prostrated. Indeed, the contemplation of one thing all the while, as more prominent than all others, without reasonable relaxation, is excessively overworking the brain.

Explosion of Life.

Commmercial men in communities where property is the only passport to position, over-work the brain more rapidly and more frequently than women.

Men occasionally drop dead by a sudden explosion, as it were, of vital force. Culture, taste, refined sentiments, a delicate perception of what constitutes good breeding, or lays claim to respect and attentions, weigh nothing where the chink of gold gives more pleasure than the music of the greatest masters of melody.

Women are apt, with an unexpected change in social position, to become deaf to all sounds not associated with the rustle of rich dresses, and some die martyrs to an idea that a wardrobe makes a lady.

Any faculty of the mind may be exercised to its exceeding detriment. Allowing the powers of intellect to be wholly given to the acquisition of wealth, to the exclusion of whatever relates to the moral nature, social duties and obligations, is avarice. That is, in fact, a disease of the organ in which sentiments are elaborated. It is a malady that destroys the individual before he is ready to enjoy pleasures and advantages he had promised himself when riches were secured.

A history of trade in its successful aspects, which includes any position in which an adequate income is realized for personal services or skill in the management of funds, would show that not one in five thousand who heap up treasures, ever has the benefit of them. Heirs-at-law, who may never have earned a farthing, usually have the spending of such fortunes.

When a property becomes colossal, a little of it is devised occasionally to eleemosynary institutions, or in special charities for securing the favor of heaven, but not because such spasmodic benevolence arises from a religious sentiment.

It is nothing more nor less than a willingness to purchase what could not be hoped for on the score of merit. A mercantile transaction to the last breath.

To allow avarice to obtain a mastery, is a fatal mistake. The late Mr. George Peabody gave a bright example of the way of finding happiness, by making others so with the abundance which a kind Providence had placed at his disposal. The honored Peter Cooper, of New York, has heaven in advance.

The whole of us, mind and body, must be used, but not abused. Happiness being the object of pursuit, unrecorded miseries are heroically endured to gain what cannot be enjoyed when attained.

Convulsive attempts at reformation, when we are alarmed at a realizing sense of the results of disappointed schemes, is snatching at floating straws.

An over-worked brain must abide the consequences of neglected hygienic laws. For a woman to live many years, she must live simply, industriously, and in obedience to her inborn intuitive sense of what is right and what is wrong, and she must vary her pursuits, so that her brain may have as much opportunity for rest as she requires for her hands and feet.

CHAPTER XXX.

Their Complexion.

Physical Bearing—Cosmetics—Let them alone—Eruptions—Pearl Powder—Water as a Purifier—Pores of the Skin—Temperature of the Body—Insensible Perspiration—Tint of the Complexion—Antimony.

Never perfectly satisfied with what nature in kindness has bestowed upon them, however fresh, healthy, or beautiful, women are continually exercising their fertile minds in pursuit of means for improving their appearance. They tax their ingenuity for increasing the effect of their facial expression and figure.

A man may be massive, bearded, and manifest the highest intellectual power, and yet not be a beauty. Those exterior evidences of his strength and masculine maturity are altogether different from those traits and influences which characterize women. There are concentrated in her person a compound of symmetry, texture, and indefinable properties not readily expressed, which, nevertheless, are felt and acknowledged to exist.

When cultivated, and her soul educated to correspond with her positive corporeal attributes, a woman governs without speaking, and commands by an ineffable magnetism.

She has an innate disposition to appear to the best advantage, and in that way her power is augmented, and her sovereignty over the male sex secured.

Ambitious to Look Well.

Impressed with a conviction that she can improve her appearance by processes of art, women of all countries are the patrons of cosmetics. The savage female seeks such appliances among simples of the field, and in mineral preparations, which make her hideous, in her fancied metamorphosis for the better; perfectly loathsome, if not horrid, to the eyes of a civilized being.

A woman's complexion, the expression of her eyes, the arrangement of her hair, the size of her hands and her feet, occupy her thoughts too much, if truthfully represented by writers of their own sex. And it is unquestionably true they heroically submit to self-imposed tortures, with an expectation of appearing essentially improved in appearance in the estimation of those with whom they associate.

Not one article in the catalogue of miscalled beautifiers, of which ladies are usually munificent patrons, is worth having, or free from objection on account of deleterious properties in their composition.

Most cosmetics are positively injurious to the skin.

There are no exceptions in favor of any, however popular they may appear from the representations of schooled advertisers, or the opinion of fair customers, to the contrary.

Cutaneous Blemishes.

Eruptions, cutaneous enlargements, chronic inflammatory flushes, bordering on erysipelatous redness, resisting ordinary discutient applications, are always made worse by such improper treatment as many an indiscreet woman voluntarily

imposes upon herself, under a hopeful expectation of a triumphant success in dispersing them.

Women relinquish their idols reluctantly; therefore, the probability of convincing them by arguments, or even the presentation of facts, that they would gain vastly more by abandoning the external application of washes and powders, which they have been accustomed to regard as important appendages of their toilet, is not entertained.

Rougeing.

Paints have been found with female mummies in the catacombs of Egypt, with females of an extinct race in South America, and even in the superficial graves of the aborigines, wherever the Indians have resided on this continent.

Bountiful supplies of coloring materials dug up occasionally with the crumbling remains of human bodies, must have been considered indispensable adjuncts to female beauty by those who placed them there, and prove the immense antiquity of such appliances. Some such discoveries antedate the Pentateuch.

On all the continents, but especially in America, revelations from very ancient graves testify to the vanity of the sex, and prove, moreover, that the leading elements of their character have always been the same in every country, in every age and climate, in carrying to their last resting-place materials which were contemplated as necessary in eternity as while sojourning on earth.

Pearl-powder ranks well with ladies, being extensively used by them. A vague notion prevails that it is actually pulverized pearl, and consequently must improve the skin when rubbed upon it.

Such ignorance, however, is only found among very

superficial fashionables, who have no aspirations beyond making a favorable impression, not by words, but through the instrumentality of art.

It may be distasteful intelligence to assure those who pay liberally for genuine pearl-powder, the most approved samples are nothing more nor less than starch. Such as they purchase for their laundries by the pound, for stiffening garments, is just as good and valuable as that sold in quarter-ounce packages at several dollars, under the name of cosmetic pearl-powder.

To be appropriately pearled for street appearance, it is usually dusted on so profusely, as to give the self-satisfied adorable a very mealy look. If some of those pearled promenaders, not unfrequently to be met with, were to dip their faces into a dish of flour, who would be competent to decide that it was not genuine impalpable pearl-powder?

To put it on plentifully, especially under the eyes, round the margin of the temples, and on the cheeks, suggests the idea to a spectator that there may be too much of a good thing.

Even were it true that the application of refined starch were of the slightest use in whitening the skin, there is a reprehensible proneness to run into extremes, which is a kind of abuse, not of a criminal nature.

Superiority of Water as a Cosmetic.

The experience of centuries places good, wholesome water at the head of all cosmetics. It is infinitely superior to chemical compounds of druggists, and always has been. No complexions compare with those of young misses who have had no acquaintance with cosmetics. That healthy glow which tints the country girl's cheeks, who, unsophisticated and happily ignorant of the mysteries of a fashionable toilette, can

neither be improved by art, nor imitated successfully by science.

On being transferred to a city, a young lady first begins to imitate those whom she supposes to be superior to herself. From that day, her facial deterioration commences. Concentrated food, stronger tea and coffee, and more of it than she had been accustomed to at her rural, happy home; later hours, musical excitations, theatrical spectacles, new exhibitions of the follies and frivolities of fashionable life, stimulate the pulsations of her heart. The brain is overtaxed, and with dancing and phantoms, when day is turned into night and night into scenes of bewildering enchantments, the rose is no longer seen on her fair face. She becomes dyspectic, hectic, yellow, and enfeebled.

With this condition come physicians, pills, phials, plasters for a pain in the side, and a troublesome cough.

Pearl-powder will not bring back the bloom of health, nor rouge, spread thinly with consummate skill over a blanched, sunken feature, recall the lost complexion. Hygeia is discouraged, and takes her departure.

Structure of the Skin.

The entire surface of the body is pierced by an infinite number of minute openings, known as pores,—the external termination of extremely fine tubes,—or sudorific ducts through which we perspire.

Their inner extremities are coiled up in adipose tissue below the skin. Economy in packing, while being protected in a soft elastic bed, is noticeable in that beautiful arrangement which is equally observable in all other parts of the system.

Through those sweat-tubes, aqueous fluid is exhaled, passing

from within to the surface where it escapes, and is immediately lost by evaporation.

When the skin is apparently dry, the escape of fluid is constantly going on; but it is not seen. That is insensible perspiration. If, however, there is any obstruction of the orifices, so that the perspirable fluid cannot make its exit, then there is heat and fever.

If the temperature of the body is raised several degrees in consequence of a quick circulation, the quantity of perspiration becomes augmented. Should the air be at a lower temperature, it is condensed and runs down in streamlets. That is sweating.

Habitual application of substances which clog the emunctories of the skin, and thereby prevent the escape of watery collections gathered in the sudorific tubes, must of course be very injurious.

Dropsy.

One form of dropsy is an undue collection of fluid in the cellular tissue below the skin. If the free escape is proportioned to the quantity separated from the blood, then the equilibrium of health is maintained.

On the contrary, when not passing off regularly as fast as collected, serum occasionally collects in the abdomen, the chest, or the limbs, which constitutes regional dropsy.

Cosmetics of every kind must very considerably interfere with a free exit of perspiration, as a mechanical obstruction. Were the entire body plastered over with a composition which absolutely prevented the outlet and evaporation from the pores, absolutely necessary in the economy of a living being constituted like ourselves, sad consequences would immediately follow.

On the face, where cosmetics are most freely applied, the pores may be rendered quite useless if not destroyed by them. A dryness, roughness, a sickly hue, and premature wrinkles are the penalty of such attempts to improve upon nature.

Tampering with Health.

Legislation could not effectually stop the sale of quack medicines. People, not by any means the most intelligent, will have them.

This is a glorious land of liberty, in which every one takes what he likes under the name of remedies. Availing themselves of a national weakness in that direction, ingenious speculators accumulate enormous fortunes by the sale of pills and other nostrums, represented to meet all the contingencies of life, which range themselves in the train of formidable diseases.

Oleaginous compounds, not soap, are probably worse than liquids of a stimulating character rubbed on the skin, because they suddenly close up the pores. The other generates an inflammation that is slower, but equally detrimental.

Washes, which are announced to have a detergent property, but acting upon the same principle, are dangerous applications.

Simply bathing in pure water is a thousand times superior to the most costly articles for giving and sustaining that soft, delicate complexion which indicates health and vigor.

A better idea of the importance of these sudorific tubes may be formed by this curious anatomical statement, that were it possible to unite them all in one pipe, by joining them end to end, there is enough of them on the surface of an ordinary-sized woman, some have supposed, to extend *two miles!*

Remarkable beauties sometimes appear to have become prematurely old. Faded beauties wilt rapidly when they begin to

show the sere and yellow leaf. Were some of those cases investigated scientifically, it might probably be shown that they hastened an event they dreaded, by tampering with their fine faces with just such appliances as we have here deprecated. In their anxiety to prevent the appearance of deterioration, they produced prematurely that which they intended to prevent.

Removal of Blemishes.

A yellowish, sallow-colored skin, which cannot be driven away, even temporarily, by a flush of surprise, is best treated by water, which acts beneficially. Children born of painted or enamelled mothers, are not robust. Even their mental powers are inferior. They are life-long sufferers in consequence of maternal folly.

Fluids taken into the stomach percolate to some extent directly through its walls, making an exit by exosmosis on the surface, after having traversed through various intervening tissues.

It is by that disposition of a portion of liquids swallowed, the parts are all kept soft, supple, and in a condition to glide easily one upon another without friction.

By recollecting that the sudorific tubes are so numerous that five hundred of them exist in a single square inch, it is no difficult problem to explain the ready transmission of the fluid they transmit to the surface.

On the back of the hand and foot there are one thousand pores to a square inch. On the sole of the foot and palm of the hand they reach the amazing number of two thousand seven hundred in a square inch.

On the surface of the whole body of a woman of ordinary stature, there cannot be fewer than two millions three hundred thousand of those emunctories.

It is something to ponder upon, that life, so precious to all, is dependent upon the action of such minute, complicated apparatus.

An excuse has been offered for covering up wrinkles with paste, called medicated enamel, etc., that it is a privilege to repair old bodies externally, as it is to take drugs for counteracting diseases.

If it is right for a dilapidated woman to take tonics for improving her physical condition, it has been argued that it is right and proper to attempt improving their complexion, by staining, frescoing, or other means, according to her standard of taste.

We are not discussing the right or privilege to do just what a woman chooses, as a free agent, but contend that the woman who does it, that is, paints herself, makes an egregious mistake to her personal injury.

Paints, on weather-beaten boards, are to prevent the absorption of moisture, which would hasten their decay. On the living, paints prevent the escape of moisture, a function that cannot be interrupted with impunity.

Scruples against Art.

Artificial teeth are not classed with cosmetics, as interfering with vital processes, because they do not in any respect. On the contrary, they are important auxiliaries in preparing food for ready digestion.

Formerly it was considered a sin, by conscientious persons, to resort to appliances of art for securing either comfort or an improved personal appearance. The argument resorted to was this, viz.: When any part or portion of the body has fallen into decay, it is evidently the pleasure of the Being who created us,

that we should thus gradually go to pieces, and it is wrong, therefore, to proceed contrary to the divine purpose.

Influenced by such considerations, dentists were violating a great law, and wooden-leg makers, wig-makers, and even oculists in the restoration of the blind to perfect vision, are guilty of the violation of a law equally recognized as the will of our Heavenly Father.

It belongs to the history of the dental profession, that less than seventy years ago many toothless ladies, scarcely able to articulate their hostile feelings in reference to the wicked devices of evil-minded men, who proposed to stud their toothless jaws with beautiful artificial teeth, shrunk back with horror at the idea of having such false appliances.

With a determination not to sin by assuming to be what they are not, physically, artificial arms, glass eyes, india-rubber bosoms—so very common at this particular period—would not be accepted by some conscientious people.

Opinionated, sectarian reformers, who are satisfied that their own narrow views are the express will of our Heavenly Father, kick against the pricks of advancing intelligence, but their efforts are useless. There is no *statu quo* in nature, nor can there be in humanity, without the extinction of intellect, and a moral death of society.

Men and women, with the light of modern science and literature, cannot be kept in swaddling-clothes. Those who are perpetually mourning over the good old times, when they were young, cannot give a retrograde motion to the earth in its orbit, nor arrest the swelling tide of progress.

There is another silly vice to which fashionable ladies are prone, that at least should be exposed, that it may be extensively condemned. It is the application of crude pulverized

antimony on the margins of their eyelids, and even spread at the base of the under-lid, giving the hollow below a bluish tint. The object is to increase the brilliancy of their otherwise sparkling optics.

It is unaccountable that it should be supposed by quite sensible women, that a bluish shade of the skin,—a diffused indigo shading at that particular section of the face,—enhances their good looks. No grosser mistake ever quickened their enthusiasm.

That is used largely by Oriental females—the occupants of harems, particularly—for the same purpose. But they are semi-civilized, without souls, according to a popular tradition of ignorant Mahometan proprietors.

Repetitions of antimony or khol make the eyes irritable after a while. They cannot bear the strong light, and a slow form of inflammation attacks the lids.

Their custom of staining their nails, palms of their hands, and even the soles of their feet, with henna, shows their position in the scale of intelligence, and their strict adherence to the customs of their equally ignorant ancestors.

It was in Palestine this relic of remote ages—cosmetics—appears to have been extensively employed. Mrs. Jezebel painted her face. The story of her tragical death, by being thrown from an upper story window, incidentally brought with it the curious fact that she painted her face.

Applying a weak solution of aconite to the corner of the eye, now practised, is intended to enlarge the pupil, and enhance the brilliancy of those organs. A dangerous practice.

There is too much that is unreal. There are reasonable boundaries, beyond which it is dangerous to proceed. Such practices as interfere with the higher range of vital functions, should have appropriate consideration.

One of the latest modern weaknesses that has had an extensive run, has been the passion for blonde hair. To meet the demand, scientific skill has provided a preparation to change chesnut, black, or any other head to look as though it were dyed in a sulphur bath.

Mendicant old women wander through the narrow streets of Damascus with flowing red locks streaming in the wind like bunting from the mainmast of a ship. It is the coveted color with them. Whether they are disposed to think it makes them attractive, we have no means of knowing.

There is no composition, however skilfully prepared, that will compare with pure cold water as a beautifier. It is a perfect solvent for those accumulations over the pores, which are chiefly derived from desquamations of the scarfskin. If it does not readily remove them, it is owing to some mineral elements held in it that give it a quality called hard. Emollient soaps with tepid water is a never-failing success.

Simple warm-water baths, without the addition of cologne, camphor, whiskey, rum, white wine, etc., etc.,—which it is extremly difficult to persuade fashionable ladies are not essential,—or of the slightest utility.

Avoid advertised preparations, however much extolled in certificates from irresponsible sources. They are deceptions. Water is plenty, inodorous, tastless, colorless, aud precisely meets the demands of our nature externally.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Female Education.

What Education is not—New Avenues for Industry must be Opened for Women—Excess of Female Population—They have been Neglected.

Libraries are burdened with essays on this subject, and there is room for more. Every one who has given attention to it, seems oppressed with new theories and plans, exceedingly important in the estimation of those from whom they emanate. Each writer contemplates his own proposition as the only fitting method for elevating woman to the sphere she was designed to adorn.

Men who never had the honor of having a daughter, and desiccated spinsters who will never be mothers, are those most disposed to contribute copiously to the literature of female education. Neither of them are qualified for guides. It is a matter of profound interest to those who appreciate the importance of educational training, to determine how females should be taught to meet the ever-varying phases of modern society.

Education does not mean learning to read and write, working worsted artistically, or playing the piano. Nor should the mind of woman be regarded of such small value as to be put off with indifferent instruction.

Christian civilization should righteously recognize her as man's intellectual equal. A question yet to be decided is, whether she is not also his political equal.

If she has not the same amount of muscular strength, she has the same number of muscles, disposed of in the same manner.

Modern thinkers on the constitution and mission of humanity, tacitly admit an equality of the sexes. That old adage, that man is strong and woman weak, is properly questioned of late. A woman's imaginary pictures of moral worth, virtue, and beauty, are better drawn than those by men.

In language, music, and the fine arts, she is by no means inferior. Her mechanical ingenuity in construction is not unfrequently very surprising. The constructive faculty of woman is far above the level assigned her. Devices displayed in needlework, pottery, sculpture, designs, the actual manufacture of metallic pens, jewelry, timepieces, and the peculiar finish given to watches,—the product of their own hands in this country,—confirm an opinion long entertained, that they are unequalled mechanics, when systematically instructed, as men are taught a handicraft.

A needle is a tool. If they can direct that adroitly, as it is admitted they do, they might, with equal facility, vary their pursuits, and use other instruments just as readily. In watchmaking, particularly, proprietors of great establishments acknowledge their unrivalled skill and delicacy of touch.

Therefore, it must be admitted women can do with their fingers whatever men accomplish. Custom, more arbitrary than laws, has placed them where they are not required to engage in many rough employments, ordinarily considered within the province of men, simply because the dress of the latter gives them greater freedom of motion, favorable for a free, energetic, and speedy exercise of their limbs.

Practical Instruction.

There are trades and pursuits which women are abundantly able to conduct with advantage to themselves and society; and their education, therefore, should have that practical direction which will qualify them to engage in honorable, remunerative efforts. In-door industries, commonly assigned to females, rarely bring them compensation enough for purchasing decent clothing. They are certainly entitled to something beyond the demands of immediate necessity. An opportunity to acquire more than is needed for the present, in reference to the future, should not be denied them.

Such is the extraordinary activity of the human mind at this particular juncture, there is scarcely a branch of mechanical business, however humble, that is not facilitated and made easier through the inventive genius of man. Machines make shoe-lasts, shoes, boots, ox-yokes, rakes, wheels, gun-stocks, mowers, reapers, ropes, cordage, carpets, cloth, hats: and, in short, what is there needed in the daily affairs of life not made by automatic machinery? Certainly spinning, weaving, carding, reeling, sewing, knitting, and hundreds of other similar operations are wholly accomplished by machines propelled by water, steam, or electricity, as though animated by an intelligent spirit within. Cannon cast solidly are bored of any determined calibre, without personal attention, when once the drill is set in motion.

Even pictures are copied by machinery, and news is sent round the globe in a few minutes, so that everything bears testimony to the resources of genius in the production of many modes of doing what was formerly the product of human hands.

One machine performs the work of hundreds of operatives,

and yet nothing is cheapened, as might reasonably be expected with the facilities of this over-fast age.

When boots and shoes, stockings, cloths, hats, coats, dresses, etc., were slowly fabricated by hand-labor, they were far cheaper than at present.

How can it be explained?

A machine moved by steam-power will now turn out three hundred pairs of ladies' boots in one day, and yet they actually cost more than when a good workman could scarcely make two pairs in a day, using his greatest diligence.

There seems scarcely a limit to what is possible, when men of genius interrogate nature.

Therefore, there is a necessity for opening new avenues for female enterprise. The spheres they have occupied from a remote antiquity are closed to them, in the way of industry, by inventions which wholly supersede them.

Women must have bread and breathing-room, even if the population can be served better and more rapidly than formerly by their busy fingers.

Armies, navies, and the mercantile marine take away vast numbers of men. Women remain at home, and hence they outnumber very largely the males in cities and in the old States of the Union. Their prospect is discouraging for sustaining themselves, unless society accords to them the right to engage in pursuits which were once considered exclusively belonging to men.

There are more women than men in many of the European states and kingdoms, and it is so also in extensive countries of Asia and Africa.

This excess of female population is due entirely to the evil propensities of men: their love for roaming excitement, a belligerent disposition, and the exactions of despotic rulers who control their destiny in many countries.

Most cities on the coast lines of the United States have an excess of females by far outnumbering the male population. Sea-service, the needs of new lands for agricultural laborers far back in the interior; mining operations now extensively carried on in the great mining regions of the West, induce men to leave their native places to better their circumstances, while their wives and sisters and daughters remain at home.

Women cannot submit to the hardships, privations, and demoralizing tendencies of many pursuits which characterize those far-off enterprises. There is a rudeness of manner, and a disregard for conventional forms which belong to cultivated society. Civilization accords to women the expectation of being treated as beings holding a balance of power in those social relations which secure propriety and refinement; and all, in fact, which is good, noble, and morally elevated in any community, forbids they should be exposed to the roughness, rudeness, and hardships of gold-digging researches.

Law of Equalization.

An equalization of the sexes is maintained with peculiar regularity in the animal kingdom. Where there is an apparent excess of one or the other, it is due to local causes; but it in no way effects a law which secures results most beneficial to the perpetuity of a species. There is neither failure in the law of reproduction to meet losses, nor the least danger of extinction, unless a ruthless war of extermination is waged by man, in the hunting of beaver, buffaloes, and whales.

When males are too numerous, they fight among themselves, and slaughter one another till a proper proportion in reference to the females is established. If females are in excess, there is a law of adjustment immediately brought into operation which

reduces them gradually without producing violent commotion or perceptible disturbance.

Again, it is equally curious to observe that when there are too many inhabitants in a given area, among wild animals or even aquatic beings, so that the products of the soil or a feeding region of the sea are inadequate to their healthy support, disease comes in the character of an equalizing agent. Thus epidemics and plagues in over-stocked cities invariably subside at a point that saves a remnant, since extinction is not contemplated in a law which the philosopher recognizes as a means of securing a connecting link in a long chain of existence, the loss of which might lead to conditions and revolutions quite beyond our comprehension.

Alarms are occasionally sounded in village lecture-rooms, that women so much outnumber men in the New England States,—being regarded as non-producers in an agricultural sense,—that something must be done to meet the emergency.

It is not alleged they are idle, or in any respect a burden to the community. They consume food, to be sure, and it is equally true they neither plough, chop wood, or labor in the field, nor should they do either.

Women are Orderly.

There is not the slightest ground for alarm, because women never band together for political agitation; they never prepare revolutions, nor is social order outraged by them, however erratic a few peculiar individuals may appear in vain attempts and exhibitions not in accordance with their nature.

Women neither infest bar-rooms, loiter away the day in saloons, lager-beer vaults, or march through town in hostile bands, destroying printing-offices, or combine in squads for rob-

bing railroad trains. Neither do they stuff ballot-boxes, nor break open prisons for the liberation of thieves or accomplices in wickedness.

They are not proper persons for running up and down the rigging of a vessel. They could not conveniently glide to the extremity of a yard-arm and take in sail in a gale of wind. Their organization unfits them for balancing themselves on a spar while their hands were belaying the wings of a scudding ship. They could not swing an axe in felling forests, drilling rocks in excavating canals, because the management of the instruments used in such labors would interfere with the health of organs essential to maternity.

What They can Do.

But they possess all the requisite physical and intellectual qualifications for managing mercantile business, and for sustaining themselves with dignity and success as teachers, from a common school to chairs in universities.

Wherever intelligence, diligence, accuracy, and honesty are in estimation as pre-requisites for positions, women are prepared for them.

They have not been taken into favor in the past, in such relations, because the necessity for it did not apparently exist, as it now does. One sewing machine is equal to one hundred hand-sewers. Yet while they kept all people clothed by their needle industry, their wages were shamefully undervalued.

While their hardy, bold, adventurous fathers, brothers, and husbands are wending their way to distant regions in search of localities in which their prospects would be more satisfactory, their daughters and wives remain where they were, it being neither proper nor always convenient to go with them to

border settlements before some preparation is made for their reception.

Women, even in nominally Christian countries, have been so long excluded and neglected, and, worse still, taught to believe it was wrong to be seen or heard outside the house, it has become a prevalent opinion among ignoramuses they ought to remain there, even if left in ignorance and poverty.

While the idea is nursed that it is improper for women to be exposed to sunshine, because it might bronze their complexion; or exposed to out-door air, they might take cold; or seen where men congregate to buy, sell, and get gain, inalienable rights are denied them,—they are wronged.

What is the duty of society, now that competition in all departments of business makes them far more dependent than formerly,—especially since they outnumber the male population in the great centres of human activity?

Legislation for Ameliorating their Condition.

Legislation in their behalf practically amounts to nothing. Acts defining their hours of labor in factories or milliners' shops, are farces. It is about the same in respect to the schooling of young girls employed in manufacturing establishments.

They should have both protection and assistance. The latter is the urgent demand.

Ladies of fortune, and indeed those who are amply provided for through an affectionate forecast of provident fathers, mothers, and relatives, cannot comprehend or understand the cry that reaches to heaven for millions of poor, heart-aching, penniless women; nor do those whose beauty has won for them privileges, comforts, and influence which wealth commands, sympathize sufficiently with the less fortunate of their

sex who are apparently born to a hapless destiny. Those who are floating on a summer sea of prosperity are especially besought to listen to a plea for help from an oppressed, neglected sisterhood.

There are not agriculturists enough in this country; and, consequently, with an abundance of the best and most productive land on the globe, all the necessaries of life are excessively dear. The supply is not equal to the demand. Western grain-growing prairies might furnish the world, were they all tilled.

Men out of Place.

Thousands of puny, pale-faced, feminine, sickly, poorly-developed young men, defective in muscular energy, enough in number for a great army, even were half of them mustered in a body, abound in cities, who would have the strength and character of men if they were cultivating land instead of measuring tape with a yard-stick.

They are wasting the best years of life, deteriorating bodily and mentally in counting-houses, banks, insurance offices, confined retail shops, telegraph stations, etc., who ought to be infinitely more useful were they transferred to the open fields, devoted to agriculture.

They should yield their places at desks and behind counters to women, qualified to do all they do, who are suffering for employments for which they are abundantly qualified.

A social revolution is required to purify the corrupt atmosphere of cities, by driving out worthless, dissipated young men, and giving their places to worthy young women. How many delicate stomachs are scantily supplied, and lungs destroyed for want of wholesome air to breathe, boxed up in

lofts and stifled apartments, who would be excellent clerks and accountants. Let some philanthropist set the example of patronizing honest females instead of fast moral nuisances.

If those puny, sallow, spindle-legged exquisites, whose greatest achievement is raising a moustache, were to change the society of inkstands for broad acres in the West, they would expand as much in mind as body, and, perhaps, lay a foundation for comfort, independence, and longevity, which are not within their grasp in the confined circumstances to which their vocation limits them, especially when they riot in dissipations.

Those feeble, sickly, neglected girls, in pestiferous lanes, narrow, dark streets, sunless houses, upstairs in sombre rooms, or cellar, should be assisted as they might be, and instructed to command better compensation for their services.

Were loud-mouthed philanthropists more familiar with the painful condition of thousands of young women who might be elevated and directed in useful, remunerative pursuits, by half the attention bestowed upon institutions which do far more for those who have immediate charge of them than for their inmates, heaven would bless their efforts.

How to Proceed.

First, qualify those neglected girls by sending them to commercial schools to learn bookkeeping; have them taught telegraphy, how to conduct business in life-insurance offices, to be tellers in banks, accountants, designers, engravers, teachers of languages, musical instructors, have them taught the science of surveying; and, finally, qualify them for positions always presenting, where they could do all that young men do in such relations as are indicated in this general scheme for usefulness,

and even many more that might be particularized in this miscellaneous grouping of industries.

Young girls, thus qualified, would sustain themselves with honor. And it will be conceded, they are far less predisposed to deteriorating vices than young men.

They neither smoke, drink, nor gamble, visit race-courses, organize boat-clubs, carouse through the night, or engage in any of those dissipations which lead to deceptions, breach of confidence, or expose them to the attacks of knaves or thieves

Defalcations, absconding with funds of a patron, embezzlement of money in their care, forging notes, falsifying checks, etc., would not occur, as they now do, were young women placed where they should be introduced. Their instincts and tendencies, even with no moral training, are always superior to men of the same social grade. They are naturally virtuous, honest, and sincere.

Wherever a pen is in requisition, careful reckoning, exact computation, or an orderly attendance is an element of importance, a well-instructed woman is always equal, and in many trying circumstances, even superior to a man.

It would be a splendid recognition of female ability to sustain responsible positions, were trustees of estates, directors, and other governing spirits in moneyed institutions, to exchange platoons of burly, rough, unpolished, uncivil, bewhiskered clerks, whose thoughts are more on whiskey and tobacco than on the interest of their employers, for an equal number of quiet, delicate, modest, neatly attired young women. They are much more deserving than any one imagines, who simply feels a woman is a sort of a fifth wheel of a coach, only to be cared for when it is impossible to do without her.

They would be less expensive as clerks, and, as experience

would prove, perfectly reliable. Let those who are stockholders, and, indeed, any and all who would encourage the deserving, make the experiment. Their cash would be in safe keeping instead of being squandered in stock-jobbing speculations—so frequently practised by men anxious to turn another's penny in haste to be rich.

Compensation.

Women should be paid for what they do as much as is given to men for the same service. If they accomplish just as much in a given time, and as satisfactorily as a being in pantaloons, why should they not have the same compensation?

It is disgraceful meanness for an employer to pay only one dollar to a woman, *because* the is a woman, for work in a printing-office, for example, for which a man gets three or four for precisely the same labor, just because he belongs to the masculine gender.

A lame excuse for such unjust recompense is, that the clothing of females is less expensive than male garments,—and further, custom sanctions the scale of prices for labor. But both are frivolous and absurd apologies for doing unjustly.

Whether their clothing costs less or more, is nothing to the point. They are justly entitled to what they earn. Their stomachs are as keen for a beefsteak as their competitors' in full beards, who squander more in one evening at a bar-room than a female compositor could earn in a week at the present rate of compensation.

The chart of female employments has been under consideration for years. Excellent speeches have also been made, beautiful expressions have gone forth, redounding more to the praise of those that uttered them, than to the profit of those in whose behalf they were sent abroad. The poor, hard-working, poorly-

paid girls have no more pudding than when nobody cared whether they lived in wretchedness, or died in a hovel.

Political equality and political suffrage for women, perpetually discussed topics with those who make capital for themselves, under a pretence of being oppressed by the wrongs of women, have not yet bettered the condition of the class for whom their sound, but not their substance, has been given.

Political hypocrites and professional philanthropists are leeches, subsisting on what they get out of the people by exciting their sympathy.

After ages may regulate conflicting claims, and settle difficult problems in regard to labor, but it will be a long while before the poor will be made happy by philanthropic resolutions at anniversary meetings, where there are vice-presidents enough to freight a steamboat, but no substantial assistance for the ostensible objects of their overflowing benevolence of words.

We are contemplating the present period; but when the cry of the oppressed goes up to the court of Heaven, where records are truly kept, the claims of that large class, whose misfortunes are the text in this sermon, will be adjudicated, and their wrongs righted.

No objections are entertained against any system of instruction which enlarges the domain of female knowledge, or that qualifies them to act in any capacity in which men ought not to act, while there is an excess of female population.

Parents are bound to pursue a course, in the education of daughters, that promises best for their success in honorable industry.

What Parents should Do.

There is neither radicalism nor sectarianism in this. When fathers and mothers cannot lay aside property for their children,

in this land of free schools, they can qualify them to provide for themselves.

Gloomy pictures might be drawn, illustrative of the degradation of women in over-crowded cities, and the vicious lives some are forced to lead, or die of starvation, from which they would joyfully escape if they could. Life or death are solemn sounds to a shrinking, timid girl, fashioned in the form of an angel, famished in the sight of plenty of which she cannot taste.

Police courts, jails, penitentiaries, and reformatories present sickening statistics of perverted powers, and wrecks of beauty in sloughs of despondency, that could have been saved to adorn society, had they been cared for by those who, from their position, might and should have taken them by the hand. But it is too much of a sacrifice for some exceedingly good persons to step out of their way to save a saint.

Books need not be consulted, bloody tragedies cited, personal narrations, or painful scenes of misery sought, to strengthen the appeal we are making.

In pagan and Mohammedan countries women have no such unhappiness as is admitted to be common in Christian lands. They have homes in harems which are sacred, under the protection of brutes in the form of men; but they are never outcasts on the street, seeking like starved beasts of prey whom they may devour.

We speak of them as pitiable objects, ignorant of their rights as human beings to equal privileges, and the same social status, exclusively in the possession of their proprietors, for they are contemplated as property.

With such degradation, however, there are no brothels,—none of that wickedness which is a reproach to civilization, and a curse where women are denied those rights which flow from fountains of justice.

We beg to urge upon those who may begin to reflect anew upon this subject, to assist according to their pecuniary ability in qualifying intelligent young women for something that will bring them a proper and just reward for their industry, more than what they can earn with a needle.

Give them opportunities for acquiring French, German, Spanish, and other languages, and assist them to positions in telegraph stations, where they could make those languages of the first importance for business correspondence. They ought to be, and it is believed they would prove the best, most accurate, and always punctual operators.

Boston, Portland, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, etc., etc., would give ample employment for thousands of such accomplished telegraphers as they might be, if public sentiment were enlisted in their favor.

By opening such avenues as have thus far been closed to them, and by it, virtually compelling young men to enter upon more appropriate pursuits than weighing out tea by the pound, or selling pins and needles, a gratifying change would come over the land. Bread would be cheaper.

We are hoping that phonography, telegraphy, drawing, designing, engraving, and many other useful arts, may be taught in all well-conducted country schools, expressly for qualifying girls in those remunerative branches of industry.

Give young women who may be dependent on their personal efforts, a knowledge of the art or science for which they have a decided preference. If philanthropists will give their support in that direction, health, happiness, and independence will crown their efforts.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Acquiring Languages.

Capacity for Certain Pursuits—Waste of Life—Foreign Dialects—We are Called a One-tongued People—How to Acquire a Language—Dogs Learn the Meaning of Words—Curious Facts—Qualifications for Telegraphing.

There are persons who have a faculty for making more rapid progress than others in mastering a new language. It is familiar to those wholly ignorant of the science of phrenology, that there is a singular difference among persons of the same age, position, and opportunities, in acquiring specific or general knowledge.

It would be ridiculous to assert that one boy may become just as expert as another in figures or some kind of handicraft, under precisely the same instruction. One will learn Latin or French rapidly, which his companion at the same desk, with the same facilities, cannot acquire so readily under precisely the same training.

Some have an intuitive perception, where others, of equal intelligence, cannot make satisfactory progress.

There are natural mathematicians, as there are, also, natural linguists. Memory is differently manifested, since some persons remember certain things better than others. One cannot recall names of places or men, yet there is a distinct recollection of faces and peculiarities of each.

By this curious difference in the arrangement of cerebral

matter, there is a man and woman precisely fitted for every imaginable place.

That peculiarity is acknowledged at the temple-door of philosophy. Thus every shade of mental development is recognized, and, as no two are alike, there is a brain to meet every condition and all circumstances in the management of a world.

There is an unquestionable difference in the structure of human brains. Though apparently alike in their general configuration, in the materials of which they are formed, and in the manner, too, of circulating the blood through the mass, the arrangement of the atoms of which the cerebrum is constructed, is infinitely varied.

Different races of men differ essentially in mental force. Size, of course, has to be considered in a search for a reason why one brain is more powerful in resources than another. There are walking polyglots, but far more are incapable of speaking their mother tongue grammatically.

If certain convolutions of the brain are more prominent than others, according to the teachings of those who know nothing about the subject, they are charged with force corresponding to their development. About thirty protuberances are marked on charts, which the disciples of Gall and Spurzheim recognized as locations of distinct faculties.

If a ganglionic elevation happens to be the organ of language, and has been better nourished, or rather more frequently excited than its neighbors, it will give evidence of its superiority; while twenty-nine are feeble or embryotic.

We need not consult authors to facilitate progress in acquiring a new language. Men, women, and children are constantly met who have the faculty of articulating many languages fluently, who can neither read nor write. It is curious that re-

markable linguistic scholars rarely contribute much to the fund of general literature.

Certain conditions are thought to be essential in learning to speak a new language; but experience and observation show, very positively, that under even unfavorable circumstances, as they would be estimated by scholars, little children on the frontiers of Germany, France, Poland, Russia, Italy, etc., where there is a meeting, as it were, of strange tongues, are perfectly fluent in four, five, and even in six modern languages, yet wholly unable to read or write either of them.

There is no marvel in all this. They are so located that they cannot avoid having their ears saluted quite as frequently with foreign words as their own. Neither effort, study, exercises, or recitations, are ever brought to their assistance.

Education of the Ear.

The ear is an avenue through which linguistic development is accomplished, and not by the study of books, or recitations of authorized lessons of grammarians.

Such is the commercial intercourse of one part of the business world with another, there is a positive necessity for one language, at least, besides our own. Great transactions with foreign nations could not be conducted with any kind of facility without the assistance of those who understand the meaning and intentions of both parties, if neither understood the language of the other.

Progress in literature, science, art, and mechanism, would be extremely circumscribed, and confined to narrow boundaries, were it not for scholars who change one language into another, and thus put readers in communication with all mankind.

The people of the United States are regarded as a one-

tongued population. Millions of foreigners, representatives of every power in Europe, are interspersed through the land, but they are compelled to acquire English, or pass a lonely pilgrimage without conversational intercourse.

We rarely give ourselves the trouble to learn the language of new-comers from abroad. If they desire a social acquaintance, they must blunder on for several years in order to pronounce the *shibboleth* aright. They are under the painful necessity of dropping their mother tongue. We, on the contrary, give ourselves no concern in regard to their embarrassment in attempting to comprehend or articulate what is so familiar to ourselves. If they ultimately succeed in gaining an imperfect command of new words, it is about all those who constitute the majority of Germans, Danes, Swedes, French, etc., achieve. Where enough of any of them happen to constitute a little community of their own, then they hardly give themselves any anxiety about mastering the elements of English.

Several communities thus constituted have so multiplied at the West, that their schools, and even newspapers, are conducted in their native language. This circumstance has obliged legislatures in several States to publish their laws in several languages, that they may not be in ignorance of the way their rights and privileges are maintained and secured.

More than one Language.

Educational preparation for the active scenes of life, for which youth ought to be qualified, should include a conversational knowledge of the most important living languages. French and German have the first claim. With these and English, we can hold intimate intercourse with about all Europe.

It is a sad waste of precious hours of a college student's life, to be drilling years before and after entering the institution, in languages which are dead. They are accomplishments, but not necessities. One is a language that has not been spoken for nearly two thousand years, nor will it ever be revived.

No objection is offered to their perpetuity.

One or two terms in the course of a college residence, devoted to living languages,—taught so that they could be spoken fluently,—would be of incalculable importance to the individual in all the after years of life. Latin and Greek are drilled into boys for one or two years at a cost far exceeding the expense of teachers of a living language, to qualify them for passing an examination to become freshmen. After that crisis has passed, very little does any one care for Greek or Latin, unless they are designed for instructors in these departments. Therefore, the expense and time are deplorable losses.

Value of Living Languages.

It is becoming a question of interest among distinguished writers on education, whether some revolution is not required in elementary preparation for the world in which we live, of more value to the pupil than Greek and Latin — would not living languages be more useful than obsolete ones?

A finishing process in a young lady's education is music and French. Schools exist on a reputation for polishing misses in those two much-prized accomplishments. Not to be supposed familiar with both, would be equivalent to being very imperfectly educated.

Young ladies, presumed to have had the best advantages, are usually taught French by instructors who cannot articulate

a sentence that would not shock a French tailor. Session after session at an expensively fashionable boarding-school, they are supposed to acquire exact and, indeed, intimate knowledge of idiomatic French; but not one in fifty knows anything about it beyond reading understandingly to themselves. They cannot pronounce it; nor dare the best of them hazard the experiment in the presence of a French chambermaid for fear of exciting ridicule.

As that language is too generally taught in female educational institutions throughout the country, it is a lamentable loss of time for pupils. The teacher as often as otherwise is a lady not much further advanced in the mysteries of accent than those she is drilling.

Where to Learn Languages.

Foreign languages are taught in cities very acceptably by those who come from Europe, who speak their native language far better than those who have acquired them second-hand through professors who could not make themselves understood in a baker's shop in any tongue but their own, were they starving for a slice of bread.

Indulgent parents expend money freely for their daughters, —but it is a poor method of giving them a conversational familiarity with French,—in country boarding-schools.

Instead of keeping a young lady in school for that particular accomplishment, French, German or Italian, place her at once in a respectable, cultivated French family, or with a German or Italian household.

For example, place a young miss in a family at Montreal or Quebec, in which French is spoken exclusively. Or, if the expense is no object, send her to France. No instruction would

be required, unless it were particularly desirable to hasten the process. Simply being in a family is sufficient.

There need be neither plodding in primary books, recitations or any instruction whatever. In an incredibly short time her ears would become familiarized to new sounds. Children are more ready than adults, placed under such circumstances, in acquiring the meaning and accent of words.

While boys are drudging at tasks in Greek and Latin, not essential, they could have a complete acquaintance with two or three living languages, of infinitely more value to them.

In all after periods of life one or two languages in addition to their own would be a thousand times more important to them than a critical familiarity with the orations of Cicero.

There would be less brain labor in this method than imperfectly understanding ancient classics, and boys would be qualified for sustaining commercial relations all over the world, while the best Latinist in Christendom could not buy a paper of pins, were he to ask for them in that scholarly language.

Foreign Officials.

Our ambassadors, consuls, and commercial agents, sent abroad to represent the dignity of this government, protect our citizens and their interests, have often been the laughing-stock of those among whom they resided, on account of their stupid ignorance of all language but their own, which they not unfrequently barbarously murder.

American consuls have sometimes been spoken of as so illiterate as to be incapable of speaking English grammatically. Their appointment have not always been on account of eminent qualifications. If it is true political services are ever paid for in that way, as compensation for aiding in the election of a

rampant partisan to Congress, it is high time the Civil Service Law should be enforced.

Government makes a mortifying mistake in ever commissioning foreigners to consular stations. When the native stock has been exhausted, there will be a reasonable excuse for craving the assistance of men who were never on this continent who do not understand its usages or laws. Travelers cannot conceal their disgust at this kind of patronage. A profuse exhibition of brass buttons, with the stars and stripes waving over empty heads on the shoulders of official nobodies, who would not be invited to dine with a cobbler in any country, are no credit to a great nation of freemen.

Every consul should be qualified and write the language of the country where he is stationed. All the higher grades of official representatives should be educationally qualified for their positions. Ministers plenipotentiary at the principal courts with which we hold intimate diplomatic relations, have not been a whit better qualified than their servants in many instances. Clerks and *attachès* have transacted all business, while the great man takes the salary and does the official dining, to be laughed at behind his back.

Teaching French and German in Schools.

Were French and German regularly and systematically taught, like other more common but necessary studies in district schools for both sexes, the national character would stand on a higher level, whenever those who have had educational advantages in them are required to serve where such languages are spoken.

Every faculty of the mind should be cultivated, and no one of them permitted to lie dormant in these stirring times, when knowledge is power.

Strange faces, new institutions, and new places, differing from those to which we are accustomed, make vivid impressions at first, but they gradually become familiar. So it is in respect to a new language. It sounds harshly, and may be difficult to articulate, is fearfully guttural, or, perhaps, worse to comprehend, even under the best facilities for instruction; but, as the ear begins to be less severely taxed in catching the new vibrations, difficulties melt away.

When a few words are understood, the way is soon made easier for more. By and by a sentence can be articulated. Before half the anticipated obstacles have been overcome, we begin to chat readily.

Germans, Swedes, Danes, Poles, Frenchmen, etc., who did not know a word of English when they landed in America, soon acquire it sufficiently for all the practical purposes of business and social intercourse. We, however, rarely learn anything of their language in their way of learning.

Little children are delightful assistants when a person is under lingual discipline. They prattle away perpetually, unhesitatingly, and, therefore, give important aid to a beginner. A family in which there are small children should have a decided preference over one where there are none, in selecting a home, where the main object is to be within the hearing of the language which it is proposed to acquire.

Adults are very reserved, fearing to speak, lest they should subject themselves to the critical observations of those who might make merry over their blunders. They hesitate to ask questions when they very much desire to do so, for fear of being considered troublesome, or particularly stupid.

No person, especially those quite young, could be in a family of French or Germans, for example, six months, and not

make considerable progress, without having had a single lesson given them.

Indian prisoners at the West, wandering about at the mercy of their savage captors, very soon begin to comprehend the meaning of their uncouth gutturals, and discover their views in regard to their cruel intentions.

Accuracy of expression could not be expected, certainly not attained, without considerable practice, since perfection of articulation must result from long practice.

Children learn to speak without instruction. What can they know of the laws of syntax? They lisp their crude thoughts with charming freedom, years before they are taught the elements of grammar. That appropriately comes into play as they approach their teens.

Language of Animals.

Dogs certainly understand the import of words, or they could not so readily obey their masters. Their capacity for language is far above that of cats. Puss must see a morsel of meat or a cup of milk, to gain her friendly attentions. She may be frightened, but not with harsh expressions, unless accompanied by muscular gesticulations, when away she runs from impending danger.

Dogs, on the contrary, possess a higher cerebral development. They often acquire a general knowledge of two and three languages, according to their advantages. It is not to be supposed there is any particular effort on their part, or ambition, to remember the exact sense of an articulate sound.

A repetition of words and sentences, as heard in the family where different languages are habitually spoken, ultimately fixes an impression. Finally, they associate certain acts with certain words or commands.

There are dogs almost everywhere, trained to carry and bring letters from the post-office, visit the market with a basket for the family dinner, stand guard through the night, and carry notes at the bidding of the proprietor. They actually learn to obey different members of the household who may direct or command them in French, German, Spanish, etc., as they are spoken indifferently in the establishment.

Not long since a pet dog was brought to New York from Naples, whose intelligence was extraordinary. When directed to engage in certain performances, in Italian, he promptly obeyed; but when addressed in English, the poor fellow was amazingly perplexed. After a while it was apparent he had mastered the meaning of a new language, to a certain extent, which was manifested with signs of gratification.

Vulgar dogs, like parrots, gain a knowledge of a few slang phrases, becoming embarrassed when addressed in terms unconnected with towering expletives. Donkeys and mules, usually regarded as the embodiment of stupidity, evince a nice perception of articulate sounds.

There are many places in Louisiana where those shabbily-treated animals in harness readily obey orders given in three different languages, as either happens to be used by their drivers. Those dumb beasts prick up their long ears in surprise, evidently indicating perplexity, when a strange man takes the reins, speaking a new language to them.

Even oxen, dull and unobserving as they seem to be, listen attentively to what is said particularly to themselves while in the yoke. *Haw* and *gee*, equivalent to right and left, are as perfectly understood by trained oxen as by the teamster. *Back* is another command which an infant might pronounce with equal certainty of having it executed. Horses in bakers' carts, market nags, and milkmen's teams, not only know precisely

what the driver bids them do, but they also know the exact residence of customers.

A Vermont farmer is reputed to have borrowed of a French neighbor, across the line, the use of an ox for a day, to take the place of a sick one. The stranger from Her Majesty's dominion could not respond to the bidding of the Yankee, because he could not understand him, although evincing a perfect willingness to pull or turn as his mate indicated. With the best intentions, however, the unmated cattle were constantly committing blunders, to the dismay of the citizen of the republic. Towards evening, in crossing a railroad track as a train was approaching, they were urged to make haste by boisterous vociferations, which quickened the speed of the Vermont ox, but the other, not understanding the loud tones, gazed about with glaring eyes, in view of impending destruction, not knowing which way to move, and, in that instant of hesitation and doubt, was crushed to death by the locomotive, and thus died dramatically, in consequence of not knowing the English language.

Address any of the domesticated animals, accustomed to the sound of human voices, and there is no doubt respecting the fact that they attach a meaning to what they hear, to a limited extent. That is particularly noticeable in menageries. There they become cognizant of the expressions of their keepers.

They learn their ways, analyze their character for kindness, and govern themselves accordingly. So accurately do dogs and cats discriminate a good disposition from a morose, severe, unsympathetic person, that they walk boldly to some for caresses, or avoid others with marked exhibitions of dislike.

Seals gather a distinct meaning of words in their captivity, with a keeper who is regularly in attendance. A change of

superintendent leads to sorrowful moanings. By speaking slowly and distinctly to them, their full, intelligent eyes sparkle with evident delight.

Anecdotes, without limitation, are interspersed in works on natural history, illustrative of the capacity of animals for gathering a knowledge of words. Birds certainly converse with one another when preparing for a migratory excursion. They then congregate in multitudes, and apparently deliberate in council. If the chattering means anything, it would seem to relate to the proposed removal to another climate.

If they have no intelligence, and their sagacity is without thought, the force of instinct which compels them to act without the exercise of volition,—how does it happen that such armies of feathered races move with a precision, varying by incidental circumstances, as though they had both a present and future object in view?

Parrots articulate phrases they have heard, without attaching any sense to them. Their power of imitating vocal sounds is surprising. When once familiarized to a routine of expressions, they repeat them, but without reference to their appropriateness to the occasion. They have not a brain for carrying on a train of thought. Mocking-birds are extraordinary imitators. They are extremely jolly and frolicsome over the confusion they create among other birds. Dogs are far superior to most animals, from the circumstance that they retain cerebral impressions, which are recalled for the execution of after acts. A Highland shepherd bids his dog find a missing sheep. Away he scampers in earnest search for it, keeping distinctly in mind what is expected of him. He never can be taught to speak, because he has nothing to say, although he thinks accurately in the line of his special vocation. Having no sphincter muscle to the mouth, labial sounds are impossible.

Monkeys have a vocal apparatus so nearly resembling our own, that it would puzzle a practical anatomist to designate one from the other, if of the same size, when detached from the body. They have vocal cords, well-formed lips, and nerves directed precisely as in the nervous system of the most inveterate talker, yet a monkey has never been heard to pronounce a syllable. While a whip is held over his head, he performs surprising tricks, rides in a circus, goes through manual exercises with a miniature gun, plays a tambourine, collects pennies, etc., but, with all these accomplishments, he never voluntarily practises them when left alone. Neither does he attempt speaking. Their chattering is always the same, whether expressing pleasure or pain.

There are remarkable accounts of dogs, which fully demonstrate their reasoning powers to an extent bordering on the marvellous. Seeing and hearing are special senses, which are exceedingly developed in them, and through which their knowledge is very accurate. A law of limitation puts a stop to mental progress with animals, as it does in respect to their growth. It is quite impossible to educate beyond a certain point, because the instruments for carrying on the operation of thinking are insufficient, either in their number, weight, or structure.

By associating with persons of mild manners, who pet and praise them with kind expressions, some dogs make extraordinary advances. Their canine exploits may be carried so far as to excite both admiration and surprise. Such performers exert themselves under the stimulus of praise, or unmistakably exhibit dejection and mortification when roughly reprimanded.

Some years ago a noble Newfoundland dog, owned by the city of Boston, was kept at the quarantine ground, Rainsford Island, in the capacity of a general watchman. Tiger lived to about the age of twenty years. In that long life-lease, he had

acquired a very correct estimate of men and manners. He was deferential to masters of vessels and well-dressed passengers when they came on shore, but if sailors left their boat to wander over the premises, he became demonstrative. They had to run rapidly back to the landing, or feel the effects of Tiger's indignation.

Such was Tiger's ambition to be in good society, that he was invariably on hand to accompany the doctor in his barge when visiting vessels. On account of his prodigious size and imposing aspect, he was usually an object of particular attention, and had excellent bits of meat dropped over the gunwale into the boat, while his master was transacting business in the cabin.

So favorably impressed was that sagacious quadruped with the attentions he received alongside, he occasionally swam back and made a call on his own account. On seeing him paddling around the hull, if a rope were thrown over, he held fast to it with mighty strong jaws, and was thus hauled on board, to the immense gratification of the crew, and no less gratification of the visitor. After being feasted heartily, and wagging his long, bushy tail to those who had bestowed the grub, in a twinkling of an eye he would leap overboard and strike for land.

No efforts were successful in coaxing him back. On several occasions a plot was laid to capture him, but watching an opportunity, as though perfectly understanding the convesration respecting his detention, he gave the sailors the slip by plunging into the surging waves, through which he quickly worked his way to the nearest beach.

In consequence of repeated exposures in aquatic adventures, of which he was exceedingly fond, together with the infirmities incident to age, Tiger suffered severely with earache. The doctor's lady used to make hot poultices, heat bricks, folded in

soft cloths, etc., and when ready, she would tell him to take position. He would instantly horizontalize himself under a table, patiently submitting to a satisfactory adjustment of madam's applications.

The transition from pain to perfect relief was never forgotten. Whenever he had a recurrence of the old torment, he regularly whined in an ineffable tone, and shook his head, which was an indication of wanting the kind lady's assistance. It was a curious spectacle to witness his impatience for the brick to heat. Bracing himself in a corner, he would look steadfastly at the red-hot coals till it was taken out, and his mistress announced all ready.

So warmly attached was that sagacious old dog to his benefactress, that he became evidently jealous of attentions shown by persons who did not come up to his standard of respectability. When she stepped from a boat he invariably sprang for the painter, holding it with tenacity till his friend was fairly on dry ground. If one of the bargemen attempted to take the rope away, there was a growl and show of white teeth, that foreshadowed displeasure at interfering with his gallantry. When the lady was quite safely landed, then the painter was dropped, and Mr. Tiger trudged along by her side, as though conscious of having done his duty.

By way of experiment, to ascertain the exact extent of that splendid brute's appreciation of language, on the return of the doctor from the city, madam related to him that during his absence Tiger had not behaved well: he had disobeyed her, or had been over to the hospital and eaten up a patient's dinner.

Such conversation seemed to produce profound sleep, or if he saw that facial expressions were assuming an unfavorable change, he stole away behind a piece of furniture. By tacking ship, however, and praising his fidelity,—recounting his feats

and good qualities, the old fellow's organ of approbativeness brought him bolt to his feet. He was delighted with flattery, and overwhelmed his good friend with affectionate demonstrations of regard.

A lady in New York converses with her Newfoundland as with one of her servants. When she says to him, "You may go with John to market," he capers frantically with anticipations of pleasure, because he is quite sure of fine picking among the stalls where he has a host of friends. He goes to the kitchen for a basket, and returns with it for money from his mistress. He then trots off with it through densely crowded streets, safely. His vanity is his weakest point, putting himself at considerable inconvenience for a compliment.

These citations of brute intelligence are digressions, but they belong to that catalogue of evidences which are numerous and convincing, that animals, from canary birds to elephants, in the society of man, unquestionably acquire an elementary knowledge of the true meaning of words.

How absurd then to pretend that a human being, with a great brain, superior in volume to that of all races below him, cannot master more than one language, while donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, elephants, oxen, seals, and even mice and canary birds, gather an elementary knowledge of two or three, without being able to articulate any!

Systematic Perseverance.

By a very moderate amount of systematic industry, perseveringly continued at leisure moments, any woman may attain a speaking knowledge of one or two languages in addition to her own vernacular.

William Cobbett, alone, without an instructor, became a

critical French scholar. He even wrote an excellent grammar of the language, still in repute. Dr. Franklin acquired French when he was about seventy years old, which shows what may be achieved where there is a will. Such are encouraging examples, showing, beyond question, that it is never too late to learn.

Rev. Mr. Jones, chaplain of the Sailor's Snug Harbor, stated in a public meeting, in New York, that in a company of one hundred and thirty-seven seamen, at his house, they spoke among them thirty-seven languages fluently. Several conversed freely in four; one or two in five; and one, a native of Finland, spoke ten, and wrote seven of them correctly,—one being Latin.

Du Chaillu, the African traveller, stated before the Geographical Society of New York, giving an account of his wandering in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland, that there is not a girl in those countries sixteen years old, even in the remotest cabins of Lapland, who could not converse readily in English, French, and German, besides their own severely harsh dialect.

That statement made a deep impression on a highly cultivated audience. The whole mystery of such proficiency was explained. Every school, from the primary to the highest, in those countries, is by law obliged to teach children three necessary languages, the government having the good sense to appreciate the value of the principal languages of civilized countries, the knowledge of which qualifies the people to transact business with the ruling nations of the earth.

There is no labored effort on the part of the children, no extraordinary exertion by the teachers, to bring about such proud results. It is simply a gradual process like any other study deemed useful for youth. Really, no child is conscious of any particular effort, but, as a matter of course, they insensibly become accomplished linguists.

Just such a system should be pursued in all common schools in this country. It would be attended with no more expense than at present, with arithmetic, grammar, and other elementary branches. Every little girl and boy, beginning with their *A*, *B*, *C*, might speak and read French, German, and English in the same time they are acquiring any and all of those things which make up a common school education.

Let this admirable course be adopted, and in twenty years we should outgrow the taunt flung in the faces of American scholars, that we are a *one-tongued people.*

Law and medical students, theological also; clerks, and indeed others associated with commercial, banking, and various kinds of activities requiring skill, tact, and accomplishments, too, in their pursuits, have no apology for being so universally ignorant of foreign languages.

By subjecting themselves to a few inconveniences, and taking up a residence in families where a language is exclusively spoken which they wish to acquire, medical, law, theological students, and clerks, might soon speak another language without infringing upon business hours or cost of tuition.

The same course would accomplish any young lady, if not in a condition to pursue the other plan proposed, by going to Canada or France.

Examples of Success.

Let the organs of hearing be educated. That is the all-important beginning.

A New York lady practising upon this system of keeping the ear familiarized with French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Portuguese, has a servant representing each language, for the sake of being obliged to converse with each one in his or her own

language. Her house, therefore, is a modern Babel, the mistress being a ready interpreter in many dialects.

A gentleman went to France a short time since with an accomplished daughter of whom he was exceedingly proud. As the vessel was entering the port of Havre, a passenger asked the father of the young lady if he intended to take a courier into service on landing.

"No, sir," he replied. "My daughter has been expensively educated in French. She understands it like a book, and I intend she shall be my interpreter on our travels."

Very soon after this conversation a pilot and revenue officer came on board. Marching up to the American millionaire,—sputtering at a rapid rate,—he quite confounded the old gentleman with his volubility. Turning towards the blooming daughter, "Find out," said he, "what these fellows want."

She was respectfully approached by the new comers, who stated their object in choice French, but to her inexpressible confusion, she could not understand a single word. The father's mortification could not be concealed. He had boasted so much of her acquirements, and the money lavished on her French education in one of the most expensive boarding-schools, both exhibited fallen crests, as most of the passengers were expecting very gratifying assistance from that source.

The young lady had a thorough reading knowledge of French, far superior, no doubt, to those who had unwittingly brought her into such a mortifying dilemma. But her ear had been neglected, as it always is in those fashionable institutions.

Had she been placed in any French family ten months as a mere boarder, without taking a single lesson, and in no way interfering with other essential studies or social relations, she would have spoken French conversationally with ease and fluency.

Avenues to Industry.

A man who speaks two languages, says a proverb, is equal to two men, and a woman who can do it is equal to half a dozen.

New routes to useful pursuits are laid open by the aid of a second language. It is an extra key for unlocking a cabinet of treasures.

Young persons should be ambitious to possess that advantage. Population is rapidly increasing, consequently the strife for place and position is becoming more active. Without a speaking acquaintance with at least one more language in addi- to her own, a young lady is not equal to the responsibilities of positions she might desire to occupy.

Telegraphic interests in the future will require linguists, and so will mercantile houses, banks, and insurance offices, far beyond what may have been anticipated. Such operators will be in request, so extended are the enterprises of nations since the utilization of steam and electricity.

Young women would be admirable at the wires, and a hope is entertained they may have almost a monopoly of telegraph stations. Therefore, let them seasonably qualify themselves for those useful, appropriate, and remunerative services.

Drive the pale, thin, feminine-looking clerks out of easy-chairs in banks, insurance offices, treasuries, public bureaus, where honesty and faithfulness are the first requisite qualification, to cultivate the soil. It would be doing them a personal kindness. In becoming strong, hardy, brave, and enterprising in the field, food would be cheaper, and the race improve physically, morally, and mentally.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Women in the Professions.

Not Forcible Public Speakers before Large Audiences—Physical Reason—Make Good Professors—Female Physicians a Success—Admirable Artists—Approved Teachers of Various Branches of Education—Should be Encouraged.

Some women, unfortunately for themselves, assume unnatural positions. In a pulpit they appear out of place. They may become learned theologians, write with fervor, but in standing before an audience, however animated by zeal, or eminent in qualifications, their vocal powers are not equal to such occasions.

The larynx is smaller than in men; therefore there is a physical inability for giving strength to the voice required for being distinctly heard in large halls or churches, the *timbre* not being of the quality for ringing through great assemblies.

There is a vast difference between singing and speaking. The first is appreciable as a musical tone in them, heard distinctly and widely; but when they attempt giving sonorous weight to the voice, in the manner of commanding orators, the failure is apparent.

The cartilages of the vocal box remain flexible in females through life. In men, on the contrary, when they arrive at puberty, they become bony, and the voice changes from the *vox rauca* of a boy to a manly *timbre*.

By that organic alteration in the plates of the larynx, there

is a vibratory impulse given to the vocal current, set in motion by the vocal cords, more intense than before. No such change takes place in the female larynx.

Again, the nasal cavities, the frontal and maxillary sinuses are far more developed in men than women. They are to the voice what the body of a bass viol is to the strings—as proven by an inflammation which closes them. A vulgar explanation of an alteration of voice is imputed to speaking through the nose, in case of a severe cold, whereas a true state of the case is, that they do not have the assistance of the nose in giving volume and distinctness to articulate sounds.

Adam's Apple.

Within the protuberance in front of the throat, midway between the chin and root of the neck, is a triangular box, in which ribbon-like cords are stretched from wall to wall, that vibrate by the rush of air, inhaled or expired, passing over their tense edges.

Before puberty the voice of boys is like that of females. They are employed in church choirs, while thus stationary in their vocal apparatus. On emerging from that state into perfect manhood, a change of voice announces what has taken place. The female voice, however, remains always the same, since an evolution from girlhood to womanhood brings no parallel alteration in the larynx or nasal cavities. That organ neither enlarges nor ossifies.

Neither sinuses or nasal cavities are ever as large in females as in men.

A natural conformation, therefore, in the vocal mechanism of the throat disqualifies females for producing a strong, sonorous sound.

There are exceptional cases, in which some women are so masculine in manner, voice, and acts, as to destroy those attributes which make them attractive, and their society sought for their refining influences and loveliness.

At the bar, before juries, in halls of legislation, or, indeed, in large bodies, they could not compete with the deep, loud-sounding voice of a man in the meridian of his muscular power.

By emasculation before puberty, the larynx remains stationary. Its cartilaginous walls are ever after flexible as in females. Eunuchs, therefore, are employed in harems of the East as female guardians; in choirs also, as singers, where women are not admissible. If emasculation is not performed till after puberty, the system being developed to its maximum of completeness, the voice remains at the *timbre* it had when it altered from the *vox rauca.*

Professorial Duties.

As professors of departments in public institutions, colleges, seminaries of any order, where science or literature is taught, no great lung-force being required, females would be abundantly able to sustain such honorable positions. Demonstrations and illustrations would be within their scope. They could discharge all such duties with as much success, eclat, and appropriateness as men, and far more acceptably and clearly than many stupid male professors, who are kept in such institutions through the influence of interested relatives.

Very many institutions of learning in this fair country are languishing. Their perpetual cry is for money. They annoy legislatures for pecuniary assistance. When it is obtained, it does not accomplish the great rescusitating results which were theo-

retically promised. The real secret of their feebleness is in the faculty, oftener than otherwise, who have neither tact, brains, nor qualifications for the chairs into which they were inducted.

Of all professions, however, that in which women succeed best, is in the practice of medicine. They have made the discovery themselves, that they possess aptitude for managing the sick. The public, too, in this government, and in many of the most polished and advanced governments of Europe, accept the proposition that they make excellent and eminently successful physicians.

Medical colleges have been chartered, in all directions, for the special purpose of qualifying them, scientifically, to take upon themselves the responsibilities of that important profession.

A standing army of medical men have opposed the movement. They have thrown every imaginable obstacle in the way. Not only have they refused to admit them as pupils into schools of medicine, but they have denounced and ridiculed those who have expressed sympathy for them in their desire to be medically educated.

That old saying, "that the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church," is particularly applicable in regard to female physicians. Intensified opposition has created college after college expressly for their benefit, and more will be chartered and they will multiply. Some institutions abroad have been compelled by mandates of rulers to open their doors to them, in direct opposition to the remonstrances of medical practitioners.

Probably there will be as many female medical students in the United States as male students, within the next fifty years.

Female Physicians.

Communities have to be educated for the reception of whatever is useful. It is extremely difficult to convince the public that improvements are not innovations. The idea of a female physician was a novelty at first, and so strange too, as none but men were practitioners of medicine, it looked like overturning the constitutions of society when women were feeling pulses.

But we become accustomed to revolutions. The novelty wore off, and next it was ascertained that their manner of intercourse with invalids, the delicacy of their approach, the carefulness with which investigations were conducted, the accuracy of their analysis of symptoms, and their judgment in the administration of remedies, inspired confidence.

At once their own sex gave them a preference over many rough, burly, indifferent practitioners, whose attainments were far below the qualifications of those female physicians who have been thoroughly instructed in well conducted medical institutions.

Emigrant ships would immensely improve the condition of steerage passengers, by having a female physician permanently attached to the vessel. Female passengers need one of their own sex, qualified to prescribe for them and their children, and to give them council. It would insure order, neatness, morality, and better health in those crowded collections of men and women across the ocean, were this suggestion accepted. It is an advance in propriety and the comfort of poor, neglected occupants of the steerage, that is bound to be inaugurated, and soon too.

That partition-wall has given way, which prevented the advance of enterprise in law, medicine, and theology. Those

professions are now open for all who are qualified to sustain themselves in them.

Women, in being admitted to the privileges of medical practitioners, have wisely let surgery alone. Their gentleness would be out of place where living flesh is to be cut with sharp instruments, even when the object is saving life. Blood is not a sight for their eyes. Let them keep within the boundaries which instinct directs, and their professional ministrations will be appreciated.

Physiology explains the gradual unfolding of the organic system, the function of nutrition, the phenomena of locomotion, vision, audition, and the laws of reproduction. Female medical students as fully comprehend difficult problems as young gentlemen. Indeed, they are ordinarily closer applicants, thus laying a broad foundation for pathological success in their intercourse with the sick.

Either from a desire for distinction, hallucination, or an abnormal craving for notoriety, some women exhibit a perverted taste, and a feeble judgment, when they force themselves into positions which excite ridicule or contempt.

Engaged in pursuits within their appropriate sphere, their success is almost certain. Both honor and profit should accrue to them for whatever they do, in the same way that men are compensated for analogous services.

Women make excellent physicians where their advantages for instruction have been full and complete. They are miserable quacks.

In indentifying themselves with deceptions, whether as the seventh daughter of a seventh daughter, a clairvoyant, a spiritual medium, a magnetic prescriber, who, with closed eyes, pretends to see through an opaque body and detect obstructions in glandular ducts, and such like nonsense,—they fall below contempt.

They are admirable artists, but uniformly fail as quack doctresses. Only the partially ignorant presume to practise without qualifications. When educated, they are above trickery. Honorable professional industry gives no countenance to hobgoblins or mesmeric nonsense,—instrumentalities of the blind for leading the blind.

Natural philosophy, intimately incorporated with the study of medicine, is an antagonist to superstition. Those who formerly could discern ghosts, and were uncompromising believers in the manifestations of disembodied souls in mystic circles, can see nothing after becoming familiar with the principles of general science.

So-called medical mediums are impostors. They do not emanate from accredited medical institutions. They are not to be confounded with those ladies who have been carefully and scientifically instructed by competent teachers in all the intricacies of theoretical and practical medicine.

Many medical gentlemen, standing well in communities, would run a mortifying tilt with many ladies in an examination before an authorized board of censors, whose decision should depend on the accuracy of their answers.

Appointment of Medical Teachers.

Were it customary here to elect professors by *concours*, as in France, and young ladies recently graduated were permitted to be competitors, quite a number of stupid occupants of university chairs, obtained through family assistance or the potency of cash, would have to give way to higher attainments.

In the treatment of female maladies, women are the proper professional advisers. It is grossly unjust to assert that they have no comprehensive views or therapeutic knowledge beyond making water gruel and flaxseed poultices.

In lecture-rooms, wherever they have been admitted, their progress has invariably been equal in all respects to that of young men. The latter dissipate more or less,—smoke, drink to their detriment, ramble to places of amusement, or where there is excitement at evening. Female medical students are not guilty of any such sins, if sins they are. They economize time in thought and study. Better still, they neither chew, smoke tobacco, or stultify themselves with the curse of the United States,—whiskey.

Operative surgery is not their forte. Exact familiarity with the intricacies of surgical anatomy, however, is one of the studies in which female medical students sometimes excel. They pursue anatomy with earnestness, so that they occasionally become experts.

If they have not the requisite firmness or coolness for cutting down into a region of vessels and nerves, nor a strength of arm for reducing luxations, they are quite well qualified to determine the extent, gravity, and probable extent of injuries.

As oculists and aurists, they might achieve great distinction. Ophthalmic operations are neither bloody, very painful, or attended with hazard to life. With their natural delicacy of touch and thorough acquaintance with the structure of the eye, they might cure deafness and extract cataracts just as skilfully as operators of the other gender. The first competent female oculist who commences under favorable auspices, could not fail of success,—if the accumulation of a fortune were the evidence of it.

This suggestion is for their consideration. They must expect to encounter opposition; be misrepresented and abused, because it will be a novel interference with the imagined prerogatives of those specialists. It is always far more remunerative than ordinary general practice.

and literature, whatever men do under precisely analogous circumstances. They are therefore entitled to the privilege of embarking on the sea of enterprise.

Men who are rated vastly beyond their merits, harnessed in petticoats, laced in stays, half-clad in gossamer garments, corded round the waist, and dieted on dry toast and tea, restrained by arbitrary custom to the house eleven hours in twelve, breathing impure air, instead of refreshing, vitalized currents out of door, mounted on high heels, and every hair on their heads put upon a stretch, and held back by iron pins and combs,—suddenly called, would they appear to any better advantage than their mothers, wives, and sisters?

Public Opinion a Restraint.

Women are cruelly hampered and restrained by the fear of what may be said of them, so that physically and intellectually, they appear to disadvantage.

There are some generous enough to admit that women have natural rights of which they have been defrauded by lawmakers. With the progress of liberal sentiments, a gratifying feature of modern civilization, concessions are gradually being made to them. A restoration of rights and privileges must be made.

Theoretically—and it is a legal fiction—a man and wife are one; "but the husband is the *one*," said a female orator on a notable occasion.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Marriage.

Excuses of Husbands—Marriage—Purchase of Relief—Helpmate—Moral Reflections—Happiness in Children—Life Expectation—Womanly Affection—Probabilities of Life—Excess of Female Population.

The great event in a woman's life is marriage. They reckon from the epoch of their marriage as a point of departure. It is the first milestone on the highway of domestic relations which outranks and overtops all other circumstances in their earthly pilgrimage.

They begin to think of it early, without having any very definite views of the responsibility that belongs to that solemn connection.

Universal attention is given to the subject in all countries, yet only a few of the many marry precisely to their liking.

Were it possible to obtain a true and exact knowledge of the amount of domestic happiness appertaining to that state, wedlock would make some strange revelations.

Very excellent ladies, model women in their matrimonial relations, are often wearing a mask to conceal a cancer gnawing at their heart.

They are compelled to be hypocrites to the end, because respectability is everything. To assume the appearance of happiness, prevents the mortifying comments of those in whose estimation it is an object to stand well.

Merchants, bankers, and, indeed, most men in active busi-

ness who give employment to young men, keep them at an unwarrantable distance. The civility of inviting them to their own houses, and giving them the acquaintance of their pleasant families, rarely occurs, however much their clerks may have merited their esteem. Some become dissipated from having no respectable places to visit,—none to give them an encouraging recognition.

How many such neglected counting-room drudges become the leading men of the day, eventually taking a flight entirely beyond the narrow circle from which their patrons excluded them! Splendid husbands might have been discovered in such neglected worth, by attachments formed between lovely young ladies and poor but deserving young men. The policy of allowing those with nothing for a capital but unsullied honor and enterprise, to address a rich man's daughters, by no means has the approval of a managing mother. Her ambition is to engineer her angels into favor with those reputed to be worth the most.

Neither heart nor principle is involved in the speculation, as matrimonial adventures are now conducted on both sides of the Atlantic. Women are notoriously bought or sold to the highest bidder. Love is not in the bargain. The purchaser obtains a fool with her dot, and she a rake who wishes her under ground after getting control of the funds. Those are the matches ending in divorce.

Were young ladies satisfied with the attentions of virtuous, unpretending young men, whose only fault is their poverty, what gems they would often secure! General Washington offered himself to a lady to whom he was devotedly attached, but had the mortification of being rejected by the haughty heiress, because he was only a major without property. She afterwards stood at a window, in the city of Balti-

more, as that spurned lover passed through the street, lined on either side by immense multitudes with uncovered heads, —President of the United States of America, the saviour of his country, whose name and fame will live till time shall be no more. She swooned, and was removed from the apartment.

In marital relations, women carry the heaviest end of the beam. They are too much burdened in the middle walks of life with cares, and consequently they suffer more than men in family responsibilities, especially when uncongenially united.

Excuses of Bad Husbands.

Husbands absent themselves from disagreeable homes on a plea of business, when an apology is necessary. Frivolous pretences are always to be found for absence without exciting particular remark that might essentially affect their moral standing in society, were the exact facts of the case known.

Their wives, however badly treated or neglected, cannot flee so readily from the presence of one who abuses them, without raising a whirlwind of ungenerous surmises injurious to their reputation.

No true woman likes to face a tornado of scandal. Men and women must associate. It was so designed from the beginning. Monastic institutions, which interdict matrimony, are at war with nature. It is unnatural and opposed to a fundamental law of life.

A society which forbids the association of males and females on a basis contemplated in this proposition, cannot maintain such a system of discipline without exercising a vigilance perfectly despotic.

Shaker Celibacy.

The Shakers have probably carried the experiment as far as any anomalous religious sect, and as successfully too, so far as complete non-intercourse is essential in their creed. They make but few converts, and the sect would soon be extinct were it not for the children they gather among sinners.

Their organization is recruited from sources they absolutely condemn as sinful.

With their wealth, their beautifully cultivated farms, model gardens, well-finished brooms, medicinal herbs, carefully packed seeds, apple-sauce, and some other manufactures, their societies may be held together through one or two more generations. Thus all religious monastic associations are sustained—in opposition to a law of nature.

There must be, inevitably, a last day in their calendar. A dissolution will come, because they are opposed to a law of God, on which the perpetuity of races depends. It can neither be modified nor repealed by human effort. Let the Shaker doctrines be fully sustained, and the beautiful earth in two hundred years would not have one human being on its surface.

Institutions antagonistic to laws governing our physical organization, cannot be sustained. There may be a temporary show of resistance, and a pride in pretending that extraordinary exaltation of mind is attained by subordinating all emotions, passions, and instincts to the empire of reason, but nature triumphs at last.

Religious enthusiasts are prone to announce theories which they proclaim to be decidedly gratifying to the Creator. Can it be a pleasure to that ever-living Power, that has fashioned things as they are and as they will continue to be, to have intellectual beings in perpetual warfare against instinct, with

which he has endowed us? Death alone can give them their quietus!

Still, with a knowledge of the physiological endowments of nature, they make unrelaxing efforts, and bigots run mad with pent-up wrath, because they cannot rule supremely and force their dogmas and crotchets down the throats of unbelievers.

Marriage.

A majority of mankind, wherever located, savage, barbarous, or enlightened by education, act in strict accordance with natural laws, conducive to health, morals, and happiness.

It is not necessary to discuss the subject to prove the truth of this proposition.

Thus it has been since Adam resided in the garden of Eden, and so it will be while men and women are in existence.

Matrimony is an ancient institution, but the misery of being mis-matched is a condition of wretchedness, which sentimental reformers will find it hard to remedy. If a couple are joined in wedlock, and subsequently discover that they are mismated, it is a tedious process to relieve themselves of the misery of that relation.

In countries making no pretensions to civilization, when parties discover they are not congenial to each other, they simply separate. That is a relief which the civil law, and certainly ecclesiastical law, very tardily and reluctantly permits.

Were it possible for contracting parties to understand each other before marriage, in regard to temperament, disposition, moral feelings, and tendencies of character, it would be a blessing to both, since they could avoid many of those forms of unhappiness that lead to dissatisfaction, hate, and, lastly, revenge, which occasionally closes the drama of married life, before the real purpose and responsibilities of the compact are understood.

Some women imagine their lovers are to continue picking up their gloves from the altar to three score and ten. Silly men appear surprised that the angels they have caged wear shoes, and actually possess stomachs. Of course, where there is neither judgment nor common-sense for guidance, there is no binding principle.

Assuming that men and women were designed to live together, it is a problem with divines and legislators how to regulate marriage so as to secure equal rights, without caring a fig about the domestic happiness of those entering upon that solemn contract. The law looks after property, and regulates the disposition of it in every contingency, growing out of the discontent or separation of those who have been legally joined.

No combination of circumstances produces such real felicity as the relation of husband and wife, when congenially united. If not cordially associated, then it is an intolerable bondage, hard to bear.

Ecclesiastical laws contemplate a secure binding, leaving the parties without escape from miseries which may, and certainly do, follow inharmonious marriages.

When united, as it has repeatedly happened in this country, as the parties supposed, in jest, on a festive occasion, and it was subsequently discovered the ceremony had actually been performed by a magistrate, unknown to them, in that official character, it has been held in law that they were husband and wife, although entirely contrary to the wishes or expectation of both sufferers.

Such a connection, it would seem, in equity and reason, ought not to be obligatory. But the civil, and, perhaps, ecclesiastical tribunals concur in holding the parties to all the obligations that bind consenting, loving couples.

Such marriages cannot be dissolved without wading through tedious and expensive legal processes, and a free expenditure of money, which last power carries more weight with it than the eternal principles of justice.

Communities are agitated by occasional accidental marriages. Sometimes a deep plot is laid, and one of the parties is unsuspectingly duped into the trap matrimonial by an irrepressible lover or fortune-hunter.

Courts are invoked, and legislative bodies implored for special acts for emancipation from wretchedness that can only terminate with death, if no relief is afforded at the fountain from whence the law had its origin.

Nothing can be accomplished by the unhappy poor in that dilemma, but what they do for themselves. Women commit suicide, and men run away beyond the knowledge of those who may have known them. It is useless for those without funds to pray tribunals to break the chains that hold them in uncongenial wedlock, and let them go free again, even when the petition is a mutual prayer of the aggrieved sufferers.

Purchase of Relief.

Paving the way to justice with dollars, is the modern method of making a quick passage over a rough road. Money is omnipotent with magistrates, who care more for mammon than the approval of conscience.

There is a cry for a modification of certain laws for the special benefit of the unhappy in marriage, to arrest the progress of demoralization in the land.

It is asserted by Oriental travellers that there is far more domestic felicity in those far off, unchristian countries, where wives are purchased, and even among savages, whom instinct,

and not sentiment, guides in the choice of a wife, than with us, where law binds, but reluctantly unbinds, the tangled web of infelicities, which sometimes characterize matrimony.

A grave question with moralists is this, viz.: Has any government positive, unquestionable authority for imposing obligations upon men and women, that it would be a violation of a divine law to abrogate, if they failed to secure the purposes for which they were enacted?

There is such manifest dissatisfaction all over the United States, with legislative action respecting matrimonial affairs, that some new legal principle is urgently demanded to meet the emergency.

As it is, divorces are as common as revolutions among dissatisfied politicians. Even the descendants of the Puritans, priding themselves on their law-abiding character for propriety, have become restless. Nowhere is there more wretchedness in matrimonial bonds than in the New England States,—largely tracing their origin to the voyagers of the Mayflower.

Helpmate.

Not unfrequently the press represents that women are oftener to blame than men, in squabbles for emancipation. The cry comes from all points that female education, as now conducted, quite ignores those homely notions once in repute, that a wife should be a helpmate.

Women have witching powers of fascination for leading silly, as well as well-balanced intellectual men wherever they choose. But the contrary creatures themselves cannot be driven an inch.

In this fact is discoverable the origin of many family troubles, culminating in ineffable misery, which nothing short of divorce can assuage.

Climate exerts a baneful influence on some temperaments at the North. Nearer the tropics, divorces are less frequent, even among those who have no educational advantages.

The clergy, claiming to interpret the Divine Will, unwilling to relinquish their hold upon the masses, are accused of keeping old theories and old customs alive too long.

Law or no law, human or divine, when a couple discover an incompatibility for each other, they generally act independently of legislative requirements,—braving the denunciations of the pulpit.

Where obstacles are interposed which cannot legally be removed for the accommodation of one of the parties, enormous crimes are often perpetrated under the idea of regaining lost liberty.

Cruelties, suicide, and murder are the bad consequences of compulsory laws, obliging those to drag out life in riveted wretchedness who desire separation.

A Question Regarding Divorce.

But divorces ought not to be granted on a trifling pretext. When a man and wife declare their determination not to reside together, for reasons best known to themselves, cogent and right in their own deliberate estimation, what is gained for public morals by keeping their shackles riveted for ever?

Neither society, religion, nor the State, is benefited by an unrelaxing policy which would see both ruined for earth, and unfitted for heaven, in the agony of their uncongenial condition.

While we are unflinching advocates for marriage, based on affection, it seems cruel to open no avenue for escape under circumstances which plead for sympathy and relief.

It is useless to attempt the development of love or personal

respect by law. A physiological argument, that celibacy is unfavorable to longevity, never hurried any one into matrimony on the ground that it was solely for the purpose of saving life.

Moral Reflections.

Men and women unmarried have a weaker hold upon life than the married. Were the institution abolished, public health and public morals would reduce society first to confusion, and then to chaos.

Mankind cannot be sustained in soundness without obeying laws on which the perpetuity of a race depends.

Marriage, then, not only elevates humanity, but also gives us a stronger hold upon life. Single men or single women do not live as many years as the married, all things being equal, nor are they as free from indisposition on an average.

A minute exemplification of this assertion would be too professional, hence illustrations are omitted. Every medical practitioner could verify this statement from the records of his own practice, were it necessary.

In 1869, the following statistical information was chronicled in Illinois, abundantly proving as much as may be required for sustaining an opinion that matters are loosely conducted in one State, if not in all, calculated to rouse the apprehension of moralists in regard to the future condition of a Christian community :—

"Two hundred and seventy-four aspirants for widowhood, out of a total of 454, filed their papers in that court, and 195 discontented husbands appealed to the same tribunal. The whole number of divorce suits commenced in the three courts in 1869, was 723 against 430 the previous year. Four hundred and fifty-four of these were brought by wives, and 269 by husbands.

ings, even to those whose means are most restricted, as might be shown were it of consequence to reiterate what is universally admitted to be true in all countries and among all orders of men.

Large families present a strong front, but a childless household is a desolate place before the sands of life have run out.

Children are a national blessing. Mothers of many are the safety of a state. Those without them have contributed nothing to humanity. Who is to rise up to call them blessed?

Examples of extreme longevity have been recorded of females who had never been mothers. Such, however, are exceptions to the general law of feminine life.

If it could be ascertained what the precise condition may have been of those represented to have died in childbed, it is probable it would appear they died in most instances from other causes. During gestation, tuberculous affections of the lungs and scrofulous difficulties that were undermining the constitution, are usually partially suspended, that the new being in its embryotic state in utero may be developed. After its birth, the malady kept in abeyance then resumes its destructive course.

Nature steps in with a helping hand, keeping back the messenger of death till the new candidate for life comes into the world to be sustained independently of the maternal system.

This is a feature of such striking import, that it cannot be viewed in any other way than a special provision for meeting an emergency.

It is a further subject of curious philosophical interest, that medical reminiscences also furnish proofs of perfect restoration

to health, from feeble emaciation, during the months of gestation. The system had time for recuperating during a suspension of a disease; and, once gaining an ascendency, the vital forces were able to maintain the advantage after parturition.

Life Expectation.

By marriage, the expectations of life are enhanced and improved. In that relation, women live longer than men.

Widows have more vitality than widowers, all other things being equal, and a majority of them are alive, when widowers are very considerably reduced in numbers, in any given area of country. This difference is due to the better habits of women. They are more serene, secretive, and less exposed to debilitating excitement.

Women are more reserved than men, less frequently thrown into abandoned society, and when their suspicions are roused, that contaminating influences are approaching, they resist demoralizing attacks far more heroically, besides being characteristically more consistent and conservative.

Single ladies, especially in New England, are prone to engage in reformatory schemes. They are prodigiously resolute in their efforts to compel the world to believe in their pre-conceived standard of right.

Other States furnish a few strong female representative minds, devotedly working to keep the social elements in commotion, that they may finally settle down in conformity to their theoretical ideal of political, social, and moral equality on earth.

Married ladies less frequently exhibit themselves on platforms as agitators. When they do ascend the rostrum, however, and once put their hands to the plow, there is energy, but

always less powerful than exhibitions of single women, when they are fully persuaded they have a mighty mission to perform.

When a married woman dives into a sea of political strife, or rouses the community by sensational appeals, were the precise motives influencing her truly known, it would be found it was only a safety valve, by which she endeavors to make an escape from some domestic infelicity at home, or to divert the attention of the public from herself to herself. It is not applause that is sought. She is striving to conceal something, the publication of which might plunge her to the depths of unhappiness.

The appearance of ladies in unnatural positions, officiating as political orators, reformers, preaching, figuring as military officers, and similar performances, which their organization, thin dress, education, and habits forbid, in the judgment of mankind, and the promptings of their own feminine instincts,—it is morally certain there is something to be concealed.

On ascending the pulpit or the forum, either to plead causes or expound theology, it may be assumed that those positions are only waste-gates, through which are floated away pent-up nervousness.

Womanly Affections.

Yearnings of the heart in women require objects on which to bestow those outgushings of love, which belong to their nature. If disappointed in youth, the fire never goes out, even in advanced age.

It burns with intensity in middle life, but may be modified by new relations, which divert the mind from a perpetual contemplation of unrequited affection, cruel neglects, or slanderous insinuations, which embitter the soul.

"Earth has no rage like love to hatred turn'd,
Or hell a fury like a woman spurned."

In a prize essay on the physical signs of longevity in man, published in 1869 by the Popular Life Insurance Company, it is laid down as a remarkable circumstance, that when the glow and warm blood of youth have cooled with an increase of years, single women are exceedingly prone to embark in some radical scheme or *ism*, quite in contrast with their former tenor of life.

If, says that paper, they embrace religious or political doctrines, quite unthought of, or which, perhaps, if reflected upon carelessly, had made no permanent impression, there is no calculating upon the force of their enthusiasm.

In Europe, an excess of vitality in the sex is exhausted in some other direction.

New-England women find no outlet to their excessive accumulation of mental force giving such immediate relief as facing assemblies of dissatisfied persons like themselves.

Single women, however mentally moved to revolutionize a village or the State, with all the strain brought to bear on a fragile system in the promulgation of the cause they may have espoused, have a stronger hold on life, and a better prospect of old age than single revolutionary men, simply because they neither smoke, chew tobacco, drink to excess, carouse at places of entertainment, or keep very late hours in protracted excitements.

Their regularity in diet, and freedom from common dissipations which disgrace men, are anchors that moor them safely in a sea of social commotion.

While on this subject, it may be of some service to female readers to have the views of discreet medical statisticians on conditions which are inherited, affecting their longevity, drawn

from the same source from whence was extracted the paragraph on female reformers.

Probabilities in Regard to Life.

First. Both men and women, born of a parentage remarkable for long life, inherit vitality, and are generally tenacious of life.

They occasionally reach a very advanced period, being rarely the victims of acute epidemic diseases.

Second. Children born of parents, one but not both of whom inherited long life, do not equally inherit vitality.

In a considerable number of brothers and sisters thus born, some of them will live to be aged, but not all.

Third. Men or women with particularly long bodies, otherwise well developed, and governed by all the circumstances and conditions heretofore noted, give satisfactory physical signs of a long life.

Fourth. Married women who have been mothers, if in comfortable circumstances, especially in the country, have the prospect of a longer life than those who have not borne children.

Fifth. Widows have not the prospect of so long a life as married women.

Sixth. Widowers have not a prospect of so long a life as married men. Married persons, if happily connected, have a prospect of a longer life than if unmarried.

Seventh. Unmarried women, in health, easy in their circumstances, and pleasantly conditioned in society, have a prospect of a longer life than unmarried men of the same social standing.

Eighth. Unmarried women, dependent upon their own per-

sonal efforts, and harassed by anxieties, have not a prospect of long life.

Ninth. Excitable, fractious men or women, when married, who are subject to paroxysms of sudden anger, peril their prospects of a long life.

Tenth. Both men and women, although in easy circumstances, if of a jealous, irritable disposition, or subject to morose exhibitions of temper, married or unmarried, have not a prospect of long life. Still, a few out of many may sometimes live to be aged.

Eleventh. Men or women who have changed their residence from a cold or moderately temperate climate of one continent, to a similar one on another, if comfortable in circumstances, and industrious and correct in their habits, do not have their vitality impaired.

Twelfth. Men or women who remove from one continent to another, as from Europe to America, or from America to Europe, if inclined to excesses which impair vital force, may die prematurely.

Excess of Female Population.

Females in the New-England States already outnumber the male population at particular points; and there is a social cause operating that will give a female majority in all of them within a few years.

An excess of females in nearly all the large cities of the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Washington, is an unfortunate circumstance for the prosperity of the nation, as it is for humanity.

It is impossible for them all to have husbands, simply because there are not men enough, numerically, to meet the case,

provided, in all other respects, the way were clear for honorable marriage.

A discrepancy is an argument for providing for an increasing army of females proper and remunerative employments. It must be done, or fearful consequences, poverty, destitution, demoralization, crime, and, indeed, a deplorable moral desolation, will certainly ensue.

If they could be induced to cast their bread upon the waters of hope, in the fruitful regions of the West, where men are vastly more numerous than women, their protection would be complete, and they might safely calculate upon that measure of security, happiness, and ultimate independence, which flows from virtuous and well-directed efforts.

Here is a statistical synopsis of the population of the globe, with a classification.*

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* There are on the globe 1,288,000,000 souls, of which
360,000,000 are of the Caucasian race.
552,000,000 are of the Mongol race.
190,000,000 are of the Ethiopian race.
176,000,000 are of the Malay race.
1,000,000 are of the Indo-American race.
There are 3,642 languages spoken, and 1,000 different religions.
The yearly mortality of the globe is 33,333,333 persons. This is at the rate of 91,554 per day, 3,730 per hour, 62 per minute. So each pulsation of the heart marks the decease of some human creature.
The average of human life is 33 years.
One-fourth of the population dies at or before the age of seven years.
One-half at or before seventeen years.
Among 10,000 persons one arrives at the age of 100 years; one in 500 attains the age of 90; and one in 100 lives to the age of 60.
Married men live longer than single ones.
In 1,000 persons 95 marry, and more marriages occur in June and December than in any other month of the year.
One-eighth of the whole population is military.
Professions exercise a great influence on longevity. In 1,000 individuals who arrive at the age of 70 years, 43 are priests, orators, or public speakers, 30 are agriculturists, 33 are workmen, 32 are soldiers or military employés, 29 advocates or engineers, 27 professors, and 24 doctors.

It is evident that there is no time to lose, if there is a ray of ambition to turn life to the best account.

There is not only a perpetual yearning for something more than we have, but a strife also for positions that promise, either truly or theoretically, to facilitate the acquisition of that in which much happiness is imagined to exist.

Those who devote their lives to the prolongation of others die the soonest.
There are 336,000,000 Christians.
There are 5,000,000 Israelites.
There are 60,000,000 Asiatic religionists.
There are 190,000,000 Mahometans.
There are 300,000,000 Pagans.
In the Christian Churches—
170,000,000 profess the Roman Catholic.
75,000,000 profess the Greek faith.
80,000,000 profess the Protestant.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Their Dangers in Marriage.

Laws of Descent—Evolution—Marriage of Whites with Blacks—Mental and Physical Deterioration—Manly Perfection—Inherited Virtues—Selections, etc.

How far and to what extent we are accountable for what, to our short-sightedness, seems quite beyond control, is a question to be pondered upon by those who assume to be wise where others are in doubt.

Our existence is forced upon us. It is a destiny, and, therefore, no way within the sphere of our volitions.

Were we consciously alive before being united with perishable humanity, and it were optional with us to change relations, and become associated with a body subjected to the vicissitudes which are inseparable from existence on earth, how many would probably hazard the enterprise?

Nothing in the divine economy is more marvellous than the succession of animals and plants.

Wonderfully ingenious contrivances are invented, which perform operations so complicated and extraordinary, that an unsuspecting observer would be ready to admit that the movements indicated a spirit of intelligence. Such may be the combination of wheels, springs, and weights, as to appear like the phenomena of life. And yet, life surpasses the comprehension of the profoundest investigators, and the most learned in science. Ingeniously devised as machines may be, none of them keep

themselves in repair, or reproduce similar machines when the old ones are broken or worn out.

Nature, superior and supreme, does both. One generation succeeds another, supplying the world with new and vigorous laborers for uninterrupted progress. The fountain from whence flows a river of life is exhaustless. Though man dies, and individuals are forgotten in the revolutions of time, yet while the globe moves in its orbit, men will be in existence to superintend the domain to which they belong.

With the progress of discovery, we have had glimpses of wrecks of ancient cities, and examined skeletons of monster animals, that once had exclusive possession of this fair country, at a period so vastly remote, that neither chronologists nor geologists agree upon the number of centuries those osseous remains have been hermetically sealed up in rocks, or concealed in the bowels of the earth.

Marine shells on the summits of the highest mountains, raised to their lofty elevation by upheaval forces from the depths of primitive seas, testify to mighty revolutions in the physical aspect of the land and sea.

Evolution.

A query has been advanced as to whether the lineal descendants of any progenitor in families now recognized as representatives of ancient types, bear a resemblance to those from whence their existence was derived.

Learned inquirers contend that there has been a gradual evolution going on from the very creation of each and every race now in existence, and, therefore, the last in the series must be entirely different in structure, and, consequently, has modified tendencies, instincts, and propensities.

This is a new doctrine with an increasing school of disciples.

From the simplest forms, according to the new theory, complicated structures and exterior forms far more perfect have been developed, and, therefore, better calculated for sustaining higher relations than those from which they originally sprang, far back in the realms of chaos. Germs could not have possessed either volition or locomotive force.

Assuming that man was at first a granule, a mere speck, a germ floating in a fathomless, illimitable ocean of space, in which was embodied an inherent vitalization, always exerting itself by unconscious efforts to push out further, and to become larger, stronger, and, perhaps, have organs of prehension, it is quite as difficult to manage the problem of a first commencement of the spark of life, as to account for the manifestations of intellect.

How long men have walked on two feet or had a brain capable of reasoning, eludes the prying industry of paleontologists. Some are becoming bold in their determinations to ignore the Mosaic cosmogony. They pretend to believe that man has been on this earth far longer than the sacred historian represents, if a true interpretation has been rendered of the inspired narrative.

If the mastodon, and the great saurian reptiles almost one hundred feet in length, were extinct ten thousand years ago, some have the presumption to assert that man was here with them.

A few arrow-heads, found sticking fast in a skull of a gigantic monster that, theoretically, has been dead ten thousand years, is brought in support of the proposition. They assume it as almost conclusive evidence that men of those times were hunters, and that flint-armed arrows were fabricated by them for killing game. That was the stone age.

It might be asserted with equal propriety, that those animals have not been extinct one thousand years.

Let all speculations of that kind pass, since our geological acquirements are not so firmly fixed but they may undergo many modifications in the progress of further discoveries.

Theories are easily constructed and unceremoniously abandoned without loss. We have penetrated but a little way into the crust of the earth, where strange things will come to the surface to astonish naturalists at some remote future.

Law of Descent.

Transmitting to a new being some anomaly recognized as an anomaly, because of a striking deviation from the type to which it belongs, must be received as accidental, and not in accordance with the laws of descent.

Were cross-eyed parents invariably to have cross-eyed children,—hair-lipped sons or blind people, the offspring of persons thus unfortunate,—it would give some coloring to the speculations of those who insist that there were five Adams, progenitors of the five known races of men. There are indeed five distinct races. There are certain peculiar characteristics by which they are readily distinguished from one another.

One is yellow, a second black, a third red, a fourth white, and a fifth something else. These are perplexing facts; but on the supposition that climate has produced alterations which have become permanent, is the way the subject is most readily disposed of by those who give it the least consideration.

According to the record of Genesis, the first man, Adam, was created about six thousand years ago. That belief is sustained by researches not to be lightly questioned.

Here we approach stumbling-blocks, that derange many

finely-drawn arguments, not strengthened by science. Revelation is one thing, and the laws of nature something entirely different.

About two thousand years after the creation of Adam, some of his lineal posterity were singularly altered, in the color of their skin, if it is assumed he was a white man. If the Caucasian is a type of our Eden ancestors, strange changes have taken place in the form of the face of the representative races of men now in existence. Monuments are still standing, four thousand years old, inscribed with characters which record, probably, remarkable events. Enough of some of them have been deciphered to ascertain their immense antiquity, reaching within two thousand years of Adam's lifetime. And on many of them are sculptured facial outlines, profiles, and human faces, that show men looked then just as they do in eighteen hundred and seventy-three. Five distinct races of human beings unquestionably existed then, that is, four thousand years ago.

The negro features on those monumental guide-posts into the obscurities of the past, were precisely what they are in Africa to-day. The protruding jaws, thick lips, and crispy, woolly covering of the head, were then as they are now.

How was a change from a Caucasian type, if that was the original facial form, color, and expression, brought about in two thousand years, and from that period, resulting in permanent alterations, that arrange mankind in five distinctly marked varieties of men?

No essential physical, and, possibly, no moral tendencies or changes have occurred in four thousand years, since that grand revolutionary alteration of the primitive outline form. Nor is there any reason for expecting further modifications in four thousand years to come.

Monster children rarely live more than a few hours from

birth. Those born defective in limbs, or with peculiar markings, misplaced viscera, harelip, etc., in becoming parents, do not transmit their defects to their offspring. They are as fair and as beautifully proportioned as the children of symmetrical parentage. The exceptions to that law are referred to in another chapter, as anomalies.

Chickens are hatched with two heads, four legs; or a boy is born with only one arm. But they do not propagate those deviations from a normal pattern, which is characteristic of a species. They have no descendants like themselves.

That would eventuate in confusion. The fair world we inhabit, were there no fixed laws respecting definite forms, would soon team with hideous monsters, widely differing from one another, both externally and internally.

Order being an unchangeable law, any deviations from a primeval standard, if varying at all, must be very gradually effected, requiring the revolution of centuries upon centuries. There is no sudden or violent departure.

A mule rarely, if ever, propagates. While some naturalists claim it possible, others are strenuous in the opinion that it would be impossible, inasmuch as it would be a violation of a fundamental law of nature, perpetually in force to preserve races, and to prevent anomalous admixtures of blood, that would lead to an animal chaos.

Sterile as mules are, they are influenced by instincts and propensities, peculiar to the two distinct stocks from which they sprang. There is a compensation for their anomalous condition,—their longevity exceeding both horse and ass. The latter have the pleasure of rearing others to take their places, which the mule cannot have, as the maternal parent has in nursing and protecting her long-eared colt, singularly unlike herself in exterior appearance.

An ass is old and quite stupid at twenty, although his longevity is beyond that of the horse.

A mule, not abused, is hale, strong, and serviceable, at fifty. They have reached eighty years. Though faring poorly, and usually treated with severity, he has a compensation in immunity from ordinary equine maladies.

A mixture of blood among different races of men neither promotes health, strength, nor longevity.

Some singular phenomena present themselves in the amalgamation of Asiatics with Africans or American Indians, which have a bearing on moral questions, that must necessarily be met by those who are earnest for the improvement of humanity. But it is a topic to be approached with extreme caution, to avoid shocking the sensibilities of modern political philanthropists, who discover no difference in the intellectual calibre of the white, black, red, or yellow man.

That a soul may be encased in different-colored envelopes, according to climatic influence, is a doctrine taught by radical social reformers, without affecting its powers.

We shall not discuss that subject, which has invariably been productive of more vindictive feeling than sound philosophy, whenever brought forward.

One of the evils attending a practical illustration of the doctrine, that it is perfectly right and proper to amalgamate races, and mix those of different color and facial expression, according to the fancy of unreflecting parties, is a positive certainty of deterioration, and the final disappearance of those whose origin is thus commenced.

Is it no violation of a natural law of which each and every one, however low in the scale of intelligence, has an instinctive appreciation, for whites and blacks to intermarry?

Is it not wrong to rear families of all intermediate shades,

whose parti-colored appearance does not meet the approval of either party?

Their children are born to a conscious feeling of degradation.

Marriage of Whites and Blacks.

All men are born free and equal in the sight of God, and, in the language of political orators, have a right to pursue the way that leads to happiness.

But where is the most devoted friend of the most oppressed and maltreated of all races, the negro, who would not manifest a repugnance to the union of his accomplished daughters with black husbands, however unexceptionable in manners, culture, or character?

To pretend that no such sentiment as an instinctive objection ought to operate against it, would give the lie to one of the strongest dictates of nature and conscience.

For the sake of appearing consistent in the estimation of those who might comment to the disadvantage of those promulgating the doctrine, that color should not be objectionable in forming marriage-ties, teachers of such abominable sentiments may successfully conceal their true feelings; but they live hypocrites, self-condemned.

We cannot go counter to the established laws of natnre and morality, without having a conscious prompting of the wrong we have been doing.

In a first remove from the mixed parentage of black and white, the children are not all of the same tint. Among a group of six, for example, one may be black, with protruding lips and short woolly hair; another will have a retreating forehead and lighter complexion. Neither the features of the father or the mother are distinctly reproduced in either, while

all of them are marked deviations in form, stature, color, and, perhaps, mental calibre, from the parents.

Mental and Physical Deterioration.

When those children in turn become parents, they are less fruitful. In the next remove, they are not well developed. Their muscles are slender and flabby, the form inclined to be gaunt, and in mental force they are inferior to those from whom they derived their being.

Besides a physical deterioration, a scrofulous diathesis begins to appear. They hold out longer than hybrids from domesticated animals, with the exception of the mule; but according to the remarks of Mr. Forbes, they actually cease to propagate in the fifth remove from a union of Caucasian and African blood.

Manly Perfection.

The negro is a man for Africa, the Malay for the East Indies, and whites for temperate zones and hyperborean latitudes. In the temperate, the white man attains the highest condition of which his nature is susceptible.

What is a half-breed? In this country it is understood to be a child of a white father and a squaw. They have never been raised to any prominent positions of usefulness through a native spirit of energy; nor, even when assisted by conscientious, painstaking philanthropists, could one of them be made into a counsellor, a man of thought, of any value to the interests of society.

No educational discipline conducted with special reference to proving their capacity for progress, or how splendidly they may operate as instrumentalities in advancing the civilization of savage tribes, has ever been successful.

They have never gone forward, aided by such facilities as have been urged upon them by Christian charity and governmental patronage, to the achievement of any results, predicted and hoped for by their warm and sincere friends.

Half-breeds may be persuaded to reside in houses superior to wigwams, to cultivate fields, and wear clothing more complicated than a blanket; yet they do not readily fall in with the ways of civilization. They have neither been made scholars nor very devout worshippers. They are just as near to the usages of ordinary civil life as they are to the white man in blood, but no nearer. They have to be sustained by unrelaxing effort, or they quickly deteriorate by running into those wild habits of indolence which are predominant in the nature of the stock from which they came, always stronger on the Indian side than on the other.

Some few individual half-breeds have been rather successful in elementary agriculture. They may raise corn, send their children to schools provided for them, but no scheme has yet been successful in moulding them willingly and heartily into the ways and habits of Anglo-Saxons. They never can be kept up to any standard of civilization to which they have apparently been raised.

Disappearance of the Indians.

Gradually and inevitably both Indians and their half-breed descendants will wholly disappear from the continent. A few centuries hence there will not be a remnant left of the red race which once roamed with unrestrained freedom, like the game they pursued, on the broad expanse of North America.

Indians are a pioneer race, whose mission is nearly accomplished. Nations were here before them. Millions of human beings, who are only known through the monuments that re-

main, the evidences of their industry and labors in the rearing of mounds and earthworks, which have outlived the name, the fortunes, and the history of those who raised them, were exterminated by these remnants of powerful invaders, whose gradual extinction is certainly decreed in the court of destiny.

All such revolutions,—the appearance and disappearance of races,—are in conformity to a law of limitation. Nations, like individuals, carry in their organization the seeds of dissolution.

Tendency to Disease Transmissible.

Children of consumptive parents are born with minute tubercles in their lungs, embedded in elastic pulmonary tissues. Their existence may not even be suspected; but when exposed to influences which inflame them, they burst and ulcerate through the delicate air-cells, and death supervenes.

Children of consumptive parents rarely escape the fatal malady. Even if no incipient tubercles are quiescently slumbering in their lungs up to the middle age of life, when reaching the period at which the parents fell under the disease, they are pretty sure to pass away in a similar manner, provided they remain in the same locality.

By taking up a residence where the atmosphere is freer from humidity, vitality may be very materially recruited, and life prolonged. But whenever tubercles are present, as a direct inheritance, no methods have yet been successful in preventing them from inflaming, softening, and degenerating into pus.

When that stage is ushered in, the skill of medical practitioners avails nothing. When those organs in which vitality is manufactured—that is, where oxygen is separated from atmospheric air, and carbonic acid thrown off—are actually destroyed, a recovery is impossible.

Deceptions of Quacks.

Nothing is more preposterous than the vaunted pretensions of those empirics,—criminal quacks who raise expectations, by announcing the restoration of consumptives by new methods of medication, generally their own.

A destruction of the parts of an organ in which vitalizing properties of the air are brought in direct contact with arterial blood, must terminate fatally. No regeneration of destroyed parts can be made by any process within the range of science.

Actual Maladies Inherited.

Scrofula is transmissible; so are syphilitic taints, and some eruptive maladies. The latter are traceable, carefully investigated, quite frequently to the same source. Even a predisposition to deafness, nervous irregularities, distorted fingers, incurvated nails, enlarged joints, St. Vitus's dance, and all shades of insanity, pass from family to family for several generations, rather gaining intensity than losing force.

A tendency to bleed profusely, and even to die of hemorrhage from slight punctures, or the simple extraction of a tooth, runs in some families, without remedy.

Inherited Physical Excellencies.

Such facts, and many more illustrative of the law of transmission, are familiar to physicians. It is equally true that personal beauty, fine teeth, a tall figure, a musical voice, a mathematical brain, are inherited and propagated, like moral qualities.

Imperfection of Art in Saving Life.

Surgeons, of extensive experience, have often failed to arrest hemorrhages in one of those so-called natural bleeders. Whether their blood is deficient in that plastic element which assists coagulation, or whether a retraction of the lips of wounds in them, which cannot be kept together by ordinary mechanical appliances, is owing to some peculiar spasmodic contraction of tissues, has not been ascertained.

Compression, styptics, or, indeed, any of the commonly known modes of arresting a flow of blood in those thus predisposed, are ineffectual.

Selections in Marriage.

It behooves those expecting to enter upon the responsibilities of marriage, to weigh well and investigate a family history before such relationship is formed.

A past and present sanitary character of a family with which marriage is proposed, is of far more importance than might at first be supposed, since various conditions in regard to body and mind are propagated, and may lead to individual sufferings and misery through generations in the future.

Such inquiries, of course, would have to be conducted in a very guarded manner; otherwise, not only much offence might be roused, but the whole matter considered impertinent and ridiculous.

But a regard for one's own comfort in the possible appearance on the stage of life of others for whose well-being, character, and condition, the happiness of parents will be at stake, fully justifies such inquiries and investigations.

If a young lady has ascertained that consumption is a

hereditary malady in the family of the man who proposes himself for a husband, prudence should influence her not to peril herself, or the children she would probably bear, to the contingencies that surround a family predisposed to a lingering and fatal disease.

She could avoid a prospective trouble. It is useless to extend the argument against being joined in wedlock with a man who is certain to die, as his father, mother, brothers or sisters had died, of pulmonary consumption.

Progress of Pulmonary Consumption.

An amazing destruction of human life from that incurable disease is all the while going on in the United States, particularly in the northern parts.

Without regard to the laws of probability, or the destruction of the fair, bright, beautiful, and intelligent, in the beginning of life, by that malady, even to the extinction of families, little or no thought is given to that which is pretty sure to occur when marriage is proposed.

The farmer selects the soundest, best-developed seeds and appropriate soil, otherwise the harvest would be small and imperfect. In the raising of stock, none but the soundest in health, best-formed, and exhibiting indications of constitutional vigor, are allowed to propagate. Thus the high-bred horse, the splendid ox, the finest sheep, and choicest poultry are obtained, by determining from what source they shall spring.

Nature manages among birds and all animals, in a way to secure health and strength, by not permitting the weak, feeble, puny males to generate at all. They are driven away and kept at a distance by the giants of the herd, the flock, and in the poultry yard, who alone are the sires of each succeeding generation.

The female is passive in all those examples, having no partialities or affections to gratify; and thus the blood of each is kept up to the highest requirements of an organic law.

If consumptives did not intermarry, hereditary consumption would disappear. Pecuniary advantages, social condition, and love, each acting with peculiar force, pay no regard to the future, in respect to health.

Children are thus born to linger in pain, and die early. The necrological annals of this nation is a melancholy record. It is not diminishing, but, on the contrary, increasing with the increase of population.

When the celebrated Spurzheim was in this country, he fearlessly declared in public, that the legislature should interpose its authority, by interdicting the marriage of consumptives.

Risk in Marriage.

In cities, particularly, ladies hazard more in entering upon matrimonial relations than in the country, where the avenues to vice are fewer, and dissipations, generally, are frowned upon with a severity that inaugurates a better system of morals.

Physicians alone know of the extent of taints which fester in the veins of men in cities, who, perhaps, are envied for their possessions, their social positions, and their influence.

Men are more prone to irregular lives than women. They plunge into dissipations, of which their most intimate friends have no knowledge, and contract diseases, for the relief of which they dare not consult their own physician, as it would expose their doings where their reputation is enshrined in gold.

Quacks tamper with them, get their money, and keep the secret. Being no way qualified for medicating a patient with

grave complaints, the canker that gnaws and undermines their health is not eradicated, but a poison is left behind, to annoy and worry the sinner the remainder of his days.

A father, whose system contains the seeds of an eruptive disease, a scrofulous tendency, a syphilitic taint, deep-seated ulcerations, unsound teeth, an offensive breath, from internal causes, which speak as plainly as such complaints can announce their existence, will pretty certainly transmit them to his children.

Very many women have contracted diseases from that source, which have made them invalids, and destroyed all the comfort of life, without, perhaps, ever suspecting the origin of their protracted misery.

Cities abound with showy, flashy, fascinating impostors, and women are their dupes. Fine establishments, fashionable appointments, and costly equipages, however, are no compensation for the loss of health. When they become the wives of such men, they are prisoners in a charnel house.

A reformed rake is not the material for making a good husband. It is the privilege of ladies to decide whom they will have; but unless the candidate for their hand and heart have a character as transparent as glass, it is for their interest to weigh every circumstance with extreme deliberation, before saying *yes* or *no*.

Transmissible Tendency to Insanity.

Insanity is another transmissible misfortune in families. Beware of a lover whose father or mother has been a lunatic. Severe reverses, loss of friends, peculiar affliction, and unforeseen accidents, may give rise to distraction. Such forms of insanity are not without hope, when the cause has been removed that gave rise to them, and should not therefore be viewed in the same light as a hereditary predisposition to insanity. Nor

need there be an apprehension of a transmission of any temporary cerebral irregularities, the result of such causes.

Beware of a Predisposition to Intemperance.

A transmitted predisposition to suicide, a murderous propensity, and a morbid craving for strong stimulants, are each of them elements that lead to all imaginable unhappiness. Avoid them, therefore, in a lover.

Ladies sometimes marry men who are known to give manifestations of those fearful conditions, under an impression that they can manage them. To marry an habitual drunkard, when the fact is known, under an expectation of wielding an influence that will lead him to abandon a debasing vice out of respect to a wife's feelings, is an absurdity. They have no powers of self-restraint, nor a wife any influence with a drinking husband.

It is an experiment without a way of escape from impending misery, shame, and degradation, when a lady of refinement weds a dissipated man. It is a cruel wrong when friends match youth, beauty, health, and accomplishments, from sordid motives, to an old, shattered body. It is a fearful plunge into an abyss of misery.

Wealth Buys what cannot be Won.

Such irrational marriages scarcely differ in moral turpitude from a direct sale. It is a legalized abomination.

Property is the object when a blooming miss in her teens weds an octogenarian. If there were no money to be won by a game of chance—for it is one, in which the bride fully expects the grave will quickly cover up the old carcass she hates—such unions would not take place.

Ambition to be rich urges brilliant women to risk their happiness on a throw of a matrimonial die. How frequently the community is astonished by such voluntary exhibitions of unnatural alliances,—a living woman chained to a corpse.

Where is the tenderness, the sympathy, the religious sense of honor, the instinct of love, when a woman in the vigor and aspirations of youth sacrifices all at the shrine of money?

In commenting on the barbarous customs of the Orient, where females are sold at prices varying according to physical attractions, travellers invariably express their disgust. It is a system which Christian civilization frowns upon with indignation. But are there not sales in the United States, even more extraordinary?

Blue Beards are not all dead yet. Those women in market, waiting for the highest bidder, offering themselves voluntarily, are neither sacrifices, nor ladies. They are beings without heart, without conscience, or a sense of religious accountability to society or their Creator.

A lady is a different being. When her moral qualities and the attributes of her gentle nature act in the sphere where she ought to move, she is recognized as the best gift of God to man.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Divorces.

Being Matched—Too Easily Procured—Incompatibility—Progressive Infirmities—Matrimonial Bickerings—Congeniality—Commercial—Children's Society—Companionship, etc.

Unhappiness in marriage is obviously on the increase; lamentably, too, in the highest circles of intelligence in this country.

A direct evidence of this statement is found in the courts of law from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the forty-fifth degree of north latitude to the Gulf of Mexico.

Demands for separation from bed and board have become disgracefully common all over the United States. Neither legislators, divines, or moralists, have been successful in keeping the family fold in that condition of contentment, which is theoretically, if not practically, the basis on which rests the institution of marriage.

Being Matched.

When contracting parties are only paired, but not lovingly matched, they become estranged, most unaccountably to themselves. Divorces do not appertain to any particular condition of life. Clergymen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, bankers, actors, authors, the affluent, the tall, short, fat, lean, and even among the industrious, wealth-producing classes, quite down to cellars under sidewalks, all have their representative dissatis-

fied applicants for relief from the self-imposed shackles of matrimony.

So urgent is the desire for emancipation, by slipping their necks out of the conjugal noose, enactments are undergoing modifications in several States to facilitate a retrograde progress in Christian civilization.

Too Easily Procured.

Divorces are procured with disgraceful ease, to the amazement of those who in other countries have been brought up to hold sacred an obligation to abide by a marital promise, to religiously hold out, for better or for worse, till death doth them part.

A facetious story went the round not long ago, of a Massachusetts man who wrote to the clerk of the Legislature of Indiana, to ascertain why his petition for a divorce had not been acted upon. In answer, the official wrote back it was customary in that body to proceed alphabetically; therefore he must not be impatient, as it would be impossible to reach *M* till late in the session, as they had only reached *B* in the regular order of application.

Incompatibility.

A proximate cause of such incompatibility, the generally alleged reason for wishing a dissolution of the bond, is explained upon what is called vital repugnance.

There is a kind of congenital uncongeniality, not to be overcome or subdued by any known process, says a new theorist, because there is a difference in their predestined longevity.

Thus, if a man is twenty years the senior of his wife at marriage, they may possibly sail over life's tempestuous sea with tolerable equanimity a few years.

Going with the tide, however, is not their lot. Both are occasionally rowing against a strong current, without keeping time. Hence the boat is swayed, first, one way, then, in an opposite direction, instead of gaining a peaceful harbor, protected from storms and tempest blasts.

Progressive Infirmities.

After awhile the husband begins to exhibit the infirmities of age. Besides, he has gradually established certain fixed rules which, in his long experience, are considered fundamental principles necessary for repose, for propriety, for happiness; and it very much ruffles and disgusts him, too, if others refuse to conform to the routine of regulations he resolves to establish in his own household.

Madam entertains widely different views of the subject. She comments upon his propositions as either preposterous, ridiculous, or arbitrary. He makes no allowance for more youthful feelings, while the wife, on the other hand, makes no effort to conceal her dissatisfaction in being obliged to humor the caprices of old age.

Matrimonial Bickerings.

With occasional cutting remarks to the discomfiture of both, the spirit of division obtains a foothold. An old husband of a young wife never inspires her with reverence for his bald head or gray hairs. Love never was an element in the original arrangement. Both were deceived in supposing they were made for each other.

An old man may have wisdom, judgment, and a handsome estate, but he cannot inspire love and the warmth of affection

in a girl twenty or thirty years younger than himself. She feels no sense of companionship in his society.

While an old husband is deteriorating, and closing gradually into smaller compass, the young wife is developing into the fulness of commanding womanhood.

Reverse the circumstances. The wife being advanced, no longer throwing off those magnetic influences which are the bonds of attraction, a want is felt; but what it is, words cannot properly express. It is a sympathy only to be engendered between those nearly of the same age.

An aged wife, the senior of the husband ten or fifteen years, may be a model woman in the management of her domestic duties, prudent and eminently discreet; yet they do not harmonize, though both are good and true.

When nearly of the same age, their views, feelings, and opinions keep pace on the same vital plane. One rarely acts without the other in anything of importance, or suggests a measure which would not be of mutual benefit.

Congeniality.

There is a complete oneness with them, when appropriately brought together. That is matrimonial happiness which we read about, but do not as often witness in real life as might be expected in a Christian country.

True unity of soul is the foundation of all the felicity found in marriage. In that delightful realization of what actually belongs to marital relations, of which affection is the bond of union, one party has not a longer expectation of life than the other,—an unconscious harmony which, nevertheless, has a direct influence on their mental and physical organization.

With such a pleasant preparation for travelling together on the highway of coming years, marriage is a divine institution.

Two merchants of nearly the same age agree together far better in their business affairs, than when there is considerable difference in their probable tenure of life—all other things being equal.

Commercial Relations.

Some of the oldest and strongest commercial houses were established by youthful partners, whose plans, operations, and methods of conducting their enterprises were results of seeing objects from the beginning alike, because both were alike impressed by the same surrounding influences.

Old capitalists in business rarely proceed so smoothly with a young man as with one of their own age. A reason is sought for in that natural law of correspondence which is recognized in various relations, but which is extremely difficult to elucidate. There is a parallelism in thought, in reasoning processes, and a unity of feeling, in those of nearly the same age. Having lived about the same number of years, they reckon from the same events and epochs.

Children Require the Society of Children.

Children require the companionship of children. They never establish the same kind of familiarity with grown-up persons as they do with those of their own mental calibre.

Impressions from common objects strike them so differently. The conversation of an infant is insipid to a man of years, while the chat of the latter is totally beyond the comprehension of a little prattler at his elbow.

Domesticated animals, to an observable degree, are influenced by the same law of association. An old ox takes no interest in a calf, but lows at the sight of a distant herd. Old

dogs hardly tolerate the pranks of puppies. Cows covet the company of cows, and old singing-birds appear to have pleasure in the society of those similar to themselves.

Companionship of Animals.

Some animals form a warm attachment for each other, provided they have been a considerable while together; but they are not particular in expressions of friendship, if they associate late in life.

Coach-horses, after having been accustomed to work in the same carriage, upon being put in adjoining stalls, become excessively uneasy when separated, and exhibit gratification in their whinnyings of recognition in being again harnessed in the old way.

Two cows pastured in the same field, or stalled in the same stable, or two oxen accustomed to the same yoke, exhibit very decided uneasiness on being separated. Their nervous watchfulness, vigilance, and frequent calls at the top of their voice, is a language that denotes the violence done to their attachment to an old friend.

A young weaned colt cares but little for a sedate horse; nor does a spavined hack in a dirt-cart covet the society of antic nags, even when at large in a broad enclosure. Kittens are repulsed by sober cats. They may tolerate their presence; but when they begin to take liberties in their mischievous capers, a growl, or a blow with a sharp claw admonishes them not to presume upon the gravity of their seniors.

Reptiles without Attachment.

Reptiles do not appear to possess social feelings. Neither do voracious fishes, as sharks, wolf-fish, etc. On the contrary,

cod, haddock, mackerel, and many other tribes are sociable, and range in company over their feeding-ground, and migrate in immense armies for mutual protection and society.

Whales are social in their nature, also, as porpoises are; both swimming amicably together in their pastimes, or in pursuit of food.

Whales, after all, are not fish. They belong to the mammalia. They breathe air exclusively, and suckle their young.

When aged men or women advanced in the vale of years marry those younger than themselves by many years, it is not only a gross mistake, but it is also a violation of a natural law. It is as true in social science as in homœopathy, that like cures like. In other words, a condition in age, experience, and force of vitality, is essential to that happiness which is the incentive for assuming the legal and all other responsibilities appertaining to marriage. Discrepancies in those respects are sure to eventuate in certain disappointment and marital wretchedness, where neither one is influenced by a highly developed religious sentiment of accountability.

Who can doubt that the friction of a wounded spirit, chafed and fretted by an uncongenial marriage, must be productive of intensified mental misery?

Who does not believe, also, that where a man and woman of suitable age, of cultivated intellect, refined in character, are lovingly united, they will find all that calm, ennobling realization of their expectations in that relation?

In a felicitous marriage, longevity is promoted, health is better secured, and if heaven is ever found on earth, it is in the home of such a family.

Indiscreet Marriages.

When a young woman marries an aged man, she perils her health,—possibly, her life. He will improve, because his system will imbibe her vitality. If some ladies have sufficient vitality accumulating, to bear the draft of what may be called absorption of life, a few years, they may outlive the old husband. Ten fall by the way, however, where one survives.

And in those cases, if it could be fairly explained how she escaped the penalty of a violated law, it would unquestionably be due to an estrangement,—protecting herself by not being within the reach or magnetic conducting force of the body which would otherwise have received her vitality.

Reverse the conditions, and a young man would peril himself precisely in the same way.

Such are the mainsprings of life, subtle and incomprehensible, but they are the laws that influence and govern humanity in every country.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Longevity of Women.

Life a Precious Boon—Modifications of the Penal Code—Experiments—Mind Independent of Body—Suicide a Crime—Women in their Desperation—Women Live Longer than Men—Have Better Habits—Life Limitation—Pulse—Life Insurance Positions—As Cultivators.

A dread of death is implanted in every human breast. Even creeping insects have an instinctive apprehension of fatal consequences, attending exposures to superior force.

A small animal is in fear of a large one. It is a feeling that cannot be overcome, because it is incorporated with their nature as a safeguard to inspire vigilance for self-preservation. Otherwise, unapprehensive of impending dangers, and regardless of consequences from a relaxation of that sentinel sense, they, and man too, with all his calculating faculties, seeing the end from the beginning, in his reasoning from cause to effect, would heedlessly plunge into a vortex where certain destruction was inevitable, as he would lie down upon a soft couch for repose.

Life is a boon too precious to be neglected, or carelessly thrown away. It is an imperative duty to live as long as we can, and in all Christian nations it is considered a crime to voluntarily destroy ourselves or others.

A doctrine is obtaining rapidly, the advocates of which are already numerous, that God, who gave life, has alone the right to take it away.

Very marked modifications of the penal code have not only

already been effected through the spreading influence of disbelievers, in the necessity or right to inflict capital punishment, and still further alterations may be anticipated.

Starting with that proposition, relaxing the severities of punishment for several very common crimes within the last few years,—they are not as frequent as they were. A further reduction of legal cruelties, unworthy an age of elevated Christian advancement, will prove a surer remedy than hanging on a gallows.

Extreme cases, characterized by atrocious barbarities, and premeditated wickedness of the perpetrator, should be placed beyond the control of executive pardoning powers. A perpetual imprisonment, wholly and entirely beyond the reach of a governor or a president, would be so terrific as to restrain those who have entertained an expectation of freedom at last, even under a life sentence.

Perpetual incarceration, without the possibility of ever being again restored to freedom, would be dreaded far more intensely by great criminals, than a public execution.

When it was announced to the first murderer that, instead of being put to death, he should live, and seven-fold vengeance be the penalty of any one who injured him,—a mark being fixed on his person that he might be recognized as under an awful sentence, the wretched Cain exclaimed that his punishment was greater than he could bear.

Inquisitive physiological experimenters have interrogated nature with a view to ascertaining whether life departs instantaneously with a stoppage of the vital machinery.

When a person has been shot through the head, heart, or the solar or semi-lunar plexuses in front of the spine below the diaphragm, does consciousness linger awhile and then gradually take a final departure, or is death instantaneous?

Every muscle has a special life endowment of its own, quite independent of the will. After being lacerated, and, indeed, after being separated from its connections, while there is contractility remaining, there is life in it.

Chemical decomposition is the only certain evidence of death.

The conscious soul exhibits its peculiar properties through the instrumentality of an organized body. In drowning, considerable time evidently elapses before life is extinct. Remarkable cases of suspended animation incontestably prove that, if the soul had departed on its never-ending mission to eternity, it was actually recalled back again by the appliances of art.

In drowning, the union of body and mind is gradually dissolved; but it may be interrupted and death prevented, by manipulations that set the vital machinery again in motion.

The mind, therefore, is there for a while; and it is probable the same condition exists in decapitations. But violence inflicted on those highly-vitalized instruments by which it manifests itself in life, is a shock dissolving instantly the connection between body and mind.

With the escape of arterial blood in a gash, in cutting suddenly through the neck, the brain is deprived of the material it must have to act at all; and hence death speedily follows, though there may be an instant or two of distinct consciousness. The Paris *savans* represent a decapitated head as engaged in thinking for a short space of time, deprived of the ability of expressing its wishes.

There are conditions in which all are cowards. Men may fight bravely, face the king of terrors at the muzzle of a cannon; but, when raising a weapon for destroying their own lives, it is with fear and trembling.

If ever suicide is accomplished with a firm, unflinching will and a steady hand, it is charitable to suppose the individual absolutely insane; because the act is a notorious violation of the strongest instinct of his nature.

Women in their distraction wildly perform deeds of desperation against themselves. They leap into abysses of misery to avoid a foreseen disgrace. Nothing so nerves them to face the dreadful alternative of death or shame, as questioning their moral purity. What is life to them without the consciousness of unsullied virtue?

That is the question with a woman nurtured in a religious belief of rewards and punishments in a future state; and hence, among professing Christians, examples of self-destruction of females are more common than in pagan or Mahometan countries.

Pagan and Mahometan women rarely commit suicide. Education, therefore, shapes the mind, and plants deep down in the recesses of the heart, those principles which both govern and direct them in their social intercourse.

Whatever is instilled into the mental constitution of the girl remains there through all the meanderings of after years: so certain is it that, as the twig is bent, so the tree inclines.

Inquiries into the physical signs of longevity in man fully confirm the opinion that women, on an average, live longer than men.*

They are less exposed to dangers which sweep off men and

* Professor Faraday has given it as his opinion that all who die before they are a hundred years old, may be justly charged with self-murder; that Providence, having originally intended man to live a century, would allow him to do so if he did not kill himself by eating unwholesome food, allowing himself to be annoyed by trifles, giving license to passion and exposing himself to accident. The French *savan*, Flourin, advanced the theory that the duration of life is measured by the time of growth. When the bones' epiphysis are united, the body grows no more, and it is at twenty years that this union is effected in man. The natural termination of life is five removes from the several points. Man, being twenty years in growing, lives,

boys at sea, in armies, mines, manufacturing establishments attended with perils, as the making of gunpowder, explosive cotton, nitro-glycerine; and in various circumstances of peculiar contingencies, to which females are rarely, if ever, subjected.

Then again, women, as a body, always have better habits, and better morals,—a sentiment often repeated in the pages of this volume. Their vitality is not wasted in midnight carousals, nor are they guilty of enervating vices, which kill off men frightfully fast, of which little is known out of the confidential circle of the medical profession.

They commence life under more favorable circumstances, in some respects, in regard to the preservation of health, which thousands of them fritter away prematurely, in coming into womanhood. Still, more women live to very old age than men.

An examination of a family's necrological record, if carefully kept, discloses some curious facts illustrative of the tenacity of life in females who have escaped the tortures imposed upon the fashionable sisterhood.

Constant practice in the examination of applicants for life insurance has enabled medical examiners to arrive at certain interesting conclusions respecting the death period of women, which had escaped notice before those investigations were instituted.

Limited as may be our knowledge of vital force, enough has been ascertained for the construction of tables of expectances. That is, if a person has arrived at any particular age, it is expected he or she may live a certain number of years from that date.

Physicians make mistakes in their estimates of the value of life, as well as others not supposed to be as well informed in

or should, five times twenty years; the camel is eight years in growing, and lives five times eight years; the horse is five years in growing, and lives twenty-five years, and so on with other animals.

regard to the probabilities of life; but they are progressing, becoming more critical, and more accurate also, in their investigations. Their ears and the sense of touch are being educated with reference to discriminating, with precision, between normal and abnormal sounds of the heart. When careful in their examinations, it is surprising with what success and readiness they detect irregularities in the circulation, that would escape the attention of those inexperienced in those pursuits.

Unfavorable conditions of the heart, the lungs, kidneys, etc., require a very nice perception of variations from their action in health or disease.

Those organs are exceedingly over-worked, and, therefore, driven into a degree of unnatural activity by the habits, bad customs, imagined business demands, and vices of the times; and the consequence is, an increased mortality from those sources, quite rare among our old-fashioned ancestors, who proceeded with moderation in their affairs.

A hurried pulse, far above the ordinary beats of the heart, when the expenditure of vital force is in equipoise with the ratio of supply, tends to injury. We are constituted for excitements. If not too long continued, no injury accrues. But when the tension is kept up continuously, too long, the next phase is debility.

A preparation for being examined for a life policy sometimes quickens the pulse exceedingly; and one not accustomed to the sudden changes which emotions of the mind may produce, is liable to grave mistakes.

Medical gentlemen are occasionally blamed for mistakes, as though they were, or at least ought to be, infallible, when in the service of insurance institutions, trust companies, and the like, where professional opinions are required in granting their favors.

Those who have passed through a tedious professional preparation for being eminently qualified to discriminate one sound from another, or determine by pressure at the tip of a finger, whether an applicant for life insurance may live ten years, or expire, in all human probability, in ten days, are attended with painful anxieties, and environed by more responsibilities than officers of such institutions recognize.

Unfortunately, for the honor of the medical profession, the qualifications of medical officers are decided upon by persons who have not the requisite knowledge of the value of science for guiding them in a choice. A blockhead is quite as often chosen to a responsible professional position, as a man of superior attainments. A pecuniary influence, or relationship to one of the directors or an influential stockholder, may decide an appointment. Is merit ignored? This declaration is abundantly sustained in looking at the names of some who are the best bowers of many life-offices, but who could not pass an examination for the position of a village pedagogue.

Admitting the capacity of women for occupying all places, and for engaging in almost all pursuits heretofore considered the special properties of men, the further we proceed the more openings seem to present for them.

It is not desirable that they should unsex themselves for the sake of employments which in ages past have been denied them. It is by no means necessary that they should ride a horse like a moss-trooper, tend saw-mills, hew stone, labor in quarries, coal-mines, iron-foundries, or anywhere in which their presence would be inappropriate.

Women may be admirable gardeners, florists, fruit-growers, wool-raisers, cultivate vineyards, or, indeed, as many of them do, carry on extensive farming operations. Fruits have always commanded good prices; the demand, thus far, has been greater than the supply. They are wanted everywhere.

Having a natural aptitude for horticultural industry, and a delicate taste in selecting and directing, what fortunes are in reserve for those who early embark in those employments!

Berries, poultry, honey-bees, piscatory economy, all of which may be conducted on a few acres of ground, present an inviting field for the display of female energy, enterprise, and praiseworthy example.

Women need not necessarily lose caste among the refined of their own sex, become rough in manner, or demoralized by coming in contact with mother earth. Their figures will neither become gross, their features less attractive, their charms deteriorate, or their beauty fade any sooner for identifying themselves with the culture of fruits, flowers, wheat, or wool.

People will have luxuries if they go without necessaries. Among profitable pursuits for females, requiring neither unpleasant associations nor hard labor, is honey-making. One woman could easily manage one hundred hives. Even one, not occupying a square yard of ground, would supply thirty, forty, and up to sixty pounds of honey in a single season, if carefully superintended.

Let one thousand females embark in apiarian enterprises anywhere, and without the least regard to the quality of the soil or its capacity for yielding flowers. Bees collect honey from great distances, and store it wherever we direct. What wealth would be accumulated by that one thousand operators in honey!

There are more flowers in yards, windows, open conservatories, parks, and highways in most cities, than in four times the same area of land in the country. Even if there were not, a single flower within five miles of an apiary would be found and regularly visited by city bees. Therefore, rear them in cities if the cultivator has a stationary home.

The experiment has been tried, and crowned with entire

success, even when the hive was kept within a cool part of the building, and the foraging insects went out and in through walls.

Throughout the country there is not a poor widow, a forlorn spinster, or an idle woman, who cannot descend to pursuits below the estimate she places upon her social position, who might not have a pleasant revenue from this delightful employment of honey-raising.

Throughout continental Europe, peasant women are accustomed to labor in the field side by side with men. They have the same organic structure, functional peculiarities, instincts, and necessities of the most elevated of the sex, yet they are quite overlooked in researches for physical signs of incapacity for such lives as they lead.

Because women can endure hardships, can labor, lift, dig, saw, carry burdens, and drive teams, it is not an argument in favor of obliging them to do so, neither does it accord with our civilization not to attempt relieving them.

Studying their condition at every step, from the lowest to the highest round in the ascending ladder of life, in all countries, the conclusion arrived at, in reference to their longevity, is this: that more women live beyond a century than men, their circumstances, *ceteris paribus*, being equal. Both, however, in communities most distinguished for culture and intelligence, fall far short of the years they would have attained to, had they not violated many immutable laws of health.

Public registers abound with notices of men and women who have lived far beyond the supposed ordinary limit of human life, on the presumption that threescore and ten is the doomed measure of our days.

The more quiet, unobtrusive, and less exposed way of life of women is favorable to their longevity. They are rarely sub-

jected to those sudden assaults upon the constitution, those frictions of a rude world, or those personal contentions, which wear away men. As they are rarely exposed to storms, or called upon to test the strength of their muscles, or perplex their brains with problems and difficulties which break down strong men prematurely, their chance for prolonged life is better.

Individuals pass through dreadful trials of body and mind, and thousands of females throng madhouses, the victims of cruelty and oppression; but, as a whole, the expectation of life is altogether in their favor.

Women are less corrupt than men, even when wickedly debased by vicious associations. They think less evil, avoid polluting influences, and thus are secured from many direct causes of premature death.

Were it not for wandering too far into the regions of antiquity, illustrations of prevailing opinions, that females had a peculiar tenacity of life, might be gathered. But we ascribe what in the olden time was thought an extraordinary endowment of vitality, to their habitual sobriety, propriety, and happy exemption from turmoils and excitements that wear out men.

The book of Genesis gives a narrative of the old age of Sarah, and a remarkable physiological revolution in her system, perhaps hardly ever paralleled since. Becoming a mother in extreme old age, is by no means a common occurrence.*

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* Mr. W. J. Thoms' new book, "Human Longevity: Its Facts and its Fictions," demolishes the pretensions of many of the marvellous "old men" of tradition to have lived a century and upward. He clearly proves that "Old Parr," Jenkins, and the Countess of Desmond, who are reputed to have survived to 140 or upward, are cases of longevity resting upon no positive evidence. He demonstrates that the ages of a more modern series of centenarians were as follows:—Mary Billinge, not 112, but 91; Jonathan

Erythea, the Sybil, says that Phlegon lived ten hundred years. In the writings of Matthew Paris, it is asserted that the Wandering Jew was recognized in 1229. Next, copying the story of a man who, at the age of three hundred and thirty-five, was brought into the august presence of Lopez de Castenada, while viceroy of India, and similar extravagant legends, a formidable array of strange biographies might be collected. They are of no value, being curiosities of history, once believed to be true, when a few monks wrote for the astonishment of ignorant, superstitious millions.

Whether persons in modern times have attained patriarchal longevity, admits of a reasonable doubt. However, there are exceptions to general laws; and whenever a man or a woman passes beyond one hundred years, their vitality must have been remarkable.

Henry Jenkins, who in his twelfth year led a horse laden with arrows to the battlefield of Flodden, reached the age of one hundred and sixty years. This case seems well authenticated, as the record of his burial by a national subscription gave extensive notoriety to his extraordinary longevity.

Thomas Parr died at one hundred and fifty-two. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. That circumstance shows the deep public interest in the fact that he had reached an age that created universal surprise, and, therefore, he was entombed within the sacred edifice, where none but memorable persons were honored in death.

Reeves, not 104, but 80; Mary Downton, not 106, but 100; Joshua Miller, not 111, but 90; George Fletcher, not 108, but 92; George Smith, not 105, but 95; Edward Couch, not 110, but 95; William Webb, not 105, but 95; John Dawe, not 116, but 87; George Brewer, not 106, but 98; Mary Hicks, not 104, but 97. Besides these, a few other cases are introduced, of which all that the author can show is, that there is no convincing evidence of the asserted age.—He admits only two as proven out of the long roll of newspaper centenarians. We have facts to confute Mr. Thom.

When Philip d'Herbelot was one hundred and fourteen, he presented a bouquet to Louis XIV. on his birthday. "What have you done," asked his majesty, "to have reached so great an age?" The old man replied, being then a government pensioner, "From the age of fifty, please your majesty, I have shut my heart and opened my cellar."

While the National Assembly of France was in session, October 23d, 1789, a man at the age of one hundred and twenty was announced. All the members rose as he entered. Amidst a whirlwind of applause he walked to an arm-chair in front of the secretaries. He then presented a certificate of his baptism, proving his birth at St. Sobin, October 10, 1669. By manual labor he had supported himself till the expiration of a century. A pension of two hundred livres per annum was then granted by the king. A contribution was voted him, and the old man was lodged at the public expense in the Patriotic School. Pupils of all ranks waited upon him.

When Napoleon I. was first consul, he decorated two men on the same occasion, who were one hundred years old, before an immense concourse of people.

At an inauguration of an equestrian statue of Louis XIV., at the Palace of Victories, Aug. 20, 1822, Pierre Huet, called the father of the French army, was present,—being one hundred and sixteen. His countenance was venerable, his voice sonorous, and a flowing white beard gave dignity to his appearance. He had been a cotemporary of the king, whose reign the Bourbon dynasty were commemorating.

Dr. Barnes, of Edinburgh, gives a narrative of Robert Boman, in the *Philosophical Journal* of that city, who lived to be one hundred and fifteen. He distinctly remembered the rebellion of 1714. Among other curious recollections, he remembered when barley was three shillings for a Carlisle bushel;

oats, eighteen pence; butter, three pence a pound; and eggs, a penny a dozen. His food had been principally milk, but he partook of whatever food was prepared for the family. Neither tea, coffee, or tobacco was ever used by him. When hungry, he ate; retired early to bed, when sleepy, but had no fixed habits.

The foregoing cases of extreme longevity have been cited to show that well authenticated cases are numerous, of life being prolonged beyond a century, which has been questioned very frequently of late. But a few only, one in millions upon millions, have had such vitality.

We could show, with equal certainty, that more females have reached an uncommon longevity than males. A very few have considerably passed one hundred years, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty; and the Countess of Desmond, one hundred and forty-two!

In the course of one century, one man in many millions may arrive at the age of one hundred years, while within the same period more women live to a full century than men.

Among the Pension Office records, at Washington, on a list of twenty-one surviving soldiers of the Revolution, a few years since, eighteen of them had reached 100 years, and upwards. There were five who were passed 101; four, 102; two, 103; two, 105; two, 106, and one, 109.

In the catalogue of widows of revolutionary soldiers, drawing pensions, there were twenty who were 100 years old, and eleven who were 97. Dinah Vick, at Nashville, Tenn., died 1871, at the age of 109. The oldest person drawing a pension was Chloa Flatford, Virginia, who died at 116. The next person was Charity Flindman, of West Virginia, who was 112.

The Southern States offer more examples of extreme longevity than the Northern. Mrs. McDonald, of Tennessee, died

at 106; Mrs. Shaw, of New Orleans, at 107; Mrs. Thrasher, of Georgia, 103; Mrs. Trucker, of N. Carolina, 109, and Mrs. Harris, of Georgia, 101.*

Were it possible, at this moment, to gather a catalogue of the oldest persons, now living, the largest number of the whole would probably be females.

No particular system of diet is superior to another, according to the histories of those who have had such long leases of life.

There is another chronicle of men and women who have violated all the common laws of health, having been as irregular and erratic as the wind, whose longevity equalled those who conformed to all the requirements of a well-regulated life.

Donald McDonald, about forty years ago, was sent to the House of Correction, in Boston, because he was intemperate and quarrelsome, being then one hundred and seven years old! His father died in Scotland at the age of one hundred and thirty-seven, in consequence of an injury to the spine, by falling down stairs.

Who can doubt the transmission of vitality or vital force from parent to child?

Undoubtedly, the death rate is accelerated by intemperance in this and all other countries. We are already called a nation of drunkards, by those who have not had the good fortune to become acquainted with the best specimens of American society. The vice of intemperance is deeply rooted in the constitution of so many, that its baneful and destroying influence taints the blood of those who derive their being from such polluted sources.

* Huger, a colored woman, recently died near Alexandria, Ky., at the age of 122. She was born in Virginia, March 21, 1751. She had been blind twenty years. Her memory was good. She was presumed to be the oldest person in the United States.

Neither legislation, moral suasion, nor temperance reformers have gained much success in their efforts to stay the progress of that dreadful vice. There are temporary lulls and loud expressions of enthusiasm when some newly-devised schemes for reform are proposed. Alas! neither the beauties of sobriety, nor the horrors of a prison make any lasting impression on the case-hardened brains of inebriates. Their morbid thirst is a disease beyond the resources of medicine, in its present imperfect state.

There are persons so organized, they crave unusual excitement. Their temperaments cannot be kept in equilibrium with cold water. They will hazard reputation, and even life, for indulgence. The sober-minded are taxed for the support of vagabonds and criminals, who were made such by intemperance.

There is one untried remedy. When mild wines are cheaper than beer, ale, whiskey, and brain-crazing cordials, those who look upon wine as a luxury beyond their reach will prefer it. Then intemperance will be less frequent, and a new condition of society may be anticipated, most gratifying to philanthropists, to Christian laborers, in the midst of wide-spread vice and dissipation, but not before.

Wine can be made in sufficient quantities to root out the undermining destruction of distilleries. California, alone, has more than sufficient for the remedy—but it must be cheaper.

Give those who are maddened by strong potations something superior to meet the demands of a morbid craving, and in fifty years the public sentiment will sustain this proposition.

Looking to an extended tenure of human life, by conforming more understandingly to the laws of health, which are being better understood through the active influence of the press, and when women rise to that social elevation they are to have,

longevity will not be regarded as a wonder, as it has been, but a natural consequence of conforming to those principles which science demonstrates to be the way to health and long life.*

* The last census presents the following curious facts :

The total population of the country is about 38,250,000.

Total number of deaths in the current census year, 492,263, or about 1,349 *per diem*.

March seems to be the most fatal month, leading all others by about 1,000. March, April, and May form the most fatal quarter, exceeding any other three consecutive months by over 13,000.

The births number 1,100,475, or about 3,000 *per diem*.

The blind number about 20,000.

The deaf and dumb about 16,000.

The idiotic about 24,000.

The insane about 37,000, nearly one-third of whom are of foreign birth.

Persons over 80 years of age number about 150,000.

Persons over 90 years of age number about 7,000.

Persons over 100 years of age number about 3,500.

Of those over 90 years, the females are in excess by about 1,200.

Of those over 100 years, the females exceed the males by about 1,000.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Their Future in the United States.

Women Considered in Law—Political Status—Mixed Schools—Vulgar Men—The Evidence of Low Breeding—Schools for Separating Girls and Boys—Russian Apprehension—Annual Teapot Tempests—School Improvements—Political Equality of the Sexes.

In every period of human history, women have been considered inferior to men. All laws for the regulation of society have invariably been so framed as to perpetuate the absurd idea, that they have neither capacity nor a right to participate in concerns of common interest, which tradition, custom, and the sovereign power exclusively confide to male members of the community.

Among savages and barbarians, where that theory must have originated, females are estimated as necessary appendages, but not equals. Before the spread of Christianity their condition, even under the most favorable aspect, was that of slavery. All that has been accomplished for their elevation, and protection in the enjoyment of privileges,—such as they are, even in the most enlightened states of Europe and the United States,—is due to the influence of Christianity.

Women will rise higher, and be sustained in their claims to an equal share of whatever contributes most to the security, happiness, and progress in the world, in proportion to the heed given to those divine truths which were revealed and inculcated by our Lord and Saviour.

There have been fortunate individuals among women in all ages. Some were born to renown. Very few of them have

reached political distinction by the mere exercise of superior skill or intelligence,—and simply because barriers were interposed between them and the objects of their ambition by the craftiness of men. When they have held the reins of government by hereditary claims that could not be set aside, they have invariably exhibited qualities that incontestably proved they were not inferior to kings.

Notwithstanding the Queen can do no wrong under the Constitution of Great Britain,—the laws of England take cognizance of a fearful array of illegal acts which her female subjects may commit, and are punished for, without troubling men of low degree, who are guilty of betraying them and destroying their prospects and happiness.

A husband may cruelly abuse his own wife, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, and yet she has no redress, or next to none, in one of the most enlightened countries on the globe. How much better is it here?

What does it amount to towards securing better treatment, by putting an infamous, drunken husband under bonds in the sum of seventy-five cents, to keep the peace, who returns home from the police office and breaks his wife's ribs in revenge for having his conduct exposed in court?

A woman is by law held to be inferior to a man in this blessed American Union. While single, she is manager of her own property; but the moment of entering upon the holy state of matrimony, her individuality is lost. She is then Mrs. Nobody in all legal transactions.

As a spinster, she is compelled to pay taxes, can be assessed for public expenditures which do not meet her approbation, but she is not allowed to vote for officers placed in authority over her, nor is she elegible to any place or position of honor or trust under the law.

As a married woman, she loses the privilege she had before of deeding away land, making a will, of doing anything, in short, which her lord and master forbids. On becoming a widow, she regains her suspended privileges, and then buys, sells, and bequeathes her estate to whom she chooses.

Women, certainly, have legal rights here, as wives, but they are very much mixed and obscured by lawmakers, who thus far have contrived to keep the balance of power in their own hands.

In Turkey, a wife is property. If she does wrong, the husband, as proprietor, is notified, he being accountable for her acts. There are no tedious investigations into the particulars of the wrong-doing of which she is accused. If, in his estimation, punishment should be inflicted, he is both jury, judge, and executive officer. The public sympathy is never excited when a member of the harem disappears, if the fact is noised abroad, because it is nothing that concerns the public. A Turkish gentleman may sink a woman once a week in the Bosphorus, without disturbing the placidity of her acquaintances or his own.

Women are worse treated where the standard of moral accountability claims to be far above that of the Koran. Turks are careful of their property. They neither beat, bruise, nor maim their wives. They put them to death when the law requires them to protect the community against a repetition of a crime of which his property,—his woman, is guilty. That is government economy, and saves the expense of a public execution.

Political Status.

We believe a woman is man's equal, and entitled to all privileges and immunities accorded to men by laws made for

monopolizing what by nature and the eternal, unchangeable principles of justice, belongs to her, in making fast their own.

That doctrine is gaining ground rapidly. Until their rights are restored, of which they have for fifty centuries been deprived, civilization cannot be thorough and complete. The millennium will commence when that great day of doing as we would be done by is ushered in, by acknowledging that women are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness accorded to men, whether they have brain, capacity, moral integrity, or not.

Under no ancient or modern form of government have they ever had accorded to them the privileges to which they are entitled. They are of as much importance as men. They were created for one another, and must associate. Being equals by nature, women should share equally and equitably with men in all things. It is only in a republic that a prospect of restoring to them that which has been taken, can be expected. It is rank hypocrisy to boast of republican equality when one half the population is exercising all the power, not even permitting the voice of the injured party to be heard, when the plea is simply in accordance with the Constitution, that taxation and representation shall go together.

We are examining a fundamental principle, not because it would be a gratification to see half the members of the House and Senate at Washington old ladies, alternately taking part in debates on great national questions, and then taking snuff. There are not many women qualified for those arm-chairs in Congress; and if there were, but few would consent to be associated with such rude, boisterous, uncouth specimens of unpolished humanity as are seen there, singularly contrasting with gentlemen of talents, learning, and polished manners, who can rarely be elected.

Women can have equal rights with men, without supposing that every one of them will corrupt voters to get themselves elected a judge, a member of the City Council, or chief of police. Their characteristic honesty and good sense forbids the idea, that they would stoop so low as to accept places notorious for the corruptions of those usually occupying them in these degenerate days of political integrity.

Mixed Schools.

Common schools, those elementary, free institutions which are the pride of the people, the nurseries of the national mind, fountains from whence flows a current which both develops and fertilizes every order of intellect, must be sustained, if our liberties are to be preserved.

Throughout the interior of the country, common-school pupils are of both sexes. Boys and girls meet on a common level, pursue the same studies, and stand in classes together. Such are called mixed schools, and they are always the best, distinguished for the progress of the scholars, and the care with which they are governed.

Boys by themselves, or girls in schools exclusively for them, are neither so successful in study or discipline, as when they are associated in their educational pursuits.. Mixed schools exert a happy influence on the sexes thus brought into relations which refine their manners, improve their deportment, and lay the foundation for that courtesy, politeness, and civility, which gentlemen, with the slightest pretensions to good breeding, always manifest in the presence of ladies.

When a man walks the whole length of a church without removing his hat till he enters the pew, it is quite certain such

vulgarity is in consequence of never having had the civilizing eyes of girls in a school-room on him, or a sister or mother to explain to him that such contempt for the usages of society redound to his injury. If another strolls through a parlor, in the presence of ladies, with his hat on, assuming an air of independent *nonchalance*, it is another ordinary phase of vulgarity common with men who had no early advantages of female society.

Those coarse, foul-mouthed specimens of ignorance and presumption, observable in men who pretend to consider women their inferiors, simply because they are not in pantaloons, are to be commiserated for having had no advantages accruing from female society in their early years, when impressions would have been lasting.

They are the men who have disagreeable wives, deserving no others. Without circumlocution, it may be assumed as true, that, by associating while young, boys and girls improve and polish one another. In large families of brothers and sisters, they are usually far in advance of those only sons, or only daughters, who are more remarkable for extreme selfishness than kindness, suavity, and consideration for others not of their kith or kin.

Unfortunately, the plan of separate schools is prevailing. It is a mistake. The old system is the best, and the children educated in mixed schools will have the best culture and the best morals.

This view is beginning to be entertained in the higher seminaries and universities. Young ladies now enter colleges. The idea of educating a woman as men are educated, would have been ridiculed once as preposterous. One serious objection to permitting them to enter, was the shocking demoralization and scandal that would follow, from allowing pretty girls

and sophomores to meet in the same recitation-room together, attend the usual exercises under professorial instruction, and then graduate bachelors,—since no charter provides for a degree not conveying to the possessor distinctions belonging to the masculine gender.

All those antiquated objections have been overturned by the good sense and intelligence of a new generation, immeasurably in advance of the buckram of fifty years ago. But there they are, model students, above reproach, and bright examples of what a woman may attain to in the loftiest regions of literature and technical science. So far from exerting, by their presence, a bad influence on frivolous undergraduates, decorum is insured where formerly there were boisterous displays, and industry, where there was formerly inattention and idleness. Young college ladies are a blessing, because order, civility, and politeness are in the ascendant when they appear.

We feel much pleased to express, here, our public recognition of their utility at college in arresting the waves of profanity, cant expressions, and innuendoes that become epidemic where young men are exclusively by themselves, however well reared at home. Those indolent youngsters who used to graduate blockheads, will diminish in number by the admission of female classmates. They would be stimulated to far greater effort, rather than be eclipsed by their accomplished, fascinating inferiors, as women were formerly considered. With all the outcry against the claims of women to political equality, and the spirited determination of the strong-minded representatives of the feminine order for a clear way to the polls, there is not the slightest danger from granting them all they ask. Not one in a thousand would exhibit the slightest ambition for positions they were not abundantly qualified

for sustaining creditably to themselves and the honor of their constituents.*

Russia is a despotism. Any aspirations there for privileges corresponding with the developing intelligence of those female students, seem to have alarmed the watch-dogs of the government. It is not at all probable they conducted themselves improperly, or abused their educational privileges in the slightest degree. If the Minister of Public Instruction is excited by apprehensions from the chatty hilarity of a few pretty misses at recess, one such anniversary meeting of antiquated spinsters in green spectacles, wigs, and bloomers, as proclaim their solemn resolution to lose the horse or win the saddle in New York and Boston, would shake that frozen empire from its centre to its circumference. But here, where we are used to annual explosions of threatened destruction from wind-bags, they only create merriment. The people laugh, the Administration laughs, the reformers laugh, also, and then the tempest in the teapot, concocted by a few dozens of old maids to allay their nervousness, subsides, to reappear the following season, as hybernating animals awake from a winter slumber.

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* The Russian Government has just made a remarkable announcement in its official organs relative to the Russian women-students in the University of Zurich. During the last two years, says this document, the number of young Russian women who study at Zurich has rapidly increased; there are now more than a hundred in the University and Polytechnic School in that town. It appears that recent developments indicate that these women-students are politicians, revolutionists, radicals, and inclined to free-love, be coming by reason of these things dangerous alike to society, morals, and the government. The royal announcement, after reciting many of these facts, concludes thus: "In order to put an end to this abnormal state of things, it is hereby announced to all the Russian women who attend the lectures at the University and the Polytechnic School of Zurich, that such of them as shall continue to attend the above lectures after the first of January, 1874, will not be admitted on their return to Russia to any examination, educational establishment, or appointment of any kind under the control of the government."

Young women have gained admission to medical colleges and hospitals, both here and in all the principal institutions of that kind in Europe. There was a prodigious outcry against such impropriety at first. Doors were closed against them by the faculty. But the public sentiment was stronger than the obstinacy of fossilized professors, and the law compelled objectors to give way to the progress of useful knowledge, to unbar the gates and let them enter, sit and learn.

Next, as old cocks crow the young ones learn, says an ancient proverb. Half-fledged medical students pretended they felt themselves insulted by the presence of young female students, whose purity of character, ladylike deportment, and superior culture were a reproach to their own unconcealed coarseness, rudeness, and vulgarity. Time soon corrected their impressions of the deteriorating effects of the quiet attention of feminine intruders, as they saw, to their extreme mortification, that the despised new-comers entirely outstripped them over the course,—won distinguished honors, and left those self-righteous, complacent donkies in the rear.

Precisely the same conflict, to some extent, has occurred here. Both colleges and medical schools have fought bravely in a bad cause, to prevent women from participating in educational advantages which have been too long exclusively considered the birthright of men. The result has been to bring into existence medical colleges for women, and more are required. With constantly increasing numbers of students, the demand for their professional services the moment they are qualified, is opening the eyes of the exclusives. Quite too late for retrieving lost opportunities, with a certain prospect of being outnumbered in attendants, before many seasons have passed, they are now relaxing,—unbolting here and there a door. Colleges are all discussing the policy of

submitting to what is inevitable,—the admission of female pupils. Medical schools are losing what they might have secured,—the honor of educating women to assume higher and nobler positions to which they are called by the voice of the people.

School Improvements Suggested.

As no two persons precisely resemble each other in expression, so they differ in their mental capacities. That school for girls will be best which recognizes this fact by providing liberally, as circumstances will allow, for developing and directing the predominant faculty of the pupil.

Reading, writing, grammar, geography, elementary arithmetic, with some few studies besides, comprises a common school education. In cities, where resources are greater than in the country, singing is taught; sewing, and, indeed, other branches may be taught, supposed to be most necessary for qualifying pupils for duties that may devolve upon them in adult years.

Some children, with slight instruction, would excel in drawing, others in modelling, their organs of imitation being exceedingly active,—craving indulgence. Instrumental music, too, should be systematically taught. There are hundreds of girls in public schools whose genius remains buried forever, just because no proper stimulus to development was ever presented. Musical instruments freely distributed among those who have a taste for music, accompanied by daily instruction from a competent teacher, would bring to light many to become distinguished performers. It would qualify poor girls to rise socially, to earn more with less hard labor, than would otherwise be their lot. Every faculty God has blessed them with, should be cultivated. That is what common schools ought to do. When

the rich are distributing wealth they cannot carry away to a world to which they are hastening, rather than give to institutions burdened with funds, why not direct a thousand orders for pianos, harps, accordeons, music books, violins, guitars, etc., to district or other common schools, with an express condition they are for the use of poor female scholars, to qualify them to become instructors? That would be a true specimen of Christian benevolence.

Unfortunately for the world, brilliant talents which the possessors were unconscious of possessing, often remain undeveloped through life, simply because no opportunity for their exercise was within reach of the individual.

No calculations can be made of the amount of buried genius that might have been roused into activity with proper appliances in early school-days, with systematic assistance for bringing it out. It is a duty to assist, to the extent of our means, in the cultivation of all the powers with which girls and boys are blessed. Without aid, scores struggle on, displaying extraordinary natural gifts that cannot be utilized, because imperfectly educated. They know too much of what is unavailable, and not enough in perfection to be instructors in branches for which they have a strong natural bias.

Singing is occasionally taught in a few schools which are so fortunate as to be under the care of gentlemen and ladies who appreciate the importance of having all such branches taught as may be turned to a practical purpose. Some admirable vocal performers have had their musical talents discovered in those exercises, who are now receiving large salaries in church choirs.

Let it be remembered, that a large majority of all the children in all the States never have access to other educational institutions. Therefore let them have all the attention

in common schools that their claims entitle them to as public beneficiaries. While taking lessons in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, etc., as an agreeable recreation, they could be taught to play musical instruments, and a conversational familiarity with some language besides their own. Severe study, long, tedious recitations, committing to memory what they cannot comprehend, is not contemplated in this scheme for improvement in mixed schools. On the contrary, let them as children learn language by the ear, not by grammatical drillings. Music must not be taught in that way, because they could not read notes if they were not carefully taught the value of each character representing a sound.

Political Equality of the Sexes.

From a close examination of the great question of the day, whether women ought to enjoy the political rights and privileges which men exercise, we have arrived at a conclusion they are quite as capable as men.

Four millions of colored people were emancipated from slavery, and all the males above twenty-one years of age became voters *instanter*. Now, would there be more risk in granting the same political privilege to intelligent, cultivated women?

Emigrants from foreign countries, utterly ignorant of our language, and certainly so of the constitution and laws of the United States, in a few months after their arrival become freemen, voting, and may be voted for; and yet one-half of the native population, whose patriotism, interest, property, and prayers for the land of their birth cannot be questioned, are resolutely kept under control by the law, as not being as worthy to be intrusted with the franchise as ignorant foreigners, half-breed

Indians, and negroes who can neither read, write, or know the letters of the alphabet.

Wherever the sexes mingle, in the family, primary, common schools, at college, medical institutions, and in society, there is most refinement, courtesy, and intelligence. One more ascending step would place women where they would have political equality, or civilization and the genius of Christianity cannot progress.

If a concession is to be made to them anywhere, if men are ever honest enough to acknowledge the claims of women to equal rights in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness, the crowning event and the glorious triumph will take place in a republic: and God grant that the honor may belong to the United States of America!

The late John Stuart Mill, who dared to speak in favor of the elevation of women to higher responsibilities than the jealousy of men in the old world are disposed to permit, thus reasons:—

"That every step in improvement has been so invariably accompanied by a step made in raising the social position of women, that historians and philosophers have been led to adopt their elevation or debasement as, on the whole, the surest test and most correct measure of the civilization of a people or an age. Through all the progressive period of human history, the condition of women has been approaching nearer to equality with men.

"The profoundest knowledge of the laws of the formation of character is indispensable to entitle any one to affirm even that there is any difference, much more what the difference is, between the two sexes, considered as moral and rational beings, and since no one as yet has that knowledge (for there is hardly any subject which, in proportion to its importance, has been so

little studied), no one is thus far entitled to any positive opinion on the subject.

"The wife is the actual bond-servant of the husband, no less so, as far as legal obligation goes, than slaves commonly so-called. She vows a life-long obedience to him at the altar, and is held to it all through life by law. Casuists may say that the obligation of obedience stops short of participation in crime, but it certainly extends to everything else. She can do no act whatever but by his permission—at least, tacit. She can acquire no property but for him; the instant it becomes hers, even if by inheritance, it becomes *ipso facto* his. In this respect the wife's position, under the Common Law of England, is worse than that of slaves in many countries. By the Roman law, for example, a slave might have his *peculium*, which, to a certain extent, the law guaranteed to him for his exclusive use. The higher classes in this country have given an analogous advantage to their women through special contracts setting aside the law, by conditions of pin-money, etc., since, parental feelings being stronger than the class feelings of their own sex, a father generally prefers his own daughter to a son-in-law, who is a stranger to him. By means of settlements, the rich usually contrive to withdraw the whole or part of the inherited property of the wife from the absolute control of the husband, but they do not succeed in keeping it under her own control; the utmost they can do only prevents the husband from squandering it, at the same time debarring the rightful owner from its use. The property is out of the reach of both, and as to the income derived from it, the form of settlement most favorable to the wife (that called 'to her separate use') only precludes the husband from receiving it instead of her. It must pass through her hands; but if he takes it from her by personal violence as soon

as she receives it, he can neither be punished nor compelled to restitution."

Enlightened England! Such is the law. Is it, on the whole, a whit better among our enlightened selves?

In the *Westminster Review* occurs the following mortifying acknowledgment of injustice towards women. It is true enough to make the ears of legislators tingle:—

"This is the wife's *status* with respect to her individual interest, and her *status* in regard to her children is of a piece with it. They are called in law the husband's children, and he alone has legal right over them. The wife can do nothing in relation to them, except by delegation from him, and, even after his death, she does not become their guardian unless she has been appointed so by him.

"The natural sequence and corollary from the state of things here described would be, that since a woman's whole comfort and happiness in life 'depend on her finding a good master, she should be allowed to change, again and again, until she finds one.'"

Here is the opinion of another English thinker, who fully comprehends a problem that political demagogues neither wish to study or understand:—

Mr. Herbert Spencer, speaking of the rights of women, says:—"Three positions only are open to us. It may be said that women have no rights at all; that their rights are not so great as those of men; or that they are equal to those of men.

"Whoever maintains the first of those dogmas, that women have no rights at all, must show that the Creator intended women to be wholly at the mercy of men—their happiness, their their liberties, their lives, at men's disposal; or, in other words, that they were meant to be treated as creatures of an inferior order. Few will have the hardihood to assert this.

"From the second proposition, that the rights of women are not so great as those of men, there immediately arise such queries as: If they are not so great, by how much are they less? What is the exact ratio between the legitimate claims of the two sexes? How shall we tell which rights are common to both, and where those of the male exceed those of the female? Who can show us a scale that will serve for the apportionment? Or, putting the question practically, it is required to determine, by some logical method, whether the Turk is justified in plunging an offending Circassian into the Bosphorus? Whether the rights of women were violated by the Athenian law, which allowed a citizen, under certain circumstances, to sell his daughter or sister? Whether our own statute, which permits a man to beat his wife in moderation, and to imprison her in any room in his house, is morally defensible? Whether it is equitable that a married woman should be incapable of holding property? Whether a husband may justly take possession of his wife's earnings against her will, as our law allows him to do? —and so forth. These, and a multitude of similar problems, present themselves for solution.

"In this connection it is also curious to contemplate that the only things which women are ordinarily excluded from doing, are just those things which they have proved themselves best able to do. There is no law or custom in force to prevent a woman from writing plays like Shakespeare, or operas like Mozart, but there are laws and customs to prevent them from embracing a military or political career, and Joan of Arc and Queen Elizabeth are historical characters."

Profoundly impressed with the importance of manfully aiding and assisting in the great revolution that is to be ultimately achieved, we offer no apology for strengthening our position from any available source. Another transatlantic view of the

women-question, as it is called, here introduced, is too sound and logical not to gain the approval of reasonable men:

"Whoso urges the mental inferiority of women, in bar to their claim to equal rights with men, may be met in various ways. In the first place, the alleged fact may be disputed. A defender of her sex might name many whose achievements in government, in science, in literature, and in art, have obtained no small share of renown. Powerful and sagacious queens the world has seen in plenty, from Zenobia down to the Empresses Catherine and Maria Theresa. In the exact sciences, Mrs. Somerville, Miss Herschel, and Miss Zornlin have gained applause; in political economy, Miss Martineau; in general philosophy, Madame de Stael; in politics, Madame Roland. Poetry has its Tighes, its Hemanses, its Landons, its Brownings; the drama, its Joanna Baillies; and fiction, its Austens, Bremers, Gores, Dudevants, etc., without end. In sculpture, fame has been acquired by a princess; a picture like 'The Momentous Question' is tolerable proof of female capacity for painting; and, on the stage, it is certain that women are on a level with men, if they do not even bear away the palm. Joining to such facts the important consideration, that women have always been, and are still, placed at a disadvantage in every department of learning, thought, or skill—seeing that they are not admissible to the academies and universities in which men get their training; that the kind of life they have to look forward to does not present so great a range of ambitions; that they are rarely exposed to that most powerful of all stimulants—necessity; that the education custom dictates for them is one that leaves uncultivated many of the higher faculties; and that the prejudice against blue-stockings, hitherto so prevalent amongst men, has greatly tended to deter women from the pursuit of literary honors: adding these considerations to the above facts, we shall

see good reason for thinking that the alleged inferiority of the femine mind is by no means self-evident.

"If we contrast the literary and artistic works of women with those of men in modern days, we shall find that their inferiority resolves itself into one, but still a most material defect, namely, 'a deficiency of originality.' They do not, indeed, exhibit a total want of it, for no production of mind of substantive value can do so; but they have not up to the present been marked 'by any of those great and luminous new ideas which form an era in thought, nor those fundamentally new conceptions in art, which open a vista of possible effects not before thought of, and found a new school.' Their compositions are mostly based on the existing fund of thought, and their creations do not deviate widely from existing types; but in point of execution, in the treatment of details, and in perfection of style, their works are quite on a par with those of their male rivals.

"They are deprived of all the advantages, and most of the motives, which men possess for acquiring even a decent amount of systematic education; and if we turn from philosophy and science to literature, in the narrow sense of the term, there are other obvious reasons why women's productions are, in general conception and in their leading features, more or less imitations of those of men."

Finally, the signs of the times plainly indicate the success of importunate petitioners and aspirants for equal rights. Pioneers and public agitators in the cause of woman's emancipation are indomitable and irrepressible. Concessions are slowly made of unimportant places to their management, which have been singularly well sustained, to the mortification of those who are fighting windmills. More they will have.

What! if a few women should be sent to the legislature, or

to Congress, they would have too much self-respect to have anything to do with any rings but diamond rings, nor would they disgrace themselves by entering into combinations to defraud the Government, foist their imbecile relatives into office, or vote to raise their own pay at the expense of the people already overburdened by excessive taxation.

When women vote, respectable men will be elected over rascals, swindlers, defaulters, and demoralized politicians who are a curse to the country.

THE END.

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РУССКІЕ
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СЪ ПРИЛОЖЕНІЕМЪ

ЛИТЕРАТУРНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАГО ОТДѢЛА

Изданіе сотрудниковъ-издателей газеты «Недѣля»

П. А. Гайдебурова и **Е. И. Конради.**

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ОПЕЧАТКИ.

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»	—	20	»	рода;	рода,

Отъ издателей.

Приступая къ составленію настоящаго «Сборника», издатели имѣли въ виду представить публикѣ книгу, заключающую въ себѣ обстоятельныя изслѣдованія *по всѣмъ* крупнымъ вопросамъ современной русской жизни.

Какъ ни заманчива была эта цѣль, но приступивъ къ дѣлу, издатели убѣдились, что для достиженія ея требуется гораздо больше времени, чѣмъ они предполагали. А такъ какъ главное назначеніе «Сборника» было—удовлетвореніе подписчиковъ «Недѣли» за полугодовую пріостановку этой газеты въ 1871 году, то издатели должны были значительно ограничить размѣры предположенной програмы, чѣмъ и объясняется нѣкоторое однообразіе въ статьяхъ предлагаемаго изданія. Издатели, тѣмъ не менѣе, позволяютъ себѣ надѣяться, что и въ настоящемъ своемъ видѣ «Сборникъ» не будетъ сочтенъ безполезнымъ явленіемъ въ современной русской литературѣ, такъ какъ большинство его статей касаются тѣхъ вопросовъ, которые должны быть названы *важнѣйшими* вопросами нашей жизни.

РЕФОРМЫ И РУССКОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО.

Съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ русское общество вышло изъ своего неподвижнаго состоянія, продолжавшагося такъ долго и положившаго рѣзкій отпечатокъ на всю русскую жизнь; съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ русская печать, освобожденная отъ предварительной цензуры, получила возможность серьезнѣе относиться къ общественнымъ явленіямъ и право обсуждать „какъ отдѣльные законы и цѣлое законодательство, такъ и распубликованныя правительственныя распоряженія,"— съ тѣхъ поръ и въ обществѣ, и въ литературѣ явилось множество практическихъ интересовъ, составляющихъ въ общей сложности то, чѣмъ мы въ настоящее время живемъ, что даетъ содержаніе нашей общественной дѣятельности и что носитъ общее названіе „общественныхъ вопросовъ". Таковы вопросы: крестьянскій, земскій, духовный, военный, податной и т. п. Эти новые интересы, возникшіе въ русской жизни, сообщили ей и новый характеръ. Худо ли, хорошо ли, но современное общество разсуждаетъ о вопросахъ серьезныхъ, имѣющихъ практическое значеніе, тогда какъ прежде оно погружено было исключительно въ область мелкихъ дрязгъ, личныхъ счетовъ и отношеній, не представлявшихъ совершенно никакого общественнаго интереса; худо ли, хорошо ли, но современная періодическая литература трактуетъ о такихъ предметахъ, которые еще очень недавно были для нея совершенно недоступны, и притомъ такихъ, которые не выдумываются публицистами въ кабинетахъ, а почерпаются изъ области текущей общественной жизни, однимъ сло-

вомъ, и въ обществѣ, и въ литературѣ произошли перемѣны, существованія которыхъ отрицать невозможно.

Но каковы именно эти перемѣны? Коснулись ли онѣ только, такъ сказать, внѣшней стороны нашего общества, или проникли въ него гораздо глубже; измѣнились ли только однѣ формы, или вмѣстѣ съ ними измѣнилась и сущность; однимъ словомъ, подвинулось ли хоть сколько-нибудь наше общественное развитіе съ того момента, когда ему сообщенъ былъ первый толчекъ, или остановилось на той же самой степени, на какой застали его правительственныя реформы?

Относительно этого вопроса существуетъ два діаметрально-противоположныхъ мнѣнія. Одни находятъ, что наше общество сдѣлало огромный, очевидный, неподлежащій никакому сомнѣнію шагъ впередъ. Этотъ взглядъ имѣетъ очень много сторонниковъ въ періодической литературѣ, и органы, руководствующіеся имъ въ своей дѣятельности, постоянно стараются доказывать его справедливость какъ частными мнѣніями, такъ и общимъ своимъ направленіемъ. Они полагаютъ, что всѣ реформы принимаются обществомъ вполнѣ сознательно, какъ нѣчто давно жданное и желанное, что въ обществѣ уже выработалось совершенно самостоятельное отношеніе къ этимъ реформамъ, что онѣ развиваются на почвѣ вполнѣ подготовленной и производятъ желаемое дѣйствіе. Сторонники этого взгляда убѣждены—или, по крайней мѣрѣ, кажутся убѣжденными—въ томъ, что, напримѣръ, крестьянское дѣло идетъ у насъ превосходно, что экономическое благосостояніе народа съ каждымъ годомъ замѣтно улучшается, что грамотность, хотя довольно медленно, но все-таки распространяется, что земскія учрежденія, даже въ нынѣшнемъ своемъ состояніи, приносятъ странѣ громадную пользу, и что всѣ вообще реформы послѣдняго десятилѣтія, какъ каждая отдѣльно, такъ и въ общей своей совокупности, совершенно пересоздали русское общество. Мечты и желанія сторонниковъ того направленія, о которомъ мы говоримъ, не простираются далѣе нѣкоторыхъ частныхъ улучшеній въ реформахъ, уже состоявшихся. Еслибъ земству предоставлена была нѣсколько большая доля самостоятельности, еслибъ протоколы земскихъ собраній могли безпрепятственно появляться въ печати, еслибъ грамотность распространялась нѣсколько успѣшнѣе и т. п., то этого было бы вполнѣ достаточно, чтобы общество вполнѣ окрѣпло и тогда развитіе его со-

вершалось бы безостановочно и быстро въ томъ направленіи, какое указано ему правительственными реформами.

Рядомъ съ этимъ воззрѣніемъ существуетъ, какъ сказано выше, другое, діаметрально-противоположное. Хотя въ литературѣ оно не имѣетъ въ настоящее время такихъ органовъ, которые могли бы считаться полными его выразителями, тѣмъ не менѣе, родственные съ нимъ взгляды довольно часто высказываются въ разныхъ отдѣльныхъ статьяхъ, по поводу разныхъ отдѣльныхъ случаевъ. Сторонники этого взгляда убѣждены, что всѣ реформы, ознаменовавшія послѣднее десятилѣтіе, коснулись именно только одной поверхности нашего общества и не произвели въ немъ никакихъ существенныхъ перемѣнъ. Хотя гласный судъ лучше безгласнаго, хотя земское хозяйство лучше казеннаго, хотя свобода лучше крѣпостной зависимости, и хотя, слѣдовательно, новыя общественныя учрежденія, въ принципѣ, лучше старыхъ,—но на практикѣ, по разнымъ причинамъ, они не оказали никакого полезнаго дѣйствія. Экономическое положеніе крестьянъ не только не улучшилось, но даже чуть-ли не ухудшилось сравнительно съ прежнимъ; земскія учрежденія только увеличили массу налоговъ, лежащихъ на народѣ, не принеся взамѣнъ того никакой пользы, и даже такое учрежденіе, какъ судъ присяжныхъ, даетъ себя чувствовать народу лишь новой натуральной повинностью, которой прежде не знали крестьяне. Что касается собственно общества, то оно тоже нисколько не подвинулось впередъ: та же мелочность интересовъ, та же дряблость характера, тѣ же сословные инстинкты, то же равнодушіе къ общественнымъ интересамъ. Періодическая печать точно также не представляетъ ничего утѣшительнаго. Общій тонъ ея не только не повысился за послѣднія десять лѣтъ, но даже понизился. Прежде, напримѣръ передъ крестьянской реформой, въ литературѣ чувствовалось присутствіе хоть какой-нибудь живой идеи, слышалось что-то свѣжее, возбуждавшее въ читателѣ разныя хорошія мысли и честныя стремленія,—а теперь литература занялась исключительно разными „практическими вопросами“, которые овладѣли ею совершенно, вытѣснили изъ нея живое начало и лишили ее всякаго развивающаго значенія. Все идетъ вяло, все дѣлается какъ-то безцѣльно и ничто не предвѣщаетъ лучшаго будущаго.

Таковы у насъ два крайнихъ, діаметрально-противоположныхъ взгляда на современное положеніе дѣлъ. Рѣшить, какой изъ нихъ

ближе подходитъ къ истинѣ и вообще разъяснить тотъ общій вопросъ о значеніи реформъ въ Россіи, котораго касаются намѣченные нами взгляды — чрезвычайно важно; важно нетолько въ теоретическомъ смыслѣ, то есть, нетолько потому, что каждый мыслящій человѣкъ долженъ стараться уяснить себѣ истинное положеніе дѣлъ, среди которыхъ онъ живетъ, но важно и въ чисто практическомъ отношеніи. Крайній оптимизмъ, не оправдываемый фактами, которыхъ онъ касается, скрываетъ отъ глазъ общественныхъ дѣятелей тѣ недостатки, съ которыми они должны бороться во имя общественнаго блага; крайній пессимизмъ, не оправдываемый дѣйствительностью, порождая апатію и бездѣйствіе, точно также лишаетъ страну полезныхъ дѣятелей, которые отходятъ отъ дѣлъ и остаются въ сторонѣ, въ полномъ убѣжденіи, что ихъ трудъ пропадетъ даромъ. Если крайній оптимизмъ не замѣчаетъ дурныхъ сторонъ наблюдаемаго явленія, то пессимизмъ не видитъ сторонъ хорошихъ и такимъ образомъ и тотъ и другой оказываются одинаково односторонними и одинаково вредными для дѣла. Если оптимистъ считаетъ извѣстный образъ дѣйствій ненужнымъ потому, что не признаетъ существованія самаго факта, вызывающаго такой образъ дѣйствій, а пессимистъ относится къ нему безразлично, не надѣясь принести этимъ никакой пользы, то очевидно, что и тотъ, и другой, исходя изъ совершенно различныхъ точекъ зрѣнія, оказываются одинаково виновными въ томъ, что фактъ, о которомъ идетъ рѣчь, остается существовать по-прежнему.

Конечно, не въ каждый желаемый моментъ можно удовлетворительно рѣшить тотъ вопросъ, который мы поставили выше, — если, разумѣется, основывать рѣшеніе на фактахъ, наименѣе спорныхъ и наиболѣе убѣдительныхъ. Для этого прежде всего необходимо, чтобы съ того момента, который мы считаемъ первоначальнымъ толчкомъ, давшимъ новое направленіе общественной жизни, протекло извѣстное количество времени, и чтобы, во вторыхъ, въ теченіе этого времени успѣли накопиться факты, которые могли бы служить достаточнымъ основаніемъ для выводовъ. Но несмотря на то, что съ уничтоженія въ Россіи крѣпостнаго права прошло уже одиннадцать лѣтъ, у насъ почти не было фактовъ, на основаніи которыхъ можно бы рѣшить занимающій насъ въ настоящую минуту вопросъ. Еслибы мы прослѣдили, чѣмъ именно руководствуются и наши оптимисты, и наши пессимисты, характеризуя современное по-

ложеніе дѣлъ въ русскомъ обществѣ, то пришли бы къ заключенію, что факты текущей жизни весьма мало участвовали въ образованіи этихъ взглядовъ и что, такимъ образомъ, они могутъ считаться взглядами вполнѣ субъективными. Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, на чемъ основываются и оптимисты и пессимисты, утверждая, что у насъ все или превосходно, или крайне плохо? Положимъ, идетъ рѣчь о непосредственномъ вліяніи крестьянской реформы на бытъ крестьянъ и разбирается вопросъ, улучшилось или ухудшилось съ тѣхъ поръ крестьянское хозяйство. Вопервыхъ, мы не имѣемъ совершенно никакихъ сравнительныхъ данныхъ для того, чтобы рѣшить этотъ вопросъ даже приблизительно вѣрно. Вовторыхъ, еслибы даже и признать самый фактъ улучшенія или ухудшенія вполнѣ доказаннымъ, все-таки отсюда невозможно было бы сдѣлать никакихъ выводовъ. Положимъ, напримѣръ, что было бы доказано ухудшеніе. Но оно могло произойти и оттого, что крестьяне недостаточно надѣлены землей, и оттого, что лежащія на нихъ повинности не соотвѣтствуютъ ихъ силамъ, и оттого, что мѣстныя власти не исполняютъ какъ слѣдуетъ своихъ обязанностей, и оттого, что крестьяне, привыкшіе къ помѣщичьей опекѣ, не могутъ сразу стать на ноги—и, наконецъ, отъ всѣхъ этихъ и подобныхъ причинъ вмѣстѣ. Какъ рѣшить, которая изъ причинъ принимала здѣсь наибольшее участіе? А между тѣмъ несомнѣнно, что въ числѣ этихъ причинъ есть такія, вліянія которыхъ невозможно было устранить даже въ томъ случаѣ, еслибы крестьянская реформа производилась въ интересахъ одного только крестьянскаго сословія. Такимъ образомъ, еслибы мы даже вполнѣ доказали тотъ фактъ, что бытъ крестьянъ послѣ реформы ухудшился, то этотъ фактъ все-таки ровно ничего бы не доказывалъ. Возьмемъ другой примѣръ—земскія учрежденія. Оптимисты придаютъ имъ громадное значеніе, пессимисты—никакого; одни говорятъ, что земское хозяйство давно уже доказало свое превосходство передъ казеннымъ, пессимисты готовы утверждать, что никакой разницы не замѣтно; первые увѣрены, что народъ и общество вполнѣ оцѣнили великую пользу земства, вторые убѣждены, что народъ готовъ когда угодно отказаться отъ земства, а общество относится къ нему съ полнѣйшимъ равнодушіемъ. Но на чемъ основаны заключенія и тѣхъ и другихъ? Относясь къ дѣлу безпристрастно, мы можемъ признать только то, что въ однихъ мѣстахъ земство принесло дѣйствительно большую пользу, а въ дру-

гихъ — не принесло дѣйствительно никакой, что въ одной губерніи, или даже въ одномъ уѣздѣ земству придаютъ дѣйствительно большое значеніе, а въ другой губерніи, или въ другомъ уѣздѣ— не придаютъ дѣйствительно никакого. Какъ же тутъ сдѣлать общій выводъ? Но опять-таки, еслибы даже признать доказаннымъ, что земство повсемѣстно плохо, что оно до сихъ поръ ничѣмъ не обнаружило своей полезности, то и это ровно ничего не доказывало бы. Откуда же, въ самомъ дѣлѣ, взяться такому значительному количеству хорошихъ людей, котораго бы хватило на всѣ земскія учрежденія въ Россіи, и на какомъ основаніи можно требовать, чтобы „земскіе люди" образовались чуть не мгновенно, чтобы вчерашніе дворяне-помѣщики разомъ стряхнули съ себя весь накопившійся на нихъ слой преданій, привычекъ, предразсудковъ и сдѣлались настоящими „земскими людьми"?

Но если такъ трудно опредѣлить вліяніе отдѣльныхъ реформъ, если такъ трудно произнесть окончательный приговоръ ихъ вліянію и значенію въ кругу тѣхъ явленій, которыхъ онѣ касаются непосредственно, то во сколько же разъ должна увеличиться эта трудность, когда мы хотимъ опредѣлить вліяніе всѣхъ этихъ реформъ въ совокупности, когда мы пытаемся дѣлать обобщенія такихъ фактовъ, вѣрность которыхъ ничѣмъ доказать невозможно? Если легко ошибиться тамъ, то насколько же легче ошибиться здѣсь, опредѣляя состояніе и характеръ *всей* общественной жизни, подъ вліяніемъ *всѣхъ* реформъ послѣдняго десятилѣтія. Эта трудность увеличивается еще однимъ важнымъ обстоятельствомъ, которое обыкновенно упускается изъ виду, когда говорятъ о состояніи *общества* въ тотъ или другой моментъ его жизни. Въ чемъ проявляется и въ чемъ можетъ проявляться у насъ *общественная дѣятельность*? Конечно, проявленіе ея можно отчасти видѣть въ дѣятельности земства. Но кругъ земской дѣятельности настолько ограниченъ, что по характеру ея трудно составить понятіе о характерѣ и направленіи общественной жизни въ данный моментъ. Общество можетъ развиваться прогрессивно изъ года въ годъ, но это развитіе можетъ почти не выражаться въ дѣятельности земства, которому приходится имѣть дѣло съ такими вопросами и дѣлами, относительно которыхъ то или другое направленіе земской дѣятельности можетъ обусловливаться въ гораздо бо̀льшей степени обстоятельствами отъ земства не зависящими, чѣмъ желаніями и симпатіями образован-

ныхъ классовъ общества. Если, съ одной стороны, слишкомъ исключительный характеръ дѣятельности извѣстнаго земства, напримѣръ псковскаго, даетъ намъ право заключать по немъ о прискорбномъ направленіи мѣстнаго общества, то обратное заключеніе врядъ-ли было бы справедливымъ. Земство данной губерніи можетъ вполнѣ безукоризненно вести свои дѣла, т. е. исправно исполнять обязательныя повинности, плодить и множить школы, больницы и т. д., но то, что мы называемъ обществомъ, общественными симпатіями, общественною дѣятельностью—все это можетъ находиться въ положеніи весьма неудовлетворительномъ. Итакъ, по дѣятельности земства можно лишь отчасти, въ исключительныхъ случаяхъ, судить о характерѣ общества. Общественное настроеніе можетъ еще выражаться въ періодической печати; но у насъ, гдѣ существуетъ законъ о „вредныхъ направленіяхъ", гдѣ газеты и журналы отвѣтственны нетолько передъ судомъ, но и передъ администраціей, печать, точно также какъ и земство, не можетъ считаться зеркаломъ общественной жизни и выразительницей общественныхъ стремленій. Затѣмъ у насъ не остается ровно никакихъ признаковъ, по которымъ можно бы судить о томъ, въ какомъ направленіи происходитъ общественное развитіе, идетъ ли оно впередъ или назадъ.

Этотъ вопросъ могъ бы быть рѣшенъ сколько-нибудь удовлетворительно лишь при томъ условіи, еслибы мы имѣли возможность сопоставить между собой два такихъ момента, раздѣленныхъ между собой довольно значительнымъ промежуткомъ времени, въ которыхъ общество, — то есть наиболѣе образованная его часть — открыто высказываетъ свои взгляды по вопросамъ, имѣющимъ важное общественное значеніе, и притомъ довольно однороднымъ, если не вполнѣ тожественнымъ. Выбравъ одинъ моментъ, наиболѣе отъ насъ удаленный, и другой, наиболѣе къ намъ близкій, и сравнивъ между собою эти моменты, мы дѣйствительно могли бы съ полнымъ правомъ отвѣчать на вопросъ: въ какомъ направленіи идетъ развитіе нашего общества, оказали ли новѣйшія реформы какое-нибудь полезное вліяніе и измѣнили ли онѣ существеннымъ образомъ настроеніе образованныхъ классовъ.

Намъ кажется, что въ настоящее время есть полная возможность сопоставить между собой два такихъ момента и сдѣлать изъ этого сопоставленія нѣкоторые выводы, основанные на очевидныхъ, безспорныхъ, неподлежащихъ никакому сомнѣнію фактахъ.

маніе комитетовъ, что государь повелѣлъ *мнѣніе это отвергнуть*, „ибо въ немъ выразилось явное побужденіе къ превратному толкованію Высочайше одобренныхъ началъ устройства быта помѣщичьихъ крестьянъ“. Затѣмъ, въ слѣдующемъ году главнымъ комитетомъ сдѣлано совершенно однородное съ предыдущимъ распоряженіемъ постановленіе, вызванное образомъ дѣйствій одного изъ губернскихъ комитетовъ. Главный комитетъ по крестьянскому дѣлу постановилъ: „предписать начальнику губерніи предложить комитету, что принятое большинствомъ онаго рѣшеніе—къ выкупу усадебной осѣдлости присоединить *выкупъ крѣпостнаго права*—какъ несогласное съ Высочайше указанными началами и по Высочайшимъ повелѣніямъ отвергнутое *въ другихъ комитетахъ*, не можетъ быть допущено“. Эти документы положительно свидѣтельствуютъ, что дворянство *многихъ* губерній, соглашаясь на уничтоженіе крѣпостнаго права, домогалось однакоже выкупа крестьянами нетолько усадебной осѣдлости, но и *личной свободы*. Несмотря на то, что правительство старалось подавлять подобныя тенденціи въ самомъ ихъ началѣ—онѣ успѣли проникнуть и въ окончательные проэкты комитетовъ, поступившіе на разсмотрѣніе редакціонныхъ комиссій. Въ нѣкоторыхъ изъ нихъ прямо заявлялось, что уничтоженіе крѣпостного права повлечетъ за собою уменьшеніе въ доходахъ помѣщиковъ, вслѣдствіе чего необходимо вознаградить ихъ *соразмѣрно* причиняемымъ имъ убыткамъ.

Слѣдя за направленіемъ дѣятельности губернскихъ дворянскихъ комитетовъ и подавляя въ самомъ началѣ тенденціи, которыя шли въ разрѣзъ съ его намѣреніями, правительство въ то же время парализовало возникавшія въ средѣ самого дворянства попытки—пріобрѣсть возможно больше выгодъ отъ крѣпостного права, пока оно оставалось еще не уничтоженнымъ, и такимъ образомъ вознаградить себя за предстоящія лишенія. Одинъ изъ начальниковъ губерній сообщалъ министру внутреннихъ дѣлъ, что съ нѣкотораго времени, и именно съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ гласно возникъ вопросъ объ улучшеніи быта крестьянъ, мелкопомѣстные владѣльцы имѣній, платящіе рекрутскія складочныя деньги, *усилили представленіе людей въ рекруты въ счетъ будущихъ наборовъ* безъ всякихъ особенныхъ къ тому причинъ и очевидно съ единственною цѣлью—*получить отъ казны опредѣленные за каждаго рекрута 300 р.* Такіе случаи вызвали нѣсколько Высочайше одобренныхъ

циркуляровъ министра внутреннихъ дѣлъ, которыми конфиденціально предлагалось начальникамъ губерній предъявлять возможно болѣе строгія требованія къ физическимъ качествамъ людей, отдаваемыхъ въ рекруты, и при малѣйшемъ какомъ-либо замѣченномъ недостаткѣ отказывать въ пріемѣ этихъ людей на службу; въ то же время состоялось Высочайшее повелѣніе, пріостановившее пріемъ людей въ рекруты въ зачетъ будущихъ наборовъ. Кромѣ того, было замѣчено, что съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ правительство заявило свое намѣреніе освободить крестьянъ съ принадлежавшими имъ усадьбами, значительно умножились случаи увольненія помѣщиками крестьянъ, въ особенности дряхлыхъ и увѣчныхъ дворовыхъ, безъ земли. Это обстоятельство также послужило поводомъ къ изданію нѣсколькихъ правительственныхъ распоряженій, имѣвшихъ цѣлью затруднить совершеніе такихъ сдѣлокъ между помѣщиками и крестьянами.

Такимъ образомъ мы видимъ, что еще до образованія редакціонныхъ комиссій—еще въ то время, когда крестьянская реформа не выяснилась вполнѣ для самого правительства, когда еще и рѣчи не было объ освобожденіи крестьянъ съ землею—правительству уже пришлось столкнуться съ такими мнѣніями и дѣйствіями помѣщиковъ, которые шли въ разрѣзъ съ намѣреніями верховной власти. И потому, хотя проэкты губернскихъ комитетовъ, поступившіе въ редакціонныя комиссіи, давали возможность сдѣлать тотъ выводъ, что дворянство отрекается отъ крѣпостного права на личность крестьянъ, но и этотъ выводъ, какъ мы сказали, могъ быть сдѣланъ только благодаря тому, что правительство зорко слѣдило за дѣятельностью губернскихъ дворянскихъ комитетовъ и постоянно старалось направлять ее сообразно своимъ намѣреніямъ и цѣлямъ. Когда же открылась дѣятельность редакціонныхъ комиссій и приглашенные въ нихъ члены губернскихъ дворянскихъ комитетовъ стали высказывать свои мнѣнія по поводу разныхъ частностей проэктируемой реформы; когда правительство увидѣло необходимость нѣсколько измѣнить первоначальныя свои предположенія относительно этой реформы и расширить ея объемъ; когда вопросъ объ „улучшеніи быта“ крестьянъ получилъ значеніе вопроса о совершенномъ, радикальномъ уничтоженіи крѣпостнаго права и былъ поставленъ на степень вопроса государственнаго—тогда разногласіе между правительствомъ и большинствомъ дворянства достигло крайней степени, и въ средѣ дворянства, представляемаго членами дворянскихъ комитетовъ, явилась

отобранія у помѣщиковъ земли для надѣленія ею крестьянъ, станетъ ожидать, что и съ нимъ когда-нибудь будетъ поступлено точно также. Третьимъ послѣдствіемъ было бы общее потрясеніе и смѣшеніе понятій о правѣ собственности, справедливости и законности. Четвертымъ послѣдствіемъ того же закона была бы привычка ожидать и требовать обезпеченія потребностей посредствомъ распоряженій правительства; еслибы правительство приняло на себя обязанность устраивать участь однихъ лицъ насчетъ другихъ, то явилось бы всеобщее требованіе касательно такого обезпеченія, которое поведетъ только къ раздорамъ и ненависти, а не къ правильному распредѣленію богатствъ и имуществъ. Наконецъ, пятымъ послѣдствіемъ предлагаемаго закона былъ бы всеобщій упадокъ дѣятельности и остановка въ развитіи промышленности; съ одной стороны, угрожаемые капиталы скроются; съ другой стороны, не будетъ побужденій къ труду, когда увидятъ, что не одинъ трудъ можетъ быть источникомъ благосостоянія и собственности, и что есть другія, болѣе легкія средства къ пріобрѣтенію ихъ. Изъ всего сказаннаго 40 членовъ выводятъ заключеніе, что покровительственныя мѣры въ пользу крестьянъ, обращающія часть помѣщичьихъ земель въ неполную собственность, вредны во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ, и нетолько для помѣщиковъ, но и для самихъ крестьянъ, и для всего государства. Землю, говорятъ 40 членовъ, считаютъ совершенно необходимою для крестьянъ; на этой потребности въ землѣ основываютъ всѣ права крестьянъ на безсрочное пользованіе; но—замѣчаютъ члены—потребность въ какой-нибудь вещи еще не даетъ права на нее; не одна земля можетъ быть нужна; точно также нужны въ городѣ квартиры, пища, дрова и проч.; но очевидно, однако, потребностью въ этихъ предметахъ нельзя доказывать права безсрочно получать ихъ на условіи, невыгодномъ для собственниковъ и не утвержденномъ ихъ согласіемъ.

Такова сущность коллективнаго заявленія представителей девятнадцати губерній.

Но не одни только эти сорокъ членовъ возстали противъ предположенія редакціонныхъ комиссій—надѣлить крестьянъ землею; съ ними были согласны почти всѣ депутаты губернскихъ комитетовъ, высказывавшіе свое недовольство предположеніями комиссій иногда даже съ большею рѣзкостью, чѣмъ это дѣлали сорокъ членовъ втораго приглашенія. Такъ, нѣкоторые изъ нихъ прямо высказывали, что вводимое редакціонными комиссіями правило есть ничто

иное, какъ *споліація*. Споліація, говорили эти члены, не можетъ быть оправдана ни въ какомъ случаѣ, и если она вводится въ законъ или приводится въ исполненіе силою или хитростью, то смыслъ ея нисколько не измѣняется. Обязанность закона, продолжали члены,—охранять личность, свободу и собственность каждаго; но когда законъ, пользуясь своею силою, ограничиваетъ самопроизвольно право собственности гражданъ, то онъ перестаетъ быть охранителемъ права, а напротивъ, лишаетъ народъ всѣхъ правъ, охранять которыя онъ призванъ. Если допустить, что правительство имѣетъ право по своему произволу устраивать благосостояніе одного класса насчетъ другаго и принимать на себя распредѣленіе богатствъ, то неминуемымъ послѣдствіемъ этого будутъ нескончаемыя требованія всѣхъ классовъ народа; законъ и правительство должны ограждать личность, свободу и собственность, а споліація нарушаетъ эти условія и носитъ въ себѣ начало революціонное. Изъ всего этого члены заключаютъ, что самое справедливое было бы освобожденіе крестьянъ *безъ земли* съ признаніемъ за помѣщиками права собственности на всю землю. Далѣе члены указываютъ на то, что Высочайшій рескриптъ не уничтожалъ крѣпостнаго права, а только требовалъ улучшенія быта крестьянъ, а редакціонныя комиссіи добиваются улучшенія быта *свободныхъ* поселянъ насчетъ достоянія помѣщиковъ. Законъ—разсуждали другіе члены по поводу того же вопроса—существуетъ для охраненія личности, правъ и собственности каждаго отдѣльно и всѣхъ вмѣстѣ; но когда вмѣсто него административная власть пользуется силою, ей врученною, чтобы ограничивать произвольно и право, и собственность гражданъ, то законъ упраздняется, перестаетъ быть охранителемъ и тогда является болѣе, нежели споліація правъ и собственности, тогда является споліація силы закона. „Дворянство—продолжалъ членъ, мнѣніе котораго мы излагаемъ—возникло изъ народа, оно живетъ въ народѣ, всегда звалось и было кормильцемъ и отцемъ его, и знаетъ не изъ теорій его потребности, характеръ и обычаи; пользы и нужды его общія съ народомъ; не правомъ завоеванія, но правомъ поколеннымъ оно осоюжено съ нимъ и всякій судья, извнѣ и не вратами входящій въ огражденіе того народа, не будетъ ему пастыремъ добрымъ“.

Мнѣнія, сущность которыхъ мы сейчасъ изложили, касаются наиболѣе существеннаго вопроса крестьянской реформы — вопроса эко-

номическаго, вопроса о поземельномъ устройствѣ крестьянъ. Но если бы мы прослѣдили подробно отношеніе членовъ губернскихъ комитетовъ и къ другимъ сторонамъ проэктированной реформы, то увидѣли бы, что преобладающій его характеръ вездѣ остается одинъ и тотъ же. Члены комитетовъ или открыто протестуютъ противъ началъ, которыхъ придерживались редакціонныя комиссіи, требуя сохраненія за помѣстнымъ дворянствомъ всѣхъ тѣхъ правъ, какими они пользовались и прежде, или же стараются провести свои идеи подъ покровомъ болѣе или менѣе благонамѣренныхъ побужденій. Такъ, нѣкоторые губернскіе комитеты требовали сохраненія за помѣстнымъ дворянствомъ „вотчиннаго права", то есть права начальства надъ поселенными въ отчинѣ людьми, права писаться какъ помѣщикомъ, такъ и вотчинникомъ своихъ помѣстій и т. д.; другіе заявляли, что начальниками проэктированныхъ сельскихъ обществъ должны быть непремѣнно помѣщики и что они должны принимать „прямое участіе въ дѣлахъ общества", такъ какъ разъединеніе дворянъ-помѣщиковъ отъ сельскаго общества „можетъ имѣть весьма вредныя послѣдствія по отсутствію той нравственной силы, которая сопричастна образованію, знанію и нравственному превосходству, основанному на понятіи о чести". Третьи, указывая на непрактичность правилъ о сельскомъ самоуправленіи, предложенныхъ редакціонными комиссіями, заявляли, что они „съ трудомъ могутъ вообразить нынѣшнее крѣпостное народонаселеніе Россіи распредѣленное на десять тысячъ какихъ-то республикъ, съ выбраннымъ отъ сохи начальствомъ, которое вступаетъ въ отправленіе своихъ должностей по волѣ народа, не нуждаясь ни въ чьемъ утвержденіи" и что „устраненіе консервативнаго элемента частной собственности введетъ въ русскую жизнь такой крайній демократическій принципъ, который несовмѣстенъ съ сильной правительственной властью"; четвертые обвиняли редакціонныя комиссіи въ томъ, что онѣ стараются провести въ жизнь „коммунистическія начала"; пятые предсказывали, что когда проэктъ освобожденія крестьянъ, составленный комиссіями, сдѣлается извѣстнымъ дворянству, то оно „въ паническомъ страхѣ за себя и свое имущество отшатнется передъ общими правилами редакціонныхъ комиссій".

Мы ограничиваемся приведенными выписками, такъ какъ по нимъ можно составить достаточно полное понятіе о степени политическаго развитія русскаго дворянства въ моментъ освобожденія

крестьянъ отъ крѣпостной зависимости *). Хотя, какъ мы видѣли выше, дворянство и заявило полную готовность отказаться въ принципѣ отъ крѣпостнаго права на своихъ крестьянъ, но оно отступилось отъ этого принципа, когда пришлось разставаться съ тѣми практическими выгодами, которыя были связаны съ крѣпостнымъ правомъ. Лишь только дѣло коснулось надѣленія крестьянъ землею—этого основнаго вопроса крестьянской реформы — какъ отовсюду послышались рѣзкія нападенія на образъ дѣйствій правительства и даже обвиненія его въ „споліаціи". Дворянство, за немногими исключеніями, оказалось по своему развитію безконечно ниже тѣхъ, которые руководили крестьянской реформой и которые вполнѣ понимали важность, какъ въ соціальномъ, такъ и въ политическомъ отношеніяхъ, освобожденія крестьянъ съ землею. Дворянство этого не понимало вовсе. Относясь къ вопросу исключительно со стороны своихъ личныхъ выгодъ, оно было не въ состояніи уразумѣть все значеніе этого вопроса для будущаго общественнаго развитія Россіи. Для него вообще существовали только личные интересы, которыми оно и руководствовалось въ оцѣнкѣ проэктовъ редакціонныхъ комиссій.

Но могло ли и быть иначе? Чтобы отвѣчать на этотъ вопросъ, стоитъ только прослѣдить исторію общественнаго развитія Россіи до 1861 года и припомнить характерныя черты того соціальнаго устройства, какое существовало въ нашемъ отечествѣ до начала минувшаго десятилѣтія. Оно было таково, что исключало почти всякую возможность возникновенія въ образованномъ обществѣ, то есть преимущественно въ самомъ же дворянствѣ, идей, не согласныхъ съ началами тогдашняго общественнаго устройства. Если въ средѣ дворянства и появлялись по временамъ личности, политически развитыя и относившіяся отрицательно къ господствовавшимъ въ обществѣ идеямъ, то это были отдѣльные, исключительные случаи, которые въ массѣ пропадали безслѣдно. Масса же образованныхъ классовъ воспитывалась въ духѣ того порядка вещей, въ основаніи котораго лежало крѣпостное право, и слѣдовательно не могла быть подготовлена къ реформѣ, имѣвшей цѣлью произвести коренной переворотъ въ соціальной организаціи Россіи. Эта реформа застала дворянство

*) Впрочемъ, болѣе подробныя свѣдѣнія по этому предмету читатель найдетъ въ статьѣ: «Нерѣшенные вопросы крестьянскаго дѣла».

врасплохъ и необходимо должна была возбудить противъ себя всеобщее недоброжелательство. Правительство ясно сознавало потребность въ реформѣ; восточная война блистательно подтвердила основательность этого сознанія—но въ общество оно не проникло и не могло проникнуть. Вотъ почему нельзя не согласиться съ тѣмъ мнѣніемъ, что реформа 19 февраля, при тѣхъ условіяхъ, среди которыхъ она совершилась, была возможна только въ государствѣ съ неограниченнымъ образомъ правленія. Никакое другое правительство не рѣшилось бы вступить въ такую борьбу съ образованнымъ обществомъ, не подготовивъ сперва въ его средѣ достаточнаго числа элементовъ, на которые оно могло бы опереться—а въ русскомъ дворянствѣ такихъ элементовъ не существовало вовсе, если не считать нѣсколькихъ отдѣльныхъ личностей, развившихся при случайно благопріятныхъ условіяхъ. Такимъ образомъ, оппозиція со стороны дворянства въ моментъ обсужденія крестьянской реформы была явленіемъ вполнѣ естественнымъ, нормальнымъ и нисколько неудивительнымъ. Напротивъ, было бы удивительно, еслибъ дѣло происходило иначе.

Не смотря однако же на энергическую оппозицію, крестьянская реформа совершилась и совершилась въ томъ именно направленіи, какое сообщило ей правительство. За этой главной реформой послѣдовали дальнѣйшія, которыя должны были служить ей продолженіемъ и необходимымъ дополненіемъ: явилось земство, судъ присяжныхъ, городское самоуправленіе. Волей-неволей, помѣстное дворянство должно было разстаться со своими привиллегіями и войти въ составъ земства, наравнѣ со всѣми другими сословіями. Началась дѣятельность земская, общесословная, не имѣющая по своему характеру ничего общаго съ жизнью Россіи по ту сторону 1861 года; явились новыя общественныя комбинаціи, новые интересы, новыя побужденія къ дѣятельности.

И вотъ, спустя десять лѣтъ послѣ уничтоженія крѣпостнаго права, образованное русское общество снова призывается къ участію въ обсужденіи реформы, касающейся того же класса населенія, въ интересахъ котораго была предпринята и реформа 19 февраля. Правительство, въ лицѣ министерства финансовъ, сознавая необходимость болѣе равномѣрнаго распредѣленія подушной подати, составляетъ проектъ податной реформы и передаетъ его на обсужденіе губернскихъ земскихъ собраній. Съ перваго взгляда кажется,

что на этотъ разъ передъ нами выступаетъ уже не та часть русскаго общества, которая участвовала въ разработкѣ крестьянской реформы: тамъ было помѣстное дворянство, здѣсь же является земство. Но это различіе, какъ будетъ доказано ниже, только кажущееся, и мы можемъ безъ всякой натяжки сказать, что обѣ реформы, крестьянская и податная, обсуждались лицами, принадлежащими къ одному и тому же классу общества. Посмотримъ же, какъ отнеслось общество къ переданному на его обсужденіе податному вопросу, совершенно однородному, по своему характеру и значенію, съ вопросомъ крестьянскимъ.

По первоначальному предположенію министерства финансовъ, земству предоставлялась весьма незначительная роль въ обсужденіи податной реформы; оно должно было ограничиться отвѣтомъ лишь на одинъ очень не важный вопросъ. Признавая крайне неудовлетворительной существующую податную систему, министерство финансовъ проектировало переложить подушную подать съ лицъ на дворы и земли, принадлежащіе тому же крестьянскому сословію, и земству предлагалось обсудить только вопросъ о томъ, какая часть подушныхъ сборовъ можетъ быть переложена на земли и какая на дворы. Но впослѣдствіи земству предоставлено было болѣе широкое право въ обсужденіи податной реформы, такъ какъ министерство финансовъ сообщило земскимъ собраніямъ, что ни одно изъ *основныхъ* началъ реформы не предрѣшено правительствомъ, изъ чего само собою вытекало заключеніе, что земство имѣетъ право обсуждать проектъ податной коммиссіи во всемъ его объемѣ.

Губернскія земскія управы и собранія обсудили проектъ податной комиссіи и черезъ губернаторовъ представили свои отзывы въ министерство финансовъ. Эти отзывы даютъ полную возможность судить о томъ, произошла ли какая-нибудь перемѣна въ образѣ мыслей и характерѣ убѣжденій русскаго образованнаго общества за послѣднее десятилѣтіе.

Просматривая отзывы земства по вопросу о податной реформѣ, мы видимъ, что общество и здѣсь оказалось въ такой же единодушной оппозиціи съ коммиссіей, составлявшей проектъ, въ какой оно находилось съ редакціонными коммиссіями; но на этотъ разъ оппозиція общества отличается совсѣмъ другимъ характеромъ. Земскія собранія почти единогласно, за исключеніемъ двухъ или трехъ собраній, признали неудовлетворительнымъ проектъ податной ко-

миссіи въ самыхъ его основаніяхъ, и не только не руководствовались при этомъ своими личными интересами, но дѣйствовали даже въ ущербъ своимъ ближайшимъ, непосредственнымъ выгодамъ. Всѣ земскія собранія указали на необходимость призвать къ отбыванію государственныхъ повинностей *всѣхъ* лицъ, живущихъ въ Россіи, безъ всякаго исключенія. Вотъ въ какомъ видѣ формулируютъ сущность отзывовъ земскихъ собраній составители „Краткаго свода" этихъ отзывовъ, изданнаго по распоряженію министра финансовъ: „Ставя кореннымъ началомъ финансовой реформы принципъ *всесословнаго налога*—говорятъ составители—земскія собранія объясняютъ, что они приняли это начало не только по требованіямъ справедливости, но главнымъ образомъ по чисто экономическимъ соображеніямъ, признавая неудовлетворительнымъ положеніе податныхъ классовъ, обремененныхъ непомѣрными государственными и другими сборами, положеніе, которое грозитъ въ будущемъ не только повсемѣстными недоборами въ податяхъ, но вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ истощеніемъ производительныхъ силъ народа—земскія собранія пришли къ заключенію, что прежде всего слѣдуетъ навсегда отрѣшиться отъ дѣленія гражданъ на податныя и неподатныя сословія, дабы тѣмъ самымъ открыть новые источники на покрытіе государственныхъ расходовъ".

Представляя замѣчательное сходство въ своихъ главныхъ основаніяхъ, отзывы земскихъ собраній различаются между собою только тѣмъ, что въ однихъ изъ нихъ собранія ограничиваются только критикой проекта и заявленіемъ, что налоги должны быть взимаемы со всѣхъ сословій и платежныхъ силъ государства; въ другихъ же земство высказывается, кромѣ того, въ пользу той или другой системы обложенія, а въ третьихъ предлагаются даже проекты относительно самаго способа взиманія налоговъ. Такіе проекты выработаны земскими собраніями: владимірскимъ, московскимъ, нижегородскимъ, новгородскимъ, псковскимъ, самарскимъ, саратовскимъ, тверскимъ и херсонскимъ. Намъ нѣтъ надобности входить въ разсмотрѣніе этихъ проектовъ; для насъ гораздо интереснѣе прослѣдить, какими *мотивами* руководствовалось земство, признавая неудовлетворительнымъ проектъ податной реформы. Такъ какъ эти мотивы одни и тѣ же въ отзывахъ всѣхъ земскихъ собраній, то мы ограничимся сообщеніемъ лишь нѣкоторыхъ изъ числа тѣхъ, которые въ разное время появлялись въ печати.

Вотъ, напримѣръ, какого рода соображенія встрѣчаемъ мы въ

отзывѣ вологодской земской управы, единогласно одобренномъ земскимъ собраніемъ: „Вопросъ о податной реформѣ, говоритъ управа, затрогиваетъ всю экономическую сторону государства. Сельское населеніе, какъ извѣстно, составляетъ у насъ громадную часть всего населенія и степенью его благосостоянія опредѣляется степень благосостоянія государства вообще. Поэтому, разрѣшеніе вопроса о налогахъ на это населеніе имѣетъ существенную важность и должно быть въ смыслѣ возможнаго облегченія населенія отъ сборовъ, чтобы тѣмъ дать средство поднять экономическое положеніе крестьянъ. Между тѣмъ бывшій до сего времени подушный сборъ, такъ тяжело отзывавшійся на крестьянахъ, по проэкту остается на нихъ же, только съ лица переносится на имущество. Этимъ въ существѣ дѣла тяжесть налога не уменьшится. Какъ бы ни брали съ крестьянъ, съ душъ-ли, съ имущества-ли, но если имъ придется платить столько же, то для нихъ все равно—будетъ ли это подушная подать, или какая другая". Указавши далѣе на несправедливость оставленія подушной подати на однихъ крестьянахъ, управа замѣчаетъ, что „если правительство такую повинность, какъ рекрутская, признало справедливымъ сдѣлать всесословной, на томъ основаніи, что всѣ должны участвовать въ защитѣ отечества, то по тому же самому слѣдуетъ признать, что всѣ сословія въ государствѣ должны одинаково нести расходы государства. Поэтому, сборъ долженъ быть отнесенъ на всѣ сословія безъ изъятія". Въ заключеніе управа предлагаетъ установить налогъ подоходный, прогрессивный, при чемъ считаетъ необходимымъ освободить отъ налога всѣ доходы не выше 100 р.

Комиссія, выбранная изъ своей среды тамбовскимъ земствомъ, для разсмотрѣнія проэкта податной реформы, заявила, что справедливость требуетъ, дабы каждый подданный въ государствѣ, по мѣрѣ своихъ средствъ, отдавалъ часть своихъ прибылей на государственное благоустройство, подъ покровительствомъ котораго онъ, сообразно своему состоянію, получаетъ гарантію въ развитіи своихъ экономическихъ силъ; иначе будутъ лица, не участвующія въ государственныхъ расходахъ, а слѣдовательно хотя и подданные, но стоящіе внѣ государства и внѣ его дѣлъ. Разбирая затѣмъ проэктъ министерства финансовъ, комиссія нашла его неудовлетворяющимъ не только тѣмъ основаніямъ, которыя она признаетъ единственно справедливыми въ вопросѣ о налогѣ, но и тѣмъ цѣлямъ, которыя заявлены въ самомъ проэктѣ. Крестьянскій дворъ, который податная

комиссія предлагаетъ сдѣлать предметомъ налога, есть, по мнѣнію земской комиссіи, предметъ далеко не благосостоянія, а крайней необходимости и потому никакому налогу подлежать не долженъ.

Нижегородское земство заявило, что проэктъ податной комиссіи не представляетъ никакого облегченія для нынѣшняго податнаго сословія, такъ какъ онъ всю тяжесть податныхъ сборовъ оставляетъ на прежнихъ плательщикахъ—и въ этомъ заключается главнѣйшій его недостатокъ. Если земскіе сборы, лежавшіе прежде на однихъ крестьянахъ, разложены въ настоящее время на имущества всѣхъ сословій въ государствѣ; если рекрутская повинность, отбывавшаяся также одними крестьянами, преобразовывается въ повинность всесословную, то, безъ сомнѣнія, никакая другая реформа подушной системы немыслима и несвоевременна, кромѣ преобразованія ея въ повинность всесословную. Единственнымъ видомъ налога, которымъ можно замѣнить нынѣ-существующую подушную подать, земство считаетъ налогъ съ дохода всѣхъ гражданъ государства, какими бы способами онъ ни пріобрѣтался, начиная съ доходовъ чиновника отъ жалованья и кончая оброкомъ помѣщиковъ.

Еслибы мы стали приводить отзывы другихъ земскихъ собраній, то намъ пришлось бы повторять одно и тоже, такъ какъ всѣ они совершенно тожественны между собою. Въ обсужденіи податной реформы земство обнаружило точно такое же единомысліе, какое обнаружило дворянство при обсужденіи реформы крестьянской.

Мы замѣтили выше, что различіе между земствомъ и дворянствомъ въ настоящемъ случаѣ есть только кажущееся, что, въ сущности, обѣ реформы обсуждались однимъ и тѣмъ же классомъ общества. И дѣйствительно, не говоря уже о томъ, что образованные элементы въ земствѣ принадлежатъ пока исключительно къ дворянскому сословію, надо обратить вниманіе еще на то, что податной проэктъ обсуждался не уѣздными, а *губернскими* земскими собраніями, члены которыхъ почти исключительно дворяне-землевладѣльцы. Но мы имѣемъ еще одно весьма убѣдительное доказательство въ пользу того, что мнѣніе о податной реформѣ, выраженное земствомъ, есть мнѣніе дворянства; это—отзывы по тому же вопросу губернскихъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствій, которыя должны были разсмотрѣть мнѣнія земскихъ собраній и сдѣлать о нихъ свое заключеніе. Губернскія присутствія не только фактически, но и по закону составлены *ис-*

ключительно изъ лицъ дворянскаго сословія, слѣдовательно выраженныя ими мнѣнія суть мнѣнія дворянства.

Разсматривая мнѣнія губернскихъ присутствій, мы почти ни въ одномъ изъ нихъ не встрѣчаемъ одобрительныхъ отзывовъ о податномъ проэктѣ, составленномъ министерствомъ финансовъ. Правда, нѣкоторыя присутствія уклонились отъ оцѣнки земскихъ мнѣній, но за то значительное большинство ихъ рѣшительно присоединилось къ заявленіямъ губернскихъ земскихъ собраній. Нѣкоторыя присутствія, выражая полное свое согласіе съ мнѣніями земства, прямо указывали на тотъ «знаменательный фактъ», что заключенія земскихъ собраній о необходимости всесословнаго налога вотированы въ составѣ гласныхъ, принадлежащихъ исключительно къ сословіямъ, избавленнымъ отъ подушныхъ сборовъ. Другія, соглашаясь съ мнѣніями земства, считали нужнымъ и съ своей стороны высказать соображенія, подтверждающія справедливость земскихъ отзывовъ. Такъ, симбирское губернское присутствіе заявило, что подати чрезмѣрно обременяютъ сельское населеніе, поглощая всѣ доходы отъ земли и заработковъ; такое отягощеніе, по мнѣнію присутствія, служитъ главной причиной того печальнаго факта, что вмѣсто постепеннаго экономическаго и нравственнаго развитія крестьянъ замѣтно едва-ли не обратное явленіе, парализующее собою всѣ мѣры улучшенія, принимаемыя правительствомъ, которыя разбиваются безслѣдно о глубокую нужду крестьянскаго населенія. Въ обществѣ—говоритъ присутствіе,—распространена мысль, что пьянство раззоряетъ крестьянъ; поэтому, нельзя не сослаться на указанія опыта, который свидѣтельствуетъ, что, напротивъ, бѣдность есть причина пьянства, по крайней мѣрѣ въ сельскомъ населеніи. Нижегородское присутствіе, соглашаясь съ мнѣніемъ мѣстнаго земства, подтверждаетъ и съ своей стороны, что народонаселеніе нѣкоторыхъ уѣздовъ Нижегородской губерніи находится въ крайности отъ несоразмѣрности податей съ платежными средствами. Новгородское заявляетъ, что экономическое положеніе податныхъ классовъ необходимо вызываетъ потребность въ установленіи всесословнаго налога. Тверское, имѣя въ виду значительную цифру недоимокъ, лежащихъ на крестьянахъ, выражаетъ полное сочувствіе къ мысли о введеніи всесословнаго налога, и т. д.

Считая, такимъ образомъ, вполнѣ доказаннымъ тотъ фактъ, что обѣ реформы—крестьянская и податная — обсуждались однимъ и тѣмъ же классомъ общества, и сопоставляя отзывы, вызванные

проэктами податной и редакціонныхъ комиссій, мы должны прійти къ заключенію, что въ теченіе минувшаго десятилѣтія въ образѣ мыслей русскаго общества произошла существенная, радикальная перемѣна, и притомъ въ прогрессивномъ направленіи. Въ началѣ десятилѣтія образованное общество упорно отстаивало неприкосновенность своихъ исключительныхъ правъ и своего привилегированнаго положенія—въ концѣ того же десятилѣтія оно настойчиво доказываетъ необходимость уничтоженія послѣдней экономической привилегіи, какою оно еще пользуется насчетъ крестьянскаго населенія. Тогда оно соглашалось,—по крайней мѣрѣ, въ лицѣ многихъ своихъ представителей,—отпустить на волю крѣпостныхъ не иначе, какъ за «соотвѣтственное вознагражденіе»—теперь оно добровольно, никѣмъ не вынуждаемое, соглашается взять на себя часть повинностей, лежащихъ на сельскомъ населеніи, и даже само доказываетъ необходимость такой мѣры интересами народа, общества, государства. Тогда оне не понимало, какъ можетъ правительство распоряжаться его собственностью, хотя бы даже въ видахъ государственной необходимости—теперь оно заявляетъ, что никакія частныя улучшенія въ подушной системѣ не достигнутъ цѣли, пока къ платежу повинностей не будутъ привлечены всѣ доходы въ государствѣ, въ томъ числѣ и «оброки помѣщиковъ». Тогда оно являлось началомъ консервативнымъ, въ сравненіи съ правительственнымъ проэктомъ,—теперь оно явилось началомъ прогрессивнымъ.

Какими же вліяніями произведена эта знаменательная, рѣзкая перемѣна во взглядахъ русскаго образованнаго общества на одинъ изъ важнѣйшихъ и наиболѣе щекотливыхъ соціальныхъ вопросовъ?

Нельзя отрицать, что здѣсь не послѣднюю роль играла періодическая литература, которая съ рѣдкимъ единодушіемъ и настойчивостью разъясняла обществу важность рѣшенія податнаго вопроса въ земскомъ, безсословномъ духѣ. Едва сдѣлалось извѣстно, что проэктъ податной реформы будетъ переданъ на обсужденіе земскихъ собраній, какъ всѣ органы печати поспѣшили высказать надежду, что земство рѣшитъ этотъ вопросъ сообразно потребностямъ Россіи, отрѣшившись отъ всякихъ сословныхъ, одностороннихъ соображеній. При этомъ печать подвергла обстоятельной критической оцѣнкѣ проэктъ податной комиссіи и доказала его неудовлетворительность во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ. Настойчивость, съ какой проводила печать эту мысль, не могла, конечно, не принести плодовъ и естественно должна была повліять на рѣшенія земскихъ собраній.

Но было бы большой ошибкой объяснять поворотъ въ убѣжденіяхъ русскаго общества однимъ вліяніемъ періодической печати. Вѣдь и передъ крестьянской реформой печать точно также старалась вліять на общественное мнѣніе, однакоже, это не помѣшало образоваться энергичной и сильной оппозиціи въ средѣ дворянскихъ депутатовъ, которые, какъ мы видѣли, не стѣснялись ничѣмъ въ выраженіи своего недовольства трудами редакціонныхъ комиссій. Значитъ, было нѣчто такое, что и помимо печати вліяло на земскихъ гласныхъ, что придавало вѣсъ и значеніе доводамъ періодической литературы. Этимъ «нѣчто» было — *собственное сознаніе* земскихъ гласныхъ, что современное экономическое положеніе народа дѣйствительно печально и требуетъ рѣшительныхъ мѣръ со стороны государства; а такое сознаніе могло явиться въ образованномъ обществѣ только подъ вліяніемъ тѣхъ новыхъ отношеній къ народу и государству, въ какія оно поставлено правительственными реформами. Пока дворянство стояло въ исключительномъ положеніи, пока оно пользовалось привилегіей жить на готовыя деньги и ничего не платить за услуги, оказываемыя ему государствомъ, до тѣхъ поръ оно относилось къ народно-экономическимъ вопросамъ съ узко эгоистической точки зрѣнія. Когда же оно сдѣлалось однимъ изъ элементовъ земства и стало участвовать въ нѣкоторыхъ повинностяхъ, когда ему пришлось сталкиваться съ народомъ въ качествѣ не барина, а такого же плательщика, какъ и народъ — оно не могло мало по малу не прійти къ убѣжденію, что собственныя выгоды высшихъ классовъ заставляютъ желать улучшенія экономическаго быта народа. Правда, это убѣжденіе не настолько еще окрѣпло въ обществѣ, чтобы могло руководить имъ во всѣхъ его повседневныхъ сношеніяхъ съ народомъ; но оно во всякомъ случаѣ настолько уже созрѣло, что должно было оказать извѣстное вліяніе, когда дворянству пришлось участвовать въ обсужденіи податнаго вопроса. Кромѣ того, дворянство не могло не понимать, что реформа, предложенная податной комиссіей, есть не больше, какъ полу-мѣра, и что раньше или позже подушная повинность должна будетъ подвергнуться той же участи, какой подверглись повинности земскія и готова подвергнуться повинность рекрутская. Все это вмѣстѣ и заставило земскихъ гласныхъ высказаться рѣшительнымъ образомъ въ пользу разложенія подушной подати на всѣ сословія, на всѣхъ гражданъ «безъ изъятія».

И такъ, сдѣланное нами сопоставленіе несомнѣнно доказываетъ,

что преобразованія минувшаго десятилѣтія измѣнили не однѣ лишь формы, коснулись не одной лишь внѣшности и что подъ ихъ вліяніемъ во взглядахъ общества на одинъ изъ капитальнѣйшихъ вопросовъ нашей жизни произошла существенная перемѣна. Но оно *только это* и доказываетъ. Еслибы мы, основываясь на нашемъ сопоставленіи, стали утверждать вмѣстѣ съ крайними оптимистами, что у насъ все идетъ превосходно, что кромѣ различнаго рода частныхъ улучшеній мы уже ни въ чемъ не нуждаемся, что нашему дальнѣйшему развитію не грозятъ никакія препятствія, что отнынѣ вопросъ нашего народнаго благополучія есть вопросъ только времени, то намъ пришлось бы впасть въ явное противорѣчіе съ живою дѣйствительностью, съ фактами, совершающимися у всѣхъ на глазахъ. Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, можно ли считать дѣло нашего развитія упроченнымъ, а нашу жизнь—получившей нормальное направленіе, когда передъ нами происходятъ явленія, которыя не могутъ не тревожить каждаго, которыя несомнѣнно свидѣтельствуютъ, что у насъ что-то не ладно, чего-то недостаетъ, что мы еще нуждаемся въ чемъ-то очень важномъ, очень существенномъ. Прослѣдивъ мелькомъ нѣсколько подобнаго рода явленій, мы увидимъ, что они совсѣмъ не удовлетворяютъ цѣлямъ правительственныхъ реформъ и никакъ не свидѣтельствуютъ въ пользу нашего прогрессивнаго развитія.

Взглянемъ на нашу періодическую литературу. Еслибы развитіе ея шло правильнымъ, прогрессивнымъ путемъ, то она въ настоящее время должна бы была пользоваться такимъ значеніемъ въ обществѣ, какимъ не пользовалась литература, напримѣръ, конца пятидесятыхъ и начала шестидесятыхъ годовъ. Между тѣмъ, въ дѣйствительности мы видимъ совершенно обратное. Несмотря на нѣкоторыя важныя права, какими обладаетъ нынѣшняя періодическая печать въ сравненіи съ тогдашней, несмотря на то, что по закону она имѣетъ возможность всесторонне обсуждать такіе вопросы, какихъ не могла и касаться десять лѣтъ тому назадъ—ея значеніе въ обществѣ нетолько не увеличилось, но едвали даже не уменьшилось. Сильные литературные таланты совсѣмъ исчезли, критики не существуетъ, а публицистика обратилась въ искусство составленія обстоятельныхъ докладовъ, написанныхъ почти канцелярскимъ языкомъ; *идеи* точно также исчезли изъ литературы, а мѣсто ихъ заступили извѣстныя *соображенія*, которыми исключительно и руководствуются публицисты въ своей дѣятельности. Все это никакъ не говоритъ въ пользу прогрессивнаго развитія нашей печати.

Взглянемъ на земство. Если мы сравнимъ два періода въ дѣятельности земскихъ учрежденій—нынѣшній и лѣтъ за шесть назадъ,—то и здѣсь придемъ къ неутѣшительнымъ результатамъ. Тогда мы видѣли передъ собой людей увлеченныхъ, заинтересованныхъ своей дѣятельностью, людей, которые къ чему-то стремились, чего-то желали, которые хотя нерѣдко и ошибались, но все-таки работали, да и ошибались-то потому именно, что работали самостоятельно. Теперь такіе люди исчезли, а съ ними исчезла и всякая иниціатива въ дѣятельности земскихъ учрежденій. Въ большинствѣ случаевъ, земскія управы обратились въ бюрократическія канцеляріи, въ которыхъ составляются земскія смѣты и раскладки, но которыя лишь въ исключительныхъ случаяхъ заявляютъ о себѣ какимъ-нибудь самостоятельнымъ, полезнымъ дѣломъ. Въ то же время, и общество перестало интересоваться земскими дѣлами, такъ что дѣятельность земскихъ учрежденій происходитъ теперь въ очень ограниченномъ кругу, почти не оказывая никакого развивающаго вліянія на общество. Бюрократизмъ въ дѣятельности земства достигъ такихъ размѣровъ, что многія земскія собранія и управы совсѣмъ перестали знакомить мѣстное населеніе съ положеніемъ земскихъ дѣлъ, такъ что даже тѣ, кто желаетъ и ищетъ подобнаго рода свѣдѣній, не могутъ ихъ получить и принуждены ограничиваться заявленіемъ своихъ жалобъ посредствомъ печати. Такимъ образомъ и здѣсь мы видимъ такія явленія, которыхъ никакъ нельзя было ожидать при образованіи земскихъ учрежденій и которыя не могли входить въ разсчеты законодателя, вводившаго въ земскую жизнь начала самоуправленія.

Заглянемъ въ другія сферы общественной жизни, напримѣръ, въ университеты: что́ мы здѣсь увидимъ? Чуть не половину вакантныхъ кафедръ и нескончаемыя „профессорскія исторіи“ съ одной стороны, съ другой—хроническія вздрагиванія въ средѣ учащейся молодежи, недовольство кѣмъ-то или чѣмъ-то—и ничего установившагося. Не смотря на реформы въ уставахъ, наша университетская жизнь до сихъ поръ не могла уложиться въ опредѣленныя формы, до сихъ поръ не успѣла принять такого направленія, о которомъ всякій могъ бы сказать: „ну, теперь, слава Богу, все идетъ хорошо, все устроилось къ общему благополучію“.

А что такое наша провинція? Измѣнился-ли общій ея характеръ за послѣднія десять лѣтъ, оживилась-ли ея внутренняя жизнь, осмыслились-ли ея интересы, имѣетъ-ли она хоть какую-нибудь лите-

ратуру? На эти вопросы отвѣчаютъ массы провинціальныхъ корреспонденцій, печатаемыхъ въ столичныхъ изданіяхъ. Прочтите ихъ— и вы убѣдитесь, что *по общему характеру* своему провинція и теперь та же, какою она была пять, десять, пятнадцать лѣтъ тому назадъ, что временами она какъ будто оживляется, но тотчасъ же снова приходитъ въ свое нормальное, неподвижное состояніе.

Однимъ словомъ, если бы мы не имѣли возможности сдѣлать того сопоставленія, какое сдѣлано нами выше, то легко можно бы было подумать, что пессимисты дѣйствительно правы, что правительственныя реформы только скользнули по поверхности нашего общества, не произведя въ немъ никакихъ существенныхъ перемѣнъ, что подъ новой оболочкой сохранилось во всей своей неприкосновенности прежнее содержаніе. Чѣмъ объяснить такую явную несообразность? Чѣмъ объяснить, что, при всей раціональности основныхъ реформъ, онѣ сдѣлали такъ мало для нашего общественнаго развитія? Чѣмъ объяснить тотъ повидимому необъяснимый фактъ, что при сравненіи двухъ періодовъ—начала и конца „десятилѣтія реформъ“, — приходится отдавать предпочтеніе не послѣднему передъ первымъ, а наоборотъ?

Прежде, чѣмъ отвѣтить на эти вопросы, мы должны сдѣлать замѣчаніе по поводу одного обстоятельства, которое постоянно упускается изъ виду, когда сравниваютъ наше время съ концомъ пятидесятыхъ и началомъ шестидесятыхъ годовъ. Дѣлая такое сравненіе и указывая при этомъ на грандіозность тогдашнихъ и мелочность нынѣшнихъ общественныхъ задачъ, у насъ постоянно забываютъ, что каждая эпоха имѣетъ свои собственныя задачи, характеръ которыхъ обусловливается прежде всего размѣрами тѣхъ препятствій, которыя приходится преодолѣть, чтобъ сдѣлать возможнымъ развитіе общества въ прогрессивномъ направленіи. Эпоха пятидесятыхъ годовъ, по силѣ общественнаго возбужденія, дѣйствительно не имѣла и не имѣетъ ничего себѣ подобнаго въ русской жизни. Но это возбужденіе прямо зависѣло отъ того, что тогда обсуждался одинъ изъ тѣхъ общественныхъ вопросовъ, которые назрѣваютъ вѣками и рѣшеніе которыхъ даетъ себя чувствовать во всѣхъ частяхъ общественнаго организма. При томъ же, тогда все читающее и размышляющее общество ясно сознавало, что съ уничтоженіемъ крѣпостнаго права русская жизнь вступитъ на совершенно новую дорогу, что это будетъ не частное улучшеніе, но

коренной переворотъ, что за нимъ начнется новая жизнь, не похожая на старую. О томъ, какова именно будетъ эта жизнь, никто не считалъ нужнымъ думать; всѣ довольствовались сознаніемъ, что она будетъ во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ лучше старой—а разные частные вопросы оставлялись въ сторонѣ и откладывались на будущее время. Когда же крестьянская реформа совершилась и наступила пора менѣе видной и болѣе кропотливой работы, когда вмѣсто одного грандіознаго явилось нѣсколько частныхъ, менѣе грандіозныхъ вопросовъ—общественная возбужденность ослабѣла, интересъ къ общественнымъ вопросамъ уменьшился и соціальныя задачи сдѣлались менѣе увлекательными. Этимъ замѣчаніемъ мы хотимъ напомнить, что, сравнивая нашу жизнь съ жизнью пятидесятыхъ годовъ, необходимо принимать въ разсчетъ тѣ *исключительныя* условія, которыя вліяли на характеръ тогдашней жизни и которыхъ уже не существуетъ въ настоящее время.

Но, и принимая во вниманіе эти условія, мы все-таки должны признать, что современная русская жизнь далеко не удовлетворяетъ тѣмъ требованіямъ которыя всякій имѣетъ право ей предъявить, основываясь на цѣломъ рядѣ реформъ, явившихся въ минувшее десятилѣтіе. Мы должны признать, что почти каждая изъ этихъ реформъ при своемъ появленіи возбуждала въ обществѣ самыя свѣтлыя надежды и горячее сочувствіе—со стороны, по крайней мѣрѣ, наиболѣе образованныхъ элементовъ—а спустя нѣсколько лѣтъ многихъ разочаровывала и не оправдывала большей части тѣхъ надеждъ, которыя на нее возлагались. Чѣмъ объяснить это явленіе? Общественной разслабленностью, укоренившейся въ обществѣ привычкой жить по старому и упорною неподатливостью, о которую приходится разбиваться лучшимъ намѣреніямъ правительства? Несомнѣнно, что неподатливости и привычкѣ принадлежитъ значительная доля участія въ томъ явленіи, на которое мы указываемъ, но объяснять это явленіе только ими одними было бы ошибкой. Выше мы убѣдились самымъ несомнѣннымъ образомъ, что новыя условія жизни не остаются безъ вліянія на наше образованное общество; слѣдовательно, какъ бы ни были велики разслабленность и апатія нашего общества, они все-таки способны уменьшаться подъ вліяніемъ ряда послѣдовательныхъ реформъ. Но въ томъ-то и дѣло, что нѣкоторыя своеобразныя черты этихъ реформъ мало ослабляли дурное вліяніе общественныхъ привычекъ. Если мы прослѣдимъ развитіе

каждой изъ новѣйшихъ реформъ, съ перваго ея появленія на свѣтъ до нашихъ дней, то увидимъ, что измѣненія, которымъ она подвергалась отъ времени до времени, имѣютъ цѣлью не развитіе ея въ прогрессивномъ направленіи, какъ слѣдовало бы ожидать, а напротивъ, разнаго рода ограниченія въ наиболѣе существенныхъ ея частяхъ. Этотъ процесъ не минулъ даже судебной реформы, хотя она менѣе всѣхъ другихъ подверглась измѣненіямъ. Но главнымъ образомъ они коснулись учрежденія, которое представляется намъ наиболѣе важнымъ по своему соціальному значенію и по тому вліянію, какое оно могло и должно было имѣть на общество, именно— земство. Со времени изданія Положенія о земскихъ учрежденіяхъ, появилось очень много дополнительныхъ къ нему циркуляровъ и законовъ. Большинство изъ нихъ касаются вопросовъ частныхъ, имѣющихъ второстепенное значеніе; но есть между ними и такіе, которые затрогиваютъ самыя существенныя стороны земскихъ учрежденій. Какого же рода эти послѣдніе законы и какова ихъ цѣль? Прибавили-ли они что-нибудь новое къ тому, что уже было дано ранѣе, расширили-ли кругъ земской дѣятельности, сообщили-ли ей болѣе опредѣленный характеръ? На всѣ эти вопросы приходится отвѣчать отрицательно. Законы, о которыхъ мы говоримъ, не только не способствовали упроченію земской самостоятельности, но имѣли совершенно обратное дѣйствіе. Таковъ законъ 30 мая 1866 года, лишившій земскія собранія права назначать содержаніе гласнымъ; таковъ законъ 21 ноября того же года, ограничившій права земства по обложенію нѣкоторыхъ родовъ имущества; таковы два закона отъ 13 іюня 1867 года о порядкѣ производства дѣлъ въ земскихъ собраніяхъ и о порядкѣ печатанія ихъ постановленій. Если мы припомнимъ обстоятельства, при которыхъ явились перечисленные законы, то увидимъ, что они имѣли въ виду частныя цѣли и потому должны были имѣть, повидимому, только частное значеніе. Но въ дѣйствительности оказалось, что эти законы стѣснили земство въ самыхъ существенныхъ его правахъ. Вліяніе, какое они имѣли на практикѣ, было двоякаго рода: названные выше законы, во первыхъ, отразились непосредственно на дѣятельности земства; такъ, одинъ изъ нихъ значительно уменьшилъ доходы земства, другой устранилъ крестьянъ изъ губернскихъ собраній, а остальные два ввели бюрократизмъ въ дѣятельность земства; во-вторыхъ,— и это самое главное, — они значительно поколебали въ обществѣ

кредитъ земскихъ учрежденій. Подъ вліяніемъ этихъ ограничительныхъ мѣръ, послѣдовавшихъ вскорѣ же за образованіемъ земства, въ обществѣ сталъ складываться взглядъ на земство какъ на учрежденіе весьма непрочное, и газеты не разъ заявляли, что земство въ иныхъ мѣстахъ считается „вздоромъ“ и „пустяками“; нѣкоторые предсказывали даже съ полной увѣренностью, что черезъ нѣсколько лѣтъ отъ земства не останется и слѣдовъ и все опять пойдетъ по старому. Такое безотрадное, хотя и нелѣпое отношеніе къ земству не могло, конечно, не создать въ обществѣ того охлажденія къ земскимъ учрежденіямъ, которое такъ огорчаетъ всѣхъ, имъ сочувствующихъ. Очевидно, что перечисленнымъ нами законамъ былъ приданъ характеръ реакціонныхъ мѣропріятій, имѣвщихъ цѣлью не только *регулированіе* земской дѣятельности, но *ограниченіе* тѣхъ ея размѣровъ, какіе были установлены положеніемъ о земствѣ. Такое толкованіе возможно было вслѣдствіе того, что дополнительные законы къ земскому Положенію выходили не изъ тѣхъ *принциповъ*, на которыхъ построено Положеніе, и даже находились съ ними въ довольно замѣтномъ противорѣчіи.

Мы могли бы привести еще нѣсколько примѣровъ въ доказательство справедливости той мысли, что у насъ не всѣ реформы строго согласованы одна съ другою, что послѣдующія мѣропріятія иногда противорѣчатъ предыдущимъ, потому что исходятъ изъ расличныхъ принциповъ. Но мы ограничимся указаніемъ на фактъ, въ которомъ эта непослѣдовательность обнаружилась съ особенной рѣзкостью и о которомъ мы уже говорили выше. Еслибы у насъ строго держались принциповъ, положенныхъ въ основаніе крестьянской реформы, и еслибы каждое новое преобразованіе въ области соціально-экономическихъ отношеній составляло дальнѣйшее развитіе этихъ принциповъ, то, конечно, такое явленіе, какъ проектъ податной коммисіи, было бы совершенно невозможно. Несоотвѣтствіе проэкта общему духу правительственныхъ реформъ такъ рѣзко бросается въ глаза, что его не могли не замѣтить даже тѣ, для которыхъ непослѣдовательность податной комиссіи могла бы быть скорѣе пріятна, чѣмъ непріятна. Мы видѣли выше, что нѣкоторыя земскія собранія въ своихъ отзывахъ прямо высказались въ томъ смыслѣ, что если правительство сочло своевременнымъ переложить на всѣ сословія земскіе сборы и даже такую повинность, какъ рекрутская, намѣрено сдѣлать всесословной, то простая логика, не

говоря уже о прочихъ побужденіяхъ, заставляетъ желать, чтобы и подати были разложены точно также на всѣ сословія. Правда, само правительство, передавая проэктъ податной реформы на обсужденіе земскихъ собраній, заявило, что ни одно изъ основныхъ положеній этого проэкта не предрѣшено заранѣе; тѣмъ не менѣе, уже самый фактъ составленія проэкта въ сословномъ духѣ—послѣ цѣлаго ряда реформъ въ противоположномъ смыслѣ—вполнѣ подтверждаетъ высказанную выше мысль. При томъ же, сколько извѣстно, податной вопросъ до сихъ поръ нельзя считать рѣшеннымъ въ принципіальномъ отношеніи; мы и теперь еще не знаемъ, въ какомъ направленіи состоится давно ожидаемая реформа, въ сословномъ или безсословномъ.

На основаніи изложенныхъ нами фактовъ и соображеній мы можемъ слѣдующимъ образомъ отвѣтить на вопросы, поставленные въ началѣ нашей статьи:

Ошибаются тѣ, которые утверждаютъ, что въ русскомъ обществѣ не произошло никакихъ существенныхъ перемѣнъ за послѣднее десятилѣтіе и что правительственныя преобразованія измѣнили только внѣшнія формы, не коснувшись внутренняго ихъ содержанія. Мы видимъ, что общество развивается, идетъ впередъ, что въ немъ утверждается вполнѣ раціональное, плодотворное отношеніе къ важнѣйшимъ вопросамъ нашей жизни. Этотъ фактъ, важный и самъ по себѣ, долженъ имѣть особенное значеніе для тѣхъ, которые, проникшись пессимистическимъ взглядомъ на русскую жизнь и ссылаясь на кажущуюся мелочность нынѣшнихъ общественныхъ задачъ, устраняютъ себя отъ дѣятельнаго участія въ судьбахъ современнаго общества и становятся въ ряды простыхъ зрителей. Какъ бы мелочны, повидимому, ни были эти задачи, но ихъ нельзя оставлять безъ вниманія, нельзя относиться къ нимъ пренебрежительно, потому что онѣ имѣютъ очень серьезное значеніе въ современномъ обществѣ и отъ правильнаго, своевременнаго ихъ разрѣшенія зависитъ все будущее нашего отечества. Мы видимъ также, что работа прогрессивныхъ дѣятелей для современнаго общества не остается безплодною, какъ полагаютъ пессимисты, но приноситъ пользу и слѣдовательно вполнѣ вознаграждаетъ тѣхъ, которые посвящаютъ ей свои способности и силы.

Но не менѣе ошибаются и тѣ, которые полагаютъ, что современное русское общество есть нѣчто вполнѣ установившееся и

окрѣпшее въ своихъ новыхъ формахъ, что всѣ важнѣйшія вопросы у насъ уже рѣшены и что современныя условія нашей жизни вполнѣ *нормальны*. Быть можетъ они дѣйствительно могли бы въ настоящее время быть вполнѣ нормальными, еслибъ сила, сообщившая движеніе нашей жизни, продолжала свое дѣйствіе постоянно, неуклонно, непрерывно, въ одномъ и томъ же исправленіи, еслибъ то воспитательное вліяніе, какое имѣютъ реформы на общество, не ослаблялось съ теченіемъ времени, но усиливалось. Но могутъ-ли считаться нормальными тѣ условія, при которыхъ возможны такія перестановки во взаимномъ положеніи воспитывающихъ и воспитываемыхъ элементовъ, какія мы видимъ въ началѣ и концѣ минувшаго десятилѣтія? уже одинъ этотъ фактъ, не говоря о множествѣ другихъ, вполнѣ доказываетъ несостоятельность взглядовъ нашихъ оптимистовъ.

Общій выводъ изъ всего выше сказаннаго таковъ: разработывая частные, практическіе вопросы, выдвигаемые нашей жизнью, не слѣдуетъ забывать, что у насъ еще не рѣшенъ окончательно общій, главный вопросъ—вопросъ о *направленіи*, въ какомъ должно совершаться дальнѣйшее развитіе русскаго общества. И пока этотъ вопросъ будетъ оставаться нерѣшеннымъ—какъ въ теоріи, такъ въ особенности на практикѣ — до тѣхъ поръ условія нашей жизни не могутъ считаться вполнѣ нормальными.

ЗНАЧЕНІЕ ПОДАТНОЙ РЕФОРМЫ.

Исторія русскаго податного вопроса есть исторія русскаго безденежья и русскаго международнаго слабосилія. Многія земства, обсуждая податную реформу, взывали къ чувствамъ и приводили моральные мотивы; но податной вопросъ не есть вопросъ чувства; онъ долженъ быть реформированъ не потому, что въ Россіи есть благородные люди, которымъ невыносимо дѣленіе себѣ-подобныхъ на податныхъ и неподатныхъ; онъ долженъ быть измѣненъ потому же, почему сельскій хозяинъ измѣняетъ систему полеводства — истощенная земля перестаетъ производить. Платежные источники истощаются также.

Петра I обвиняютъ за введеніе подушной подати. Петра не поняли ни его современники, ни еще меньше его потомки. Петръ дѣйствительно велѣлъ брать съ души и въ ревизію вносить «отъ стараго до послѣдняго младенца». Но «младенца» Петръ не облагалъ налогомъ; Петръ заставлялъ платить не безтѣлесную душу, а душу какъ экономически производительную единицу. Петръ хотѣлъ, чтобы платежи распредѣлялись «по состоянію натуры и обстоятельству провинцій, по цѣнѣ полевыхъ плодовъ и прочихъ товаровъ и по другимъ потребнымъ резонамъ и обрѣтающимся обстоятельствамъ; чтобы между великими и нижними, убогими и богатыми по препорціи, надлежащее равенство въ осмотрѣніи имѣть и никто бъ отъ надлежащаго болѣе уволенъ или отягченъ не былъ, ибо ежели оное учинится, то утѣсненные-убогіе дворы оставятъ, а государственные доходы со временемъ весьма умалятся».

Народъ такъ и понялъ Петра, установивъ раскладку по своему собственному, безгласному и не утвержденному никѣмъ кадастру. Петра не поняли только исполнители; отъ нихъ-то «скорбь конечная», на которую жаловался народъ. Дурная организація системы взиманія привела къ тому, что уже Екатерина I писала: «извѣстно намъ учинилось, что нашей Имперіи крестьяне, на которыхъ содержаніе войска положено, въ великой скудости находятся и отъ великихъ податей и непрестанныхъ экзекуцій и другихъ непорядковъ въ крайнее и всеконечное раззореніе приходятъ». Та же императрица задавалась вопросомъ, какъ «сноснѣе» для народа распредѣлить подати: «съ душъ, или тотъ платежъ съ двороваго числа, или съ тяголъ, или съ земли положить». Послѣ смерти Екатерины I, коммисія, назначенная для разрѣшенія этого вопроса, была распущена, не окончивъ своего дѣла. При Петрѣ III тотъ же вопросъ былъ поднятъ снова. Генералъ-прокуроръ Глѣбовъ доносилъ сенату, что порядокъ сбора податей и взысканіе недоимокъ крайне отягощаютъ народъ и что отъ этихъ мѣръ недоимки не только не уменьшаются, «но паче умножаются». При императорѣ Павлѣ, въ указѣ 1797 г., высказывается мысль о необходимости обложенія налогомъ всѣхъ сословій. Павелъ говоритъ: такъ какъ дворянство, «сей знатнѣйшій чинъ государственный паче прочихъ ощутилъ монаршую милость», и такъ какъ государственные расходы превышаютъ доходы, то и нужно, чтобы дворянство способствовало общимъ надобностямъ «отъ собственныхъ своихъ стяжаній». Съ учрежденіемъ министерства государственныхъ имуществъ наступаетъ уже практика этого, до тѣхъ поръ теоретическаго вопроса, вводится кадастръ и начинается переложеніе подати съ душъ на землю и промыслы. Наконецъ 10 іюля 1859 года учреждена по Высочайшему повелѣнію при министерствѣ финансовъ коммисія для пересмотра системы податей и сборовъ. Коммисія пришла къ рѣшенію, что «отмѣна душевыхъ сборовъ и устройство ихъ на другихъ основаніяхъ является дѣломъ неотложно необходимымъ, въ видахъ какъ облегченія податной массы населенія, такъ и обезпеченія лучшаго поступленія доходовъ казны».

Рядомъ съ постояннымъ стремленіемъ правительства облегчать тягость народныхъ платежей, мы видимъ такое же постоянное стремленіе къ возвышенію подушной подати. Причины всегда были одни: увеличеніе государственныхъ потребностей и преимущественно—усиленіе расходовъ на армію. Когда въ 1794 году императрица Екате-

рина II увеличила подушную подать, она мотивировала свое положеніе слѣдующимъ образомъ: «всѣмъ извѣстно, что, съ одной стороны, съ умноженіемъ денежнаго обращенія, возвысится и цѣна на всѣ вещи, слѣдовательно и удобность для крестьянина къ пріобрѣтенію посредствомъ земледѣлія и другихъ хозяйственныхъ упражненій не въ той уже находится соразмѣрности; съ другой же — увеличеніе арміи соотвѣтственно обширности и достоинству имперіи сопрягаетъ съ собою необходимое умноженіе издержекъ на важную часть сію, обезпечивающую покой и благоденствіе вѣрныхъ подданныхъ отъ всякихъ непріятелей». И та и другая мысль вѣрны теоретически: необходимость усиленія арміи требуетъ большихъ средствъ на ея содержаніе, а развитіе экономическихъ средствъ народа даетъ правительству право требовать отъ народа большихъ денежныхъ жертвъ. Практика вопроса оказалась однако иною.

Увеличеніе арміи шло у насъ въ такой постепенности:

При Петрѣ I	въ 1724 г.	195,850	чел.
» Аннѣ Іоанновнѣ	» 1740 »	246,557	»
» Елизаветѣ Петровнѣ	» 1756 »	338,354	»
» Екатеринѣ II	» 1796 »	496,000	»
» Александрѣ I	» 1812 »	876,620	»
» Николаѣ I	» 1855 »	1,527,748	»
» Александрѣ II			
	содержится въ мирное время	732,829	»
	полагается въ военное время	1,173,879	»

Предстоящая общая военная повинность должна значительно увеличить цифру личнаго состава арміи въ военное время.

Государственные доходы и расходы за тѣ же періоды представляютъ слѣдующія цифры:

въ концѣ царствованія Петра I:
доходъ 14,536,000 р. расходъ 14,873,000 руб.
въ началѣ царствованія императрицы Екатерины II:
доходъ 20,458,000 р. расходъ 20,368,000 руб.
въ 1800 году:
доходъ 65,700,000 р. расходъ 63,100,000 руб.
въ 1812 году:
доходъ 82,996,000 р. расходъ 85,548,000 руб.

въ 1855 году:

доходъ 264,119,000 р. расходъ 525,969,000 руб.

въ 1869 году:

доходъ 457,496,000 р. расходъ 468,797,000 руб.

Подушная подать увеличивается въ слѣдующемъ размѣрѣ:

Послѣ первой переписи, окончившейся въ 1726 г., съ 5,000,000 душъ мужскаго пола, было назначено съ души по 80 к., а съ купцовъ и разночинцевъ по 1 р. 20 к.; при императрицѣ Екатеринѣ I окладъ этотъ уменьшенъ до 70 к. При императрицѣ Елизаветѣ сборъ былъ въ началѣ уменьшенъ на 10 к.; но потомъ снова возвышенъ до 70 к. При Екатеринѣ II, по случаю турецкой войны, увеличена подушная подать купцовъ и сборъ этой прибавки прекращенъ со введеніемъ, въ 1775 году, гильдейскихъ пошлинъ. Въ 1794 г. подушный окладъ съ мѣщанъ возвышенъ до 2 р. съ души, а съ крестьянъ въ большей части губерній до 1 р.; въ остальныхъ—подушная подать составляла 85 к.; но крестьяне обязаны были вносить еще извѣстное количество ржи и крупъ. Императоръ Павелъ I отмѣнилъ хлѣбный сборъ и замѣнилъ его денежнымъ; затѣмъ, для поправленія государственныхъ финансовъ, надбавилъ на душу по 26 к. съ крестьянъ и по 50 к. съ мѣщанъ. Въ то же время Павелъ обложилъ и дворянъ, возложивъ на нихъ содержаніе присутственныхъ мѣстъ, на что было назначено 1,640.000 руб. Императоръ Александръ I отмѣнилъ сборъ съ помѣщиковъ и переложилъ его на крестьянъ, что составило надбавки по 18 к. на душу. Въ 1810 г. окладъ на крестьянъ возвышенъ до 2 руб. и на мѣщанъ до 5 руб. Въ 1812 году, въ видѣ временной мѣры, прибавлено къ окладу крестьянъ по 1 р. на душу, и къ окладу мѣщанъ по 3 р. на душу. Въ 1816 году введенъ новый налогъ, по 26 к. съ души, увеличенный въ 1818 году до 30 к.—на устройство путей сообщеній. Подушная подать, переложенная при императорѣ Николаѣ на серебро, составляла въ 1839 году—съ мѣщанъ по 2 р. 38 к. и съ крестьянъ по 95 к. сер. съ души. Въ 1861 году подушная подать съ крестьянъ увеличена до 1 р., а съ мѣщанъ до 2 р. 50 к. Въ 1862 году назначенъ временный дополнительный сборъ, въ средней сложности по 25 к. съ души. Въ 1867 г. подушная подать увеличена еще на 50 к. съ души, и въ настоящее время, смотря по мѣстностямъ, она составляетъ отъ 1 р. $30^1/_2$ к. до 2 р. 14 к. Въ общей сложности по всей

имперіи подушная подать составляла: при Петрѣ I — 1,244,300 р.; въ настоящее время — 60,006,000 р.

Такимъ образомъ армія при Петрѣ I составляла 195,850 человѣкъ, въ настоящее время — 1,173,879 человѣкъ, или увеличеніе на 490%.

Государственные доходы при Петрѣ — 14,536,000 р.; теперь — 457,496,000 р. или увеличеніе на 3,165%.

Государственные расходы при Петрѣ — 14,873,000 р.; теперь — 468,797,000 р. или увеличеніе на 3,243%.

Подушная подать при Петрѣ I — 1,244,300 рублей; теперь — 60,006,000 р. или увеличеніе на 4,721%.

Народонаселеніе при Петрѣ — 14,000,000 человѣкъ; теперь — 78,000,000 или увеличеніе на 557%.

Или со времени Петра I увеличились:

Армія	въ 6 разъ
Доходы	» 32 раза
Расходы	» 33 раза
Подушная подать	» 50 разъ
Народонаселеніе	» 5,6 разъ

Слѣдовательно, сравнительно съ народонаселеніемъ, государственные доходы и расходы увеличились въ 6 разъ, подушная подать — въ 10 разъ, а армія осталась въ прежнемъ отношеніи. Такое несоотвѣтственное увеличеніе подушной подати доказываетъ, что въ увеличеніи ея правительство видѣло наиболѣе удобный и сподручный способъ возвышенія государственныхъ доходовъ. И дѣйствительно, подушная подать легче всѣхъ остальныхъ налоговъ поддается внезапному возвышенію. Въ какомъ размѣрѣ можетъ идти подобное возвышеніе, видно изъ слѣдующей таблицы:

	ПОДУШНАЯ ПОДАТЬ	
	составляла:	увеличилась на:
въ 1860 году	16,951,000 р.	—
» 1861 »	17,090,000 р.	139,000 р.
» 1862 »	28,670,000 р.	11,580,000 р.
» 1863 »	32,394,000 р.	3,724,000 р.
» 1864 »	31,515,000 р.	—
» 1865 »	31,838,000 р.	323,000 р.

	ПОДУШНАЯ ПОДАТЬ	
	составляла:	увеличилась на:
» 1866 »	34,536,000 р.	2,698,000 р.
» 1867 »	40,524,000 р.	5,988,000 р.
» 1868 »	47,646,000 р.	7,122,000 р.
» 1869 »	48,150,000 р.	504,000 р.
» 1870 »	60,006,000 р.	11,856,000 р.

Съ 1860 по 1870 г., въ 10 лѣтъ, подушная подать увеличилась на 43,934,000 р. или каждый годъ увеличивалась среднимъ числомъ на 4,393,400 р.

Отношеніе подушныхъ налоговъ къ платежнымъ силамъ населенія виднѣе всего изъ тѣхъ средствъ, къ которымъ прибѣгало правительство при собираніи податей и при взысканіи недоимокъ. Въ древней Россіи неплательщиковъ ставили на *правежъ*, т. е. били ихъ палками, и подобныя же карательныя мѣры сохранились почти до нашихъ дней. Не смотря на необычайную строгость взысканій, доходившую до кнута и до вырѣзыванія ноздрей, взысканій, наводившихъ ужасъ на населеніе; не смотря на «жестокое истязаніе и раззореніе», которыя предписывались высочайшими указами, не смотря на отдачу въ солдаты, въ заработки, продажу имущества—недоимки росли постоянно и достигали бы громаднаго накопленія, если бы не слагались манифестами. Размѣръ платежныхъ средствъ народа у насъ никогда не былъ извѣстенъ, и только въ послѣднее время коммисія для пересмотра податей и земство собрали нѣкоторыя статистическія данныя по этому вопросу. Изъ свѣдѣній коммисіи видно, что подушные, земскіе и выкупные платежи составляютъ:

Отъ 10 р. — до 13 р. на душу.
» 1 » 50 к. » 3 » 50 к. и болѣе съ десятины.
» 30 » — » 60 » и болѣе съ двора.

Изъ свѣдѣній, собранныхъ петербургскимъ земствомъ, узнаемъ, что напримѣръ въ гдовскомъ уѣздѣ земскіе, государственные и выкупные платежи составляютъ 450,705 р.; крестьянская же земля, на которую падаютъ эти платежи, оцѣненная въ 5,348,000 руб., даетъ доходу 320,938 р., слѣдовательно платежи превышаютъ доходъ на 129,767 р. или составляютъ 140% ея доходности. Петербургская губернская управа замѣчаетъ при этомъ, что «числовые выводы, къ которымъ пришла гдовская управа, окажутся *не менѣе*

отяготительными въ примѣненіи къ большей части другихъ мѣстностей»; это значитъ, что въ большей части петербургской губерніи отношеніе платежей къ крестьянскимъ средствамъ такое же.

Въ верейскомъ уѣздѣ, московской губерніи, крестьяне платятъ съ десятины государственныхъ земскихъ сборовъ и выкупныхъ платежей 3 р. 95 к., а средняя доходность десятины 1 р. 22 к.: не достаетъ 2 р. 73 к., или налогъ составляетъ 324°/₀ дохода отъ земли.

При самыхъ благопріятныхъ условіяхъ положенія и урожая, крестьянская десятина въ средней полосѣ Россіи должна удѣлить 50°/₀ изъ чистаго дохода на подушную подать и другіе личные платежи. Принимая эти 50°/₀ основаніемъ для разсчета, получаемъ слѣдующій выводъ:

Прямые налоги составляютъ въ настоящее время 126,546,316 р., изъ которыхъ на податныя сословія падаетъ 83,3°/₀ или 105,740,000 руб. Сюда слѣдуетъ просоединить выкупные платежи, составляющіе среднимъ числомъ на душу 8 руб. или 78,091,000 руб. Всего 183,831,000 р. За уплатой этихъ 183 мил., принятыхъ нами за 50°/₀ чистаго дохода отъ земли, у плательщиковъ остается еще такая же сумма, или на каждую податную душу, считая податное населеніе въ 25 мил., 7 р. 35 к. Поземельный налогъ въ разныхъ государствахъ Европы составляетъ отъ 9 до 22°/₀ чистаго дохода. Принимая средней нормой только 15°/₀, мы найдемъ, что русскій земледѣлецъ платитъ на 35°/₀ больше земледѣльца западно-европейскаго, т е. что западное земледѣліе, давая 366 мил. чистаго доходу, удѣляло бы изъ нихъ на подати 54 мил., наше же отдаетъ 183 мил. или 129 мил. больше, а на душу 5 р. 16 к. больше.

Чтобы одинъ земледѣлецъ платилъ больше другого на 35°/₀, нужно, чтобы онъ на столько же былъ и богаче. Опредѣлимъ сравнительное богатство русскаго земледѣлія.

Въ европейской Россіи считается всего 425 мил. десятинъ земли, въ томъ числѣ пашни 88 мил. и сѣнокосовъ 52 мил. Съ русской пашни получается 2,171,700,000 четвериковъ хлѣба всѣхъ сортовъ, картофелю получается 415,290,000 четвериковъ, скотъ русскаго земледѣльца оцѣнивается въ 912,500,000 р., а доходъ всего русскаго земледѣлія въ 680,891,200 р., или на каждую десятину собственно пашенной земли приходится 7 р. 73 к.

Въ Пруссіи пашни считается 11,240,000 десятинъ; въ Велико-

британіи 9,039,600 десятинъ. И съ этой земли получается хлѣба всякихъ сортовъ:

въ Пруссіи	434,340,000	четвериковъ
» Великобританіи	541,020,000	»

Картофелю:

въ Пруссіи	403,860,000	четвериковъ
» Великобританіи	388,620,000	»

Цѣнность скота составляетъ:

въ Пруссіи	446,000,000	руб.
» Великобританіи	3,037,500,000	»

Доходы отъ земледѣлія:

въ Пруссіи	277,500,000	руб.
» Великобританіи	690,000,000	»

Или каждая десятина пашни даетъ:

въ Пруссіи	25 р.	19 к.
» Великобританіи	76 »	66 »

Россія, имѣя въ 8 разъ больше пахатной земли, чѣмъ Пруссія, получаетъ продуктовъ больше только въ 3 раза, и имѣя пашенъ больше въ 9,9 раза, чѣмъ Великобританія, получаетъ продуктовъ больше только въ 2,8 раза; или въ Пруссіи каждая десятина пашни даетъ въ 2,5 раза больше продуктовъ, чѣмъ въ Россіи, а въ Великобританіи въ 3,5 раза; доходность же земли въ Пруссіи въ 3,2 раза выше русской, а въ Великобританіи въ 9,8 раза. Принимая Пруссію за ближайшую къ Россіи норму европейской земледѣльческой производительности, находимъ, что русскій земледѣлецъ, при доходности земли въ 3 раза меньшей, платитъ въ 3 раза больше.

Такого налога, какой лежитъ на русской землѣ, не въ состояніи выносить никакое земледѣліе, и рано или поздно его ожидаетъ банкротство. Если объ успѣхахъ русскаго земледѣлія мы будемъ судить по размѣру заграничнаго вывоза хлѣба, то успѣхи нашего сельскаго хозяйства представятся въ слѣдующихъ колеблющихся цифрахъ:

Россія отправила хлѣба за границу:

въ періоды 1834 — 1843 г.	2,250,053	четверти
» 1844 — 1853 г.	5,536,209	»

въ 1858 году	9,088,000	четвертей.
» 1860 »	9,446,000	»
» 1862 »	8,145,000	»
» 1864 »	9,744,000	»
» 1866 »	12,678,000	»
» 1867 »	16,208,000	»

По десятилѣтіямъ, увеличеніе выражается слѣдующими процентами:

Съ 1844 по 1853 г.	146%
» 1853 » 1858 »	64%
» 1858 » 1867 »	77%

Въ тоже время процентное возвышеніе подушной подати было:
Въ десятилѣтіе 1834—43 г. 19.348,000 р.

» » 1844—53 г.	21,012,000 р.	увеличеніе на	10%
Съ 1853 по 1858 »	16,566,000 »	уменьшеніе »	21%
» 1858 » 1867 »	26,792,000 »	увеличеніе »	63%

Отдѣльно по годамъ:

	Вывозъ хлѣба:		Подушная подать:	
Въ 1860 г.	увеличеніе на	0,4%	увеличеніе	0,03%
» 1862 »	уменьшеніе »	14%	»	75%
» 1864 »	увеличеніе »	18%	»	10%
» 1866 »	» »	33%	»	1%
» 1867 »	» »	33%	»	18%
» 1868 »	» »	—	»	18%
» 1869 »	» »	—	»	0,2%
» 1870 »	» »	—	»	25%

Народонаселеніе же увеличивалось въ слѣдующей пропорціи: съ VII до VIII переписи на 15 м. или на 1,44%; по IX прибыль народонаселенія 8 м. или 0,79%; по X прибыль 6 м. или ежегодно 1,21%; въ пятилѣтіе 1858—63 г. среднимъ числомъ въ годъ прибыль составляетъ 1,14%.

Въ приведенныхъ цифрахъ нельзя найти никакой взаимной зависимости; въ нихъ замѣчается даже не колебаніе, а скачки. Особенно рѣзкій примѣръ представляетъ 1867 годъ. Это годъ сильнѣйшаго неурожая, какой только помнитъ Россія за послѣднее время,

между тѣмъ вывозъ хлѣба за границу усилился на 33%, а подушная подать увеличилась на 18%. Особенно неблагопріятное отношеніе въ цифрахъ замѣчается съ 1858 года. Съ 1844—1853 г. вывозъ хлѣба увеличивается на 146%, а подушная подать на 10%, съ 1853—1858 вывозъ хлѣба увеличивается на 64%, а подушная подать уменьшается на 21%; но въ послѣдующее за тѣмъ время, когда процентъ увеличенія отпуска хлѣба падаетъ, въ подушной подати замѣчаются небывалыя до того процентныя приращенія—75%, 18%, 25%, среднимъ числомъ 63%, тогда какъ народонаселеніе приростало только на 1,14% ежегодно. Изъ этого очевидно, что размѣръ подушной подати соображался не съ условіями сельско-хозяйственной производительности, а зависѣлъ отъ другихъ внѣшнихъ причинъ и причинъ повидимому внезапныхъ, непредвидѣнныхъ, случайныхъ, ибо иначе нельзя объяснить такихъ рѣзкихъ возвышеній, какія замѣчаются въ подушной подати: съ 0,03% на 75%, съ 0,2% на 25%. Поэтому для возможности какого-нибудь вывода нужно взять среднія величины. Изъ среднихъ величинъ оказывается, что съ 1858 года вывозъ хлѣба увеличивался ежегодно на 14%, подушная подать на 18% и народонаселеніе на 1,14%, т. е вывозъ хлѣба возвышался въ 12,3 раза скорѣе, чѣмъ росло народонаселеніе, а подушная подать въ 15,8 разъ скорѣе. Такъ какъ всякій налогъ на земледѣліе дѣйствуетъ какъ неурожай, то очевидно, что увеличеніе сельско-хозяйственной производительности въ 12 разъ парализировалось налогомъ, возраставшимъ въ 15 разъ, и должна, наконецъ, наступить пора, когда налогъ поглотитъ весь чистый доходъ и сведетъ трудъ земледѣльца на нуль. Въ настоящее время, какъ мы видѣли, подушная подать поглощаетъ 50% чистаго дохода земледѣльца; предполагая нынѣшнія обстоятельства неизмѣнными, или увеличеніе подати на 18% ежегодно, при теперешнемъ успѣхѣ земледѣлія, получимъ, что подать поглотитъ весь чистый доходъ черезъ 27 лѣтъ и 8 мѣсяцевъ. Для тѣхъ, кто смотритъ на податной вопросъ недружелюбно, этотъ срокъ покажется совершенно достаточнымъ, чтобы не видѣть настоятельной необходимости въ немедленной перемѣнѣ; но такой взглядъ на нужды государственнаго хозяйства будетъ далеко не взглядомъ Петра Великаго, «чтобы между великими и нижними, убогими и богатыми по препорціи надлежащее равенство въ усмотрѣніи имѣть, ибо утѣсненные-убогіе дворы оставятъ, а государственные доходы современемъ весьма умалятся».

Рядомъ съ этой стороной вопроса есть и другая, выраженная императрицей Екатериной II въ указѣ 1794 г.—«что увеличеніе арміи соотвѣтственно обширности и достоинству имперіи сопрягаетъ съ собою необходимое умноженіе издержекъ на важную часть сію, обезпечивающую покой и благоденствіе подданныхъ отъ всякихъ непріятелей.» Армія дѣйствительно есть внѣшній признакъ международнаго государственнаго достоинства и той политической роли, какую играетъ народъ среди другихъ народовъ. Достоинство русской имперіи требовало сильной арміи и поддержаніе этого достоинства поглощало постоянно больше трети нашихъ доходовъ. Затѣмъ на всѣ остальныя государственныя надобности оставалось менѣе двухъ третей. Это отношеніе въ послѣднее время стало нѣсколько благопріятнѣе. Такъ, въ 1832 году, содержаніе арміи и флота стоило 44% всего дохода, въ 1849 г.—47%, а по бюджету 1870 г. только 35%. Очевидно, что на другія, не военныя, потребности страны удѣляется теперь бо́льшая доля, чѣмъ прежде. Впрочемъ, цифры бюджетныхъ расходовъ не даютъ точнаго понятія о системѣ нашего военнаго напряженія, потому что многія военныя потребности покрываютъ и покрываются натурой. Болѣе точное понятіе даетъ сравненіе процентнаго отношенія арміи къ населенію. Это сравненіе показываетъ, что

въ	1722 г.	при	14 м.	жителей	армія	195 т.	или	1,4%	населенія.
»	1742 »	»	16 »	»	»	245 »	»	1,5%	»
»	1762 »	»	19 »	»	»	272 »	»	1,4%	»
»	1782 »	»	28 »	»	»	384 »	»	1,4%	»
»	1796 »	»	36 »	»	»	496 »	»	1,4%	»
»	1812 »	»	41 »	»	»	876 »	»	2,1%	»
»	1835 »	»	60 »	»	»	852 »	»	1,4%	»
»	1851 »	»	68 »	»	»	1,049 »	»	1,5%	»
»	1858 »	»	74 »	»	»	927 »	»	1,3%	»
»	1869 »	»	78 »	»	»	1,173 »	»	1,5%	»

Слѣдовательно, со времени Петра Великаго въ размѣрѣ нашего военнаго напряженія не произошло никакихъ перемѣнъ.

Причину этого нужно искать не въ войнолюбивой политикѣ Россіи, а въ солидарности международныхъ политическихъ интересовъ. Если мы сдѣлаемъ сравненіе процентнаго отношенія арміи къ населенію въ другихъ европейскихъ государствахъ, то найдемъ, что

во Франціи	при	37	м.	населенія	армія	768	т. или	2%
въ Австріи	»	35	»	»	»	667	» »	1,9%
» Пруссіи	»	18	»	»	»	611	» »	3,4%
» Баваріи	»	4½	»	»	»	188	» »	4%
» Голландіи	»	3½	»	»	»	112	» »	3%

Повсюду процентное отношеніе выше, чѣмъ у насъ, и вообще оно въ государствахъ средняго размѣра выше, чѣмъ у великихъ державъ. Только въ Лихтенштейнѣ и въ Рейсъ-Грейцѣ отношеніе арміи къ населенію приближается къ русскому. Въ Лихтенштейнѣ оно 1,4%, въ Рейсъ-Грейцѣ 1,2%. Такимъ образомъ, чѣмъ ближе государства къ минимуму и максимуму величины, тѣмъ у нихъ войска менѣе сравнительно съ населеніемъ.

Въ денежныхъ расходахъ мы замѣчаемъ подобный же перевѣсъ Западной Европы надъ Россіей. Такъ, въ Англіи приходится на каждаго жителя всѣхъ государственныхъ расходовъ 14 р. 85 к.

Во Франціи	14 р.		
Въ Италіи	10 »	70 к.	
» Австріи	8 »	65 »	
» Пруссіи	7 »	15 »	
» Россіи	5 »	72 »	

Англичанинъ платитъ въ 2,6 раза больше чѣмъ русскій, французъ въ 2,4 раза больше, австріецъ въ 1,5 и пруссакъ 1,2 раза.

Расходы европейскихъ государствъ на армію, содержаніе дворовъ, уплату долговъ и на содержаніе полиціи составляютъ:

Въ Великобританіи	80%	всего	государственнаго	расхода.
» Австріи	58,9%	»	»	»
» Франціи	51,5%	»	»	»
» Пруссіи	44,7%	»	»	»
» Россіи	57,3%	»	»	»

Расходы этой категоріи причисляются къ непроизводительнымъ. Изъ числа же производительныхъ, расходы на образованіе составляютъ:

Въ Пруссіи	2,09%	всего	государственнаго	расхода.
» Великобританіи	1,7%	»	»	»

Во Франціи	1,25%	всего	государственнаго	расхода.
» Австріи	0,67%	»	»	»
» Россіи	1,53%	»	»	»

Расходы на общественныя сооруженія, промышленность, сельское хозяйство и торговлю составляютъ:

Въ Пруссіи	9,1%	всѣхъ	расходовъ.
» Франціи	8,7%	»	»
» Австріи	5,2%	»	»
» Великобританіи	3,3%	»	»
» Россіи	7,9%	»	»

Цифры показываютъ, что въ Европѣ царитъ повсюду одно начало и что уровень общаго европейскаго развитія еще такъ слабъ, что мирное экономическое развитіе, которому вмѣстѣ съ образованіемъ посвящается лишь отъ 5 до 11% всѣхъ государственныхъ расходовъ, оказывается возможнымъ только подъ сильной военной охраной и правительственно-полицейскимъ управленіемъ, поглощающими отъ 50 до 80% всѣхъ доходовъ.

Эти же цифры убѣждаютъ въ томъ, что при современномъ уровнѣ экономическаго развитія на производительное потребленіе европейскія государства не въ состояніи удѣлить больше 5 — 11%. Военное напряженіе и постоянный вооруженный миръ для всѣхъ тяжелъ, и между тѣмъ, ни одно изъ европейскихъ государствъ не можетъ выдѣлиться изъ связывающей всѣ державы общей политической солидарности. Сѣтованія на обременительныя военныя издержки теоретически справедливы, но практически безцѣльны и безрезультатны, ибо для Европы существованіе безъ армій вопросъ слишкомъ отдаленнаго будущаго и сомнительнаго разрѣшенія: объединившаяся Германія, для упроченія европейскаго мира, заключаетъ военный союзъ съ Австріею. Развѣ это не иронія! Будетъ логичнѣе, если мы примемъ, что издержки на нравственныя потребности народовъ и удовлетвореніе экономическихъ нуждъ малы не потому, что велики военные расходы, а потому, что за удовлетвореніемъ первыхъ надобностей—военныхъ и политическихъ—на вторыя взять больше нечего. Слѣдовательно, это вопросъ низкаго уровня понятій и слабаго экономическаго развитія народовъ.

Даже и военно-политическія надобности европейскихъ державъ

не покрываются платежными средствами народовъ. Ежегодный дефицитъ европейскихъ государствъ составляетъ 230,000,000 рублей, а въ процентномъ отношеніи:

Въ Австріи	21,1%	всего государственнаго дохода
» Турціи	13,6%	» » »
» Россіи	12,8%	» » »
» Франціи	6,8%	(до послѣдней войны).
» Пруссіи	1,6%	» » »

Даже самыя мелкія государства не избавились отъ него. И вотъ Европа ищетъ средства для удовлетворенія политическихъ надобностей во внѣшнихъ и внутреннихъ займахъ. Въ 1864 году европейскіе долги составляли 15.745.000,000 руб., а въ 1789 году они были только въ 3.434.000,000 руб., т. е. въ теченіе 82 лѣтъ увеличились на 358%.

Въ Россіи дефицитъ былъ постояннымъ спутникомъ государственнаго хозяйства и уже при Петрѣ Великомъ составлялъ болѣе 300,000 рублей. Въ нынѣшнемъ же столѣтіи, начиная съ 1832 года и по настоящій 1871 г., не было ни одного года безъ дефицита. Въ три года восточной войны дефицитъ составилъ громадную сумму — 649.000,000 руб.

Первые долги были сдѣланы императрицей Екатериной: внутренній, безпроцентный, введеніемъ ассигнацій, и внѣшній—голландскій. Съ этихъ поръ наши государственные долги начинаютъ быстро возрастать и къ 1867 г. достигаютъ слѣдующаго размѣра:

Срочные внѣшніе	211,129,500 р.
» внутренніе	209,130,000 »
Безсрочные внѣшніе	278,925,160 »
» внутренніе	203,863,685 »
Кредитныя учрежденія	37,119,000 »
Билеты государств. казнач.	216,000,000 »
По выкупн. операціямъ	216,889,358 »
Госуд. банк. 5% билетовъ	258,356,000 »
Безпроц. кредитн. »	568,467,129 »
Всего	2.199,879,732 »

Въ теченіе 98 лѣтъ съ 85 м. гульденовъ долгъ возросъ до 2 милльярдовъ рублей.

Долгъ Великобританіи	составляетъ	5	милльярдовъ	руб.
» Франціи	»	6	»	»
» Австріи	больше	2	»	»

Слѣдовательно, и въ отношеніи государственнаго долга Россія не первенствующее государство.

Но если всѣ приведенныя сравнительныя цифры мы возьмемъ по отношенію къ производительнымъ силамъ Россіи, то выводъ окажется не особенно благопріятнымъ для нашего государственнаго хозяйства.

Мы уже знаемъ, что англичанинъ платитъ въ 2,6 раза больше, чѣмъ русскій, и Англіи этого мало—долгъ ея составляетъ 5 милльярдовъ рублей; французъ платитъ въ 2,4 раза больше и долгъ Франціи 6 милльярдовъ; австріецъ въ 1,5 раза больше—долгъ Австріи больше двухъ милльярдовъ. Очевидно, что эти государства извлекаютъ изъ своихъ подданныхъ все, что можно извлечь; и такъ какъ больше извлекать прямымъ путемъ уже невозможно, то прибѣгается къ займамъ. При этомъ только отъ 5 до 11% всѣхъ доходовъ расходуются экономически-производительнымъ образомъ; остальные 89 до 95% идутъ на надобности международной и внутренней политики. Но мы въ тоже время знаемъ, что русскій земледѣлецъ получаетъ отъ своей пашни доходу въ три раза меньше, чѣмъ европеецъ, а платитъ податей въ три раза больше. Попытаемся опредѣлить русскія производительныя силы вообще.

Въ другомъ мѣстѣ мы уже дѣлали попытку подобнаго опредѣленія и оказалось, что Великобританія добываетъ 385,5 фунта желѣза на каждаго жителя, Пруссія 2,186,8 фунта, Россія 8,4.

Каменнаго угля Великобританія добываетъ 6,729,5 фунта на каждаго жителя, Пруссія 69,2 фунта, Россія 13,2 фунта.

Соли:	Великобританія	132	фунта	на	жителя.
	Пруссія	22,5	»	»	»
	Россія	16,3	»	»	»

Хлопчато-бумажныхъ издѣлій Великобританія производитъ на 18 р. 25 к. на каждаго жителя, Пруссія на 1 р. 65 к., Россія на 92,5 к.

Шерстяныхъ издѣлій Великобританія на 9 р. на каждаго жителя, Пруссія на 3 р. 5 к., Россія на 54 к.

Льняныхъ тканей: Великобританія на 3 р. 90 к. на жителя, Пруссія на 2 р. 77 к., Россія на 45 к.

Всего ткацкая промышленность производитъ въ Великобританіи на 36 р. 25 к. на каждаго жителя, въ Пруссіи на 9 р. 65 к., въ Россіи на 2 р. 6 к.

Вся же доходность промышленностей сельско-хозяйственной, горной и фабричной составляетъ:

Въ Великобританіи	2,015,880,000	руб.
» Пруссіи	519,775,000	»
» Россіи	857,516,200	»

Или на каждаго жителя:

Въ Великобританіи	69,5	руб.
» Пруссіи	28,8	»
» Россіи	11	»

Слѣдовательно, Пруссія производитъ въ 2,6 раза больше, чѣмъ Россія, а Великобританія въ 6,3 раза. Въ тоже время англичанинъ платитъ на государственныя надобности въ 2,6 раза больше, чѣмъ русскій, а пруссакъ въ 1,2 раза больше; это значитъ, что англичанинъ отдаетъ изъ своего дохода нѣсколько меньше $^1/_5$, пруссакъ $^1/_4$, а русскій почти половину.

Приведенныя огульныя цифры даютъ недостаточно точное понятіе о дѣйствительномъ давленіи, испытываемомъ нашими податными плательщиками, а потому мы обратимся къ цифрамъ болѣе спеціальнымъ.

По сословіямъ, населеніе европейской Россіи распредѣляется слѣдующимъ образомъ:

	Мужеск. пола:	Женск. пола:
Дворянъ потомственныхъ	338,187	339,230
» личныхъ и служащихъ	147,300	149,375
Духовныхъ	294,465	316,589
Городскихъ сословій	2,341,059	2,453,116
Сельскихъ сословій	24,204,963	25,279,702
Военныхъ сословій	2,225,182	1,821,437
Всего	29,531,156	

Изъ 29 м. мужскаго населенія плательщиками оказывается только 26 м. городскихъ и сельскихъ сословій, но въ числѣ городскихъ

сословій считается 253,000 потомственныхъ и личныхъ гражданъ и купцовъ, которые не платятъ ничего, кромѣ незначительныхъ гильдейскихъ пошлинъ, исчисленныхъ по росписи на 1870 годъ въ 10.888.000 руб. Налогъ этотъ зачисляется торгующими въ издержки производства и торговли и слѣдовательно выплачивается потребителями, главную массу которыхъ составляютъ все тѣже 26 милльоновъ крестьянъ; слѣдовательно, единственными плательщиками можно признать только сельское населеніе и частію мѣщанъ.

Съ этихъ плательщиковъ въ 1870 году предполагалось получить:

Подушной подати	60.006,000 руб.
Оброчной подати	35.555,000 »
Государственнаго земскаго сбора	19.247,143 »
Общественнаго сбора съ госуд. кр.	3.353.955 »
Выкупныхъ платежей	78.091,000 »
Всего	196.253,098 руб.

Кромѣ того, податное населеніе выплачиваетъ извѣстную сумму въ видѣ косвенныхъ налоговъ.

Главный косвенный налогъ есть питейный и главный потребитель вина есть народъ. Предположивъ на каждаго русскаго мужчину одинаковое потребленіе вина, получимъ, что податное сословіе въ видѣ акциза на вино выплачиваетъ 119.457,000 руб. а остальныя сословія 14.646,000 р.

Въ соляномъ доходѣ, принимая для расчета тоже основаніе, податное сословіе участвуетъ взносомъ 10.883,000 руб., а остальныя 1.229,000 руб.

Въ таможенномъ — податное 35,306,000 рублей, остальные 4.022,000 руб.

Въ налогѣ за право торговли—податное 9,100,000 руб., остальныя 1.788,000 руб.

Слѣдовательно, по главнымъ статьямъ государственной росписи податныя сословія платятъ 370.999,000 руб. Раздѣляя эту сумму на 122 милльона—число десятинъ крестьянскихъ земель *во всей* имперіи—получимъ, что на каждую крестьянскую десятину падаетъ прямыхъ и косвенныхъ налоговъ 3 р. $^{4}/_{10}$ коп., а на каждую податную душу 14 р. 26 к. Но какъ податную силу составляетъ только взрослое рабочее населеніе, то, умножая выведенную нами цифру на 2 получимъ, что рабочая душа платитъ 28 р. 52 к.

ЖИЗНЕННЫЯ ЗАДАЧИ ЗЕМСТВА.

I.

Еслибъ мы принадлежали къ цеху записныхъ историковъ, мы раздѣлили бы исторію русскаго народа на двѣ эпохи: на древнюю и новую. Древняя обнимала бы исторію народа отъ появленія его на политическомъ горизонтѣ до введенія земскихъ учрежденій, а новая излагала бы жизнь народа, облеченную въ формы земскихъ учрежденій. При этомъ нужно оговориться. Мы разумѣемъ не только тѣ дурно понятыя и плохо выполненныя земскія учрежденія, которыя теперь существуютъ, но преимущественно тѣ учрежденія, которыя должны заявить всю суть, выражать собою именно то, что вправѣ отъ нихъ ожидать русскій народъ. А вправѣ онъ отъ нихъ ожидать *всего*. По нашему крайнему убѣжденію, земскія учрежденія—лучшее пріобрѣтеніе русскаго народа за все время современной намъ эпохи. Въ земскихъ учрежденіяхъ народъ пріобрѣлъ право поднять, увеличить, улучшить свое экономическое состояніе, уменьшить свое экономическое убожество,—а это дороже и выше всего. Кромѣ того, онъ пріобрѣлъ пока право, а современемъ пріобрѣтетъ и возможность охранять свое народное здоровье. И если онъ захочетъ, то земскія учрежденія предоставляютъ ему право сдѣлаться грамотнымъ, а можетъ быть и умственно развитымъ. Поэтому въ земскихъ учрежденіяхъ мы видимъ самое свѣтлое явленіе въ жизни русскаго народа. Мы считаемъ ихъ самыми важными; мы глубоко убѣждены въ ихъ несомнѣнно-историческомъ значеніи. Народъ рус-

скій долженъ умѣючи и съ толкомъ воспользоваться земскими учрежденіями и притомъ настолько, чтобы сдѣлаться не только политически (въ этомъ онъ уже давно успѣлъ), но и исторически самостоятельнымъ народомъ.

Извѣстно, что до появленія земства всѣ были увѣрены въ его громадномъ соціальномъ значеніи. Лучшіе люди до глубины души проникались убѣжденіемъ, что земство устранитъ всѣ невзгоды, всѣ бѣдствія народа. На земство возлагались лучшія надежды и упованія. Заходила ли рѣчь въ кругу людей дѣла о томъ или другомъ бѣдствіи народномъ, непремѣнно кто-нибудь спѣшилъ утѣшить взволнованное чувство: «погодите, вотъ земство у насъ все это уладитъ». И всѣ сѣтованія умолкали. Никакой порядочный человѣкъ не позволилъ бы себѣ усумниться въ непогрѣшимой святости будущаго земства. А если бы какой-нибудь отпѣтый скептикъ позволилъ заикнуться какъ-нибудь не въ пользу земства, то онъ этимъ нанесъ бы личное оскорбленіе всѣмъ порядочнымъ людямъ. Да какъ же иначе на самомъ дѣлѣ. Вотъ, напримѣръ, въ такомъ-то уѣздѣ исправникъ страшно злоупотребляетъ своею властью. Ну, и пусть его; вотъ будетъ земство, тогда вѣдь всѣ исправники потеряютъ значеніе, слѣдовательно и всякое взяточничество само собою исчезнетъ. Какъ только земство войдетъ въ силу, никакимъ злоупотребленіямъ мѣста не будетъ. Вѣдь мы тогда сами будемъ управлять своими дѣлами, которыя пойдутъ превосходно уже потому, что въ земство попадутъ лучшіе люди, самые отборные дѣятели! Нравственное же значеніе земства просто не имѣетъ ничего себѣ подобнаго. Шутка ли на самомъ дѣлѣ: вѣдь во всѣхъ дѣлахъ и предпріятіяхъ народъ самъ себѣ хозяинъ, во всемъ самъ себѣ даетъ отчетъ. А прогрессивное развитіе народа вполнѣ зависитъ отъ земства, потому что всякая иниціатива въ рукахъ земства.

Таковы были розовыя мечты оптимистовъ, и какъ это ни странно, но мы должны сознаться, что въ этихъ желаніяхъ очень мало преувеличеннаго. Правда, масса недоброжелателей всегда опровергала возможность осуществленія всѣхъ этихъ упованій. Къ чему такая утрировка, говорили они. Вѣдь у насъ не въ первый разъ вводятся реформы съ самыми свѣтлыми надеждами на будущее, но потомъ все это лопается. Учрежденіе само по себѣ хорошее, съ самыми благими намѣреніями, попадая въ наши негодныя руки, искажается самымъ недостойнымъ образомъ и въ результатѣ выходитъ не польза, а вредъ.

Вспомните то время, когда у насъ вводили учрежденія государственныхъ имуществъ. Тогда тоже, какъ и теперь, всѣ кричали, что вотъ когда заживетъ народъ; вотъ когда онъ сдѣлается счастливѣйшимъ народомъ въ свѣтѣ. Тогдашнія палаты должны были завѣдывать крестьянскимъ хозяйствомъ, имѣли право страховать ихъ имущество, заводить у нихъ вездѣ порядокъ, онѣ должны были ввести сельскія школы и распространять грамотность, руководить умственнымъ развитіемъ народа и т. п. Всякому извѣстно, что вышло въ результатѣ. Тоже будетъ съ вашимъ земствомъ.

Однако же сравненіе это не особенно удачное. Вѣдь тутъ никакой параллели нѣтъ, вѣдь земскія учрежденія основаны на совершенно противоположныхъ началахъ.

Это правда, что они основаны на совершенно противоположныхъ началахъ, но люди-то остались тѣ же. Въ доказательство лучше всего можно привести нѣсколько лѣтъ существованія земства, которое въ итогѣ въ большинствѣ случаевъ не дало ничего, не принесло никакой пользы, а скорѣе сдѣлалось обузой для народа. Первое то, что въ большинствѣ губерній народъ не принимаетъ ровно никакого участія въ дѣлѣ земства. Что въ управѣ засѣдаютъ одинъ или два крестьянина въ качествѣ членовъ, еще не доказываетъ, что ихъ дѣйствительно выбралъ народъ, какъ довѣренныхъ лицъ, которымъ онъ поручилъ охранять свои интересы и право иниціативы въ чемъ бы то ни было. Явленіе это даже вовсе и не случайное, а только совершенно діаметрально понятое.

Такъ, мы за положительно вѣрное знаемъ, что въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ крестьяне выбрали гласными людей, которыхъ они хотѣли этимъ наказать, людей, не пользовавшихся уваженіемъ крестьянъ за разныя дурныя продѣлки. Каково же было положеніе односелянъ, когда они потомъ провѣдали, что тотъ самый господинъ, котораго они старались удалить изъ своей среды, очутился членомъ управы и получаетъ тысячу рублей жалованья въ годъ, тысячу рублей, упавшихъ новымъ налогомъ на тѣхъ же крестьянъ! Вотъ вы говорите: «выборное начало». Все это пустяки. Послушайте, какъ совершились выборы въ одномъ изъ уѣздныхъ городовъ пермской губерніи. Съѣхались гласные отъ крестьянъ и другихъ сословій. Гласные изъ крестьянъ большею частью люди безграмотные, и чуть-ли не всѣ отправленные въ наказаніе. Нужно замѣтить, что народъ во многихъ мѣстахъ считаетъ земскую управу — зем-

ской расправой, а всѣ земскія учрежденія — прежней земской полиціей! Туда-молъ понадобился засѣдатель прежнихъ временъ и туда выбираютъ, что есть наиболѣе неудобоуживаемаго въ крестьянской средѣ. Собравшись, стали толковать о выборахъ. Вамъ конечно не безъизвѣстно, что у насъ въ каждомъ селѣ всегда найдется кулакъ, загребистая рука, опытный эксплуататоръ. Это обыкновенно или изъ волостныхъ писарей, или торгующій крестьянинъ. Тѣ скоро смекнули, чѣмъ тутъ пахнетъ, и имъ ровно ничего не стоило устроить дѣло такъ, чтобы попасть въ гласные. Такія личности обыкновенно коротко знакомы съ мировыми посредниками и съ исправникомъ. А въ глазахъ крестьянина начальство достойно извѣстнаго уваженія уже потому самому, что оно начальство. Стало-быть ужъ коли начальство само якшается за панибрата съ мѣстнымъ сельскимъ аристократомъ, то значитъ и спору быть не можетъ, что онъ и человѣкъ хорошій, и всему голова. Собравшись въ уѣздномъ городѣ, одинъ изъ такихъ дѣльцовъ и повелъ мины, чтобы попасть въ предсѣдатели. Наканунѣ выборовъ онъ пригласилъ къ себѣ всѣхъ гласныхъ изъ крестьянъ, а ихъ было большинство. Предложилъ имъ чай и между прочимъ вопросъ, согласны ли они имѣть его своимъ предсѣдателемъ. Понятно, что всѣ изъявили полнѣйшее согласіе. Чтобы въ этомъ окончательно убѣдиться, онъ роздалъ гласнымъ по куску сахару, указалъ на двѣ фуражки, правую и лѣвую, произнесъ нѣсколько приличныхъ случаю увѣщаній и предложилъ учинить примѣръ балотировки. Всѣ гласные сложили сахаръ въ правую фуражку и торжественно поднесли гостепріимному хозяину. Будущій засѣдатель провелъ ночь въ сладкой полудремотѣ. У него изъ головы не выходила фуражка съ сахаромъ. На другой день всѣ иллюзіи рушились. Его прокатили на вороныхъ. Это бы еще ничего. Но дѣло въ томъ, что такимъ же образомъ забалотировали и всѣхъ остальныхъ гласныхъ. Выборы кончились ничѣмъ. Выбрать же, такъ или иначе, а нужно во чтобы ни стало. Что прикажете дѣлать? Надо послать телеграмму губернатору, чтобы онъ разрѣшилъ *вторично* выборы. А если и вторично всѣхъ забракуютъ, что тогда? Поэтому, прежде чѣмъ послать телеграмму губернатору, условились, чтобъ непремѣнно во что-бы то ни стало такого-то выбрать предсѣдателемъ, а такихъ-то членами. Губернаторъ разрѣшилъ вторично выборы съ условіемъ, чтобы они *состоялись*. И выбрали. Вотъ какимъ искуственнымъ путемъ совершаются выборы въ земство! Вотъ вамъ выборное начало. Управа

оказалась состоящею изъ трехъ крестьянъ, изъ которыхъ двое совершенно безграмотныхъ и прилагавшихъ вмѣсто подписи свою печатку. Когда потомъ публика подняла на-смѣхъ эту пресловутую управу, то лучшіе представители земскаго дѣла положительно доказывали, что не кого было выбрать, что совершенно безразлично, тотъ-ли или другой изъ гласныхъ попалъ бы въ число членовъ управы, что дѣло отъ этого нисколько не выиграло. И это совершенно справедливо. Мало того, въ цѣломъ уѣздѣ нѣтъ ни одного лица, на которомъ могъ бы сознательно остановиться вашъ выборъ. Мѣстный органъ печати, губернскія вѣдомости (достаточно назвать ихъ), желая убѣдить, что онъ не отстаетъ отъ вѣка, хвастаетъ демократическимъ строемъ выборовъ и съ гордостью возвѣщаетъ, какое множество крестьянъ попали въ гласные, въ предсѣдатели и члены управы. Хотя это отчасти и такъ, но въ сущности здѣсь ровно ничего нѣтъ утѣшительнаго, потому что пока крестьянинъ остается крестьяниномъ или собственнымъ путемъ развитія преобразуется въ иного человѣка,—дѣло идетъ хорошо; но когда крестьянинъ, оторванный отъ сохи, вдругъ становится начальствомъ, то это одна только мука, толку здѣсь никакого быть не можетъ, дѣло же будетъ подвигаться такъ же хорошо, какъ мокрое горѣть. Мы видѣли выборы еще въ другомъ мѣстѣ. Уѣздъ очень богатый, потому что онъ почти цѣликомъ принадлежитъ большимъ землевладѣльцамъ, которые всѣ живутъ въ столицѣ или заграницей. Управляющіе явились въ качествѣ довѣренныхъ, къ нимъ присоединилось небольшое число со стороны города изъ купцовъ и бывшій исправникъ, удаленный изъ службы за непомѣрное взяточничество. Лица эти должны были выбрать изъ своей среды гласныхъ. Со стороны собственно народа здѣсь ровно никого не было. Мы разумѣемъ, что со стороны ста тысячъ душъ мужскаго пола не было никого, кто указалъ бы на нужды или отстаивалъ бы какіе-нибудь интересы. Наличное число явившихся съ правомъ голоса было ниже требуемаго закономъ числа гласныхъ, а потому всѣ наличные выборщики, безъ всякаго выбора по закону были признаны гласными. Не понимаемъ, рѣшительно не понимаемъ, что было общаго между всѣмъ рабочимъ, всѣмъ крестьянскимъ населеніемъ уѣзда и этими людьми, вдругъ очутившимися гласными. Не понимаемъ, какъ и почему эти люди взяли себѣ право устроивать и располагать земскимъ дѣломъ по своему усмотрѣнію. Наконецъ, нужно выбрать управу. На мѣсто предсѣдателя явились два претендента:

бывшій исправникъ, человѣкъ очень ловкій, говорунъ, краснобай, человѣкъ энергическій, но удаленный изъ службы за многіе грѣхи, и отставной чиновникъ изъ горныхъ, бывшій нѣкогда караваннымъ, а потому теперь милліонеръ. Первый непосредственно имѣлъ дѣло съ народомъ и далъ ему себя хорошо почувствовать, наживъ состояніе. Второй, посредствомъ казны и горной эксплоатаціи, нажилъ еще большее состояніе. Человѣкъ этотъ сперва смотрѣлъ на казну какъ на дойную корову, а теперь готовъ былъ поглотить всю имперію, или, по меньшей мѣрѣ, свой уѣздъ превратить въ собственную вотчину. Выборъ палъ на послѣдняго, потому что—человѣкъ съ огромнымъ вѣсомъ, ворочаетъ милліонами, многіе же у него въ долгу. Но вскорѣ послѣ выборовъ, имѣя очень много разнообразныхъ дѣлъ, предсѣдатель уѣхалъ и цѣлые мѣсяцы проживалъ то на Кавказѣ, то въ Петербургѣ, то въ другихъ мѣстахъ, куда призывали его собственныя его дѣла. Судите сами, какой тутъ толкъ.

Повторяемъ, что это далеко не единственный фактъ. Въ восточной полосѣ Россіи мы знаемъ выборы такого рода и сорта въ большинствѣ случаевъ, о другихъ же мы не могли достать свѣдѣній; такъ что едва-ли съ нашей стороны будетъ большой утрировкой, если мы обобщимъ этотъ фактъ и признаемъ такое явленіе — повсемѣстнымъ. Несомнѣнно вѣрнѣе признать исключеніемъ, почти явленіемъ случайнымъ, выборы, не подходящіе подъ эту схему. Такимъ образомъ мы просто предполагаемъ, что у насъ земскіе выборы крайне несостоятельны, что собственно народъ вовсе ихъ не понимаетъ, не сознаетъ и никакого участія въ нихъ не принимаетъ. Выборы, какъ въ гласные, такъ и въ члены управъ, почти повсемѣстно крайне искусственны, формальны; это — обязанность, предписанная закономъ и которую необходимо выполнить. Такимъ образомъ въ земство стараются попасть люди, руководимые исключительно личными интересами. Людей же, которые бы шли въ земство, руководимые интересами народа, прямо преданные этому дѣлу, людей, которые бы въ успѣхѣ земскаго дѣла видѣли свое собственное благо, мы такихъ не видали, да и видѣлъ ли ихъ кто нибудь. Понятное дѣло, что быть напримѣръ предсѣдателемъ губернской земской управы очень выгодная вещь. Во-первыхъ, очень видное положеніе, во-вторыхъ—великолѣпное жалованье (четыре или пять тысячъ рублей). На эти деньги въ провинціи можно жить очень хорошо. Дѣла не особенно много. Если завели машину хорошенько,

вамъ остается только подписывать ежедневно по нѣсколько разъ свою фамилію, а тамъ канцелярія все сдѣлаетъ. Еще то хорошо, что здѣсь очень удобно можно умѣренно либеральничать. Если вы при этомъ въ нѣкоторомъ антагонизмѣ съ губернаторомъ—репутація ваша самая удовлетворительная и такъ называемое общественное мнѣніе вполнѣ на вашей сторонѣ.

Итакъ, мы полагаемъ, что земскія учрежденія состоятъ отчасти изъ элементовъ, совершенно чуждыхъ народу. Положеніе дѣла довольно затруднительное. Въ Россіи мы все-еще вынуждены отличать три слоя населенія: во-первыхъ, привиллегированный классъ и крестьянское населеніе. Между ними—ничего общаго, ихъ отношенія не выяснены и не очищены еще отъ традицій, стремленія далеко не солидарны. Отдать въ руки того или другаго класса всѣ дѣла земства, предоставить привиллегированному или крестьянскому населенію исключительное право вѣдать земское дѣло значитъ убить дѣло въ самомъ его зародышѣ. Привиллегированный классъ тогда непремѣнно превратитъ все дѣло исключительно въ свою собственную пользу. Вручить все дѣло земства крестьянскому сословію — значитъ погубить дѣло если не вполнѣ, то въ лучшихъ его предначертаніяхъ и стремленіяхъ; потому что крестьяне, сами по себѣ, пока не способны ни на какую иниціативу. Дѣло у нихъ заглохнетъ, потому что они не обладаютъ ни развитіемъ, ни умѣньемъ взяться за что нибудь. Словомъ, какими бы высокими чувствами мы ни были проникнуты въ отношеніи народа, но мы не можемъ за нимъ признать того, чего онъ на самомъ дѣлѣ не имѣетъ. Привиллегированный же классъ также крайне бѣденъ общественными дѣятелями. Люди съ общественнымъ талантомъ въ этомъ классѣ исключительная рѣдкость, да если они и есть, то доступъ имъ въ земство крайне затруднителенъ. Общественныхъ дѣятелей съ современнымъ развитіемъ въ крестьянской средѣ еще меньше, или, вѣрнѣе сказать, ихъ тамъ вовсе нѣтъ и быть не могло. Откуда имъ было взяться? Предшествовавшая жизнь вовсе къ тому не подготовляла, не располагала. Тысячелѣтнее рабство удержало весь народъ на той же первобытной ступени умственнаго и соціальнаго развитія, на которой его застала исторія. Привиллегированный же классъ, до сихъ поръ по крайней мѣрѣ, преслѣдовалъ совершенно иныя цѣли, и однимъ почеркомъ пера, однимъ мановеніемъ руки не могъ преобразиться. Остается весьма немногочисленный интеллигентный классъ. Этотъ классъ, искренно сочувствуя народу,

обладаетъ тѣмъ великимъ преимуществомъ, что онъ въ силахъ всегда помирить интересы обоихъ классовъ, уладить ихъ взаимныя и неизбѣжныя столкновенія; этотъ классъ одинъ въ состояніи вести дѣло такъ, чтобы и волки были сыты, и овцы цѣлы. Но онъ-то и устраненъ изъ сферы дѣятельности земскихъ учрежденій. Выраженіе это впрочемъ не совсѣмъ вѣрно. Онъ только не имѣетъ права голоса, а совсѣмъ безъ него обойтись земство никакъ не можетъ,—къ крайнему своему прискорбію. Ниже мы это объяснимъ. До тѣхъ поръ, пока въ земство не проникнетъ этотъ третій, интеллигентный элементъ и при томъ не только съ правомъ голоса, но съ извѣстной долей участія, до тѣхъ поръ дѣло земства не подвинется впередъ, а застынетъ въ мертвыхъ формахъ съ пустымъ, безжизненнымъ содержаніемъ. Мы глубоко убѣждены, что ни одно учрежденіе не нуждается столько въ людяхъ энергическихъ, съ порядочной дозой энтузіазма, какъ земство. Холодныя индиферентныя отношенія, формальная и буквальная точность въ исполненіи, присущія бюрократизму, не къ лицу земству, вредятъ его прогрессивному назначенію, тормозятъ его на каждомъ шагу. Да, для своего развитія, земство нуждается прежде всего и больше чѣмъ всякое другое учрежденіе въ людяхъ энергическихъ, честныхъ, развитыхъ, въ энтузіастахъ, горячо преданныхъ дѣлу народнаго преуспѣянія. Не подлежитъ ни малѣйшему сомнѣнію, что огромная разница между тяжкодумомъ и пассивнымъ лежебокой съ одной стороны, и дѣятельнымъ, подвижнымъ, безпокойнымъ, энергическимъ, неутомимымъ энтузіастомъ съ другой. Что сдѣлаетъ послѣдній въ одинъ день, того не сдѣлать первому за цѣлый мѣсяцъ. Мы не говоримъ, что въ земствѣ нужны отчаянные либералы, фантазеры и всевозможные «исты»; мы также не утверждаемъ, что необходимо устранить всѣхъ консерваторовъ и рутинеровъ; мы только требуемъ, чтобы люди, идущіе въ земство, на службу народу, были поворотливѣе, бойчѣе, незаспаны, поживѣе, словомъ—энергичные. А то наши земскіе Обломовы слишкомъ ужъ спятъ, и дѣла не дѣлаютъ и отъ дѣла не бѣгаютъ и только такъ-себѣ вяло подписываютъ бумаги. Но такіе люди чаще всего встрѣчаются именно въ третьемъ, интеллигентномъ классѣ, лишенномъ непосредственнаго участія въ дѣлѣ земства. Но кромѣ того, такъ какъ земство все-таки не можетъ обойтись безъ людей этого класса, то выходятъ вѣчныя недоразумѣнія между представителями земства и интеллигентными его работниками. Мы только-что сказали, что земство безъ нихъ не можетъ обойтись. И дѣйствительно, присмо-

тритесь пристальнѣе и вы убѣдитесь, что въ томъ земствѣ дѣло идетъ относительно хорошо, въ которомъ секретаремъ управы какой нибудь даровитый или даже подъ-часъ талантливый семинаристъ или кто нибудь другой въ этомъ родѣ. Земство также не можетъ обойтись безъ медиковъ; часто случается, что въ земство попадаетъ дѣльный врачъ, который умѣетъ сблизиться съ предсѣдателемъ и подвинуть его на что нибудь хорошее. Учителя же, попадающіе въ школы, содержимыя земствомъ, пока остаются безъ всякаго вліянія.

Всякій, кто желаетъ взглянуть на земство безпристрастно, легко согласится, что земству сообщено не совсѣмъ правильное направленіе. Если государственная машина питается и содержится прямыми и косвенными налогами, то это еще понятно, хотя и она теперь стремится къ другимъ источникамъ существованія. Земство же съ самаго начала своего появленія сдѣлало непростительный промахъ въ томъ отношеніи, что пошло тѣмъ же путемъ и не нашло себѣ другихъ основъ и другихъ источниковъ. Всѣ государственныя учрежденія имѣютъ свои особенныя, спеціальныя, чисто государственныя цѣли. Эти цѣли не представляются народу въ доступной ему, осязательной формѣ. Государство заинтересовано, чтобы въ немъ господствовалъ извѣстный установленный законный sui generis порядокъ. Оно заботится объ охраненіи своихъ границъ и о выполненіи своей политической роли. Для достиженія такихъ цѣлей государство тратитъ огромныя денежныя средства и вся машина имѣетъ обособленный, строго цѣлесообразный характеръ. Народъ, цѣликомъ взятый, содержитъ эту машину и тратитъ на нее наибольшую долю своихъ трудовъ. Но отъ всего этого народъ не получаетъ себѣ никакой видимой, непосредственной, осязательной пользы. Отсюда неизбѣжно слѣдуетъ, что земскія учрежденія должны имѣть совершенно противоположный характеръ. Каждый грошъ, расходуемый земствомъ, долженъ быть употребленъ только на потребности народа, на его мѣстныя нужды. Не можетъ быть никакого сомнѣнія въ томъ, что государство послѣ цѣлаго ряда вѣковъ наконецъ убѣдилось въ слишкомъ одностороннемъ направленіи своей дѣятельности. Всѣ учрежденія имѣли слишкомъ общій характеръ, преслѣдовали слишкомъ отдаленныя цѣли. Государство сознало наконецъ необходимость допустить такого рода учрежденіе, которое имѣло бы въ виду чисто народные, мѣстные, непосредственные интересы; съ этой цѣлью и было введено земство. Но земство въ свою очередь слишкомъ узко поняло свое назначеніе. Имѣя предъ собой готовыми одни лишь администра-

тивные и бюрократическіе образцы формальной дѣятельности, оно явилось лишь подражателемъ въ своей новой дѣятельности. Принадлежа сами къ людямъ, вовсе незнакомымъ съ порядками самоуправленія и ведя свое происхожденіе отъ людей, насквозь пропитанныхъ отжившими традиціями, земскіе дѣятели сразу не могли отрѣшиться отъ самихъ себя, чтобы облечься въ новыя формы, и пошли обычнымъ путемъ канцелярскихъ порядковъ. И вотъ земство, набранное изъ людей этой сферы, естественно могло понять скорѣе всего свое право дѣлать новые налоги и на собранныя деньги заводить учрежденія односторонняго характера. Въ этомъ-то заключается крайняя несостоятельность земства. Тутъ нѣтъ никакихъ жизненныхъ соковъ. Вѣдь собственно говоря, дѣло совершается очень просто, такимъ образомъ. Собираются нѣсколько выборныхъ гласныхъ, назначаютъ опредѣленные налоги съ души, или съ имущества и собранную сумму денегъ распредѣляютъ такимъ образомъ, что часть идетъ на содержаніе управы, предсѣдателя и членовъ (это чуть ли не львиная часть), затѣмъ часть денегъ идетъ на улучшеніе большихъ дорогъ, на проложеніе новыхъ путей, на устройство мостовъ и плотинъ, по которымъ больше всего все-таки проѣзжаютъ привиллегированные классы и отъ которыхъ народу не только не тепло, но скорѣе наоборотъ; потомъ громадныя деньги уходятъ на земскую гоньбу, что также не особенно радуетъ народъ, такъ какъ на выставленныхъ лошадяхъ катаются исключительно чиновники и земскіе чины. Если послѣ этихъ расходовъ еще что нибудь остается, то заводятъ медицину и школы: и то и другое скорѣе для проформы, чѣмъ на самомъ дѣлѣ изъ состраданія къ народу. Правда, въ тѣхъ мѣстахъ, гдѣ преобладаетъ помѣщичій элементъ, земскую медицину смѣло можно переименовать въ помѣщичью медицину, только на новыхъ началахъ. Хотя и прежде были врачи для помѣщиковъ, но прежде сами помѣщики имъ платили жалованье изъ своего кармана, хотя правда тоже наполняемаго трудами крестьянъ, теперь же цѣлый уѣздъ иногда содержитъ врачей, которые такъ или иначе должны ладить съ помѣщиками, т. е. исключительно ихъ однихъ и лечить. Прежде роптали, что исправники сильно наживаются. Если исправникъ получалъ въ годъ «доходу» 10,000 руб., то это считалось довольно крупнымъ кушемъ. Но въ какомъ нибудь Камышловѣ содержаніе управы стоитъ 12,000 р. Что отъ этой перемѣны выигралъ народный карманъ? Ровно ничего. Если прежде отправлялъ гоньбу и исправлялъ дороги самъ исправникъ и за эти труды бралъ себѣ 10,000 р. сер. въ годъ, то ка-

рактеръ. Составитель проекта былъ однакоже нѣсколько удивленъ и приписалъ счастливый успѣхъ только тому, что никто на земскомъ собраніи ничего не понялъ. Поняли только, что нужны врачи, лекарства, фельдшера, но какихъ врачей и почему, ровно ничего не поняли и.... утвердили. Фактъ съ одной стороны прискорбный, прискорбный потому, что масса слушателей, хотя и сознавала свои нужды, не съумѣла ихъ высказать, оформить, помочь. Но зато крайне утѣшительнымъ для насъ явленіемъ было уже то, что въ такомъ отдаленномъ захолустьи, въ такомъ забытомъ уголку все-таки нашелся дѣльный человѣкъ, развитой, образованный, понимающій интересы и потребности народа, который съумѣлъ разсказать, объяснить, убѣдить, провести проектъ, осуществить полезное народу дѣло. А такими одиночными личностями, такими выдающимися фактами можетъ похвалиться чуть не каждое земство.

Вотъ къ этимъ-то преимущественно личностямъ, искренно преданнымъ интересамъ земства, мы и обращаемся съ нашими соображеніями. Хотя участь ихъ и главное пребываніе въ земствѣ слишкомъ кратковременно, хотя значеніе и вліяніе ихъ довольно шатко и эфемерно, но все-же иногда попытки ихъ удаются и приносятъ неоцѣненную пользу. Только эти личности способны понять насъ и скорѣе другихъ согласиться съ нами, что земство, собирая съ народа деньги въ видѣ налоговъ, можетъ тратить эти деньги до единаго гроша только на пользу народа же. Расходовать хотя бы то одну копѣйку, не приносящую непосредственной пользы народу, земство не должно, не можетъ, не вправѣ. Но зато оно имѣетъ несравненно болѣе важное право. Оно можетъ и должно пріискивать источники доходовъ и обращать ихъ въ пользу народа. Мы убѣждены, что земство только тогда будетъ стоять прочно на своихъ ногахъ, только тогда будетъ пользоваться искреннимъ уваженіемъ со стороны народа, только тогда будетъ дорого народу, когда оно налоговъ непосредственно на народъ *вовсе не станетъ налагать*, а пріищетъ другіе пути, другіе источники и обратитъ ихъ въ пользу народу. Это не утопія и не какой нибудь неосуществимый идеалъ. Напротивъ того, земство имѣетъ всѣ средства подъ рукой сдѣлаться богатымъ и быть крайне полезнымъ народу. Изъ такихъ-то доходовъ и только изъ такихъ оно вправѣ будетъ расходовать деньги на свое собственное содержаніе. Пока же оно этого права, положа руку на сердце, не имѣетъ. Такими источниками доходовъ богата у насъ любая губернія. Мы здѣсь пред-

ставимъ нѣкоторые примѣры. Въ пермской губерніи отъ города Перми до города Камышлова отъ города Екатеринбурга до города Шадринска и отъ Камышлова до города Ирбита содержитъ такъ называемыя «вольныя почты» частное лицо. Уже теперь не секретъ, что на пространствѣ этихъ тысячъ верстъ, почтосодержатель нанимаетъ мѣстныхъ мужиковъ и платитъ имъ за каждую тройку лошадей съ версты отъ $4^1/_2$ до 5 копѣекъ, между тѣмъ какъ съ проѣзжающаго онъ беретъ за тройку лошадей всѣхъ 9 копѣекъ. Кромѣ того, ямщики обязаны отъ него покупать овесъ и т. д. Оставивъ продажу овса въ сторонѣ, легко догадаться, что почтосодержатель имѣетъ громадные доходы. Пусть останется таже цѣна за проѣздъ, но пусть эти копѣйки останутся не въ рукахъ монополиста, а попадутъ въ руки мѣстнаго земства—и вотъ вамъ средство, не налагая на народъ никакихъ налоговъ, устроить для него въ цѣлой трети губерніи не то школы, не то больницы съ врачами. Въ той же пермской губерніи масса казенныхъ заводовъ. Мы въ другомъ мѣстѣ высказали, что самое лучшее было бы эти заводы сдать рабочимъ артелямъ въ полную собственность, но у насъ не рѣшаются на такое разрѣшеніе вопроса и откладываютъ его до поры до времени, пока дѣло терпитъ. Земство же весьма легальный путь. И вотъ казенные горные заводы могли бы перейти въ собственность земства, также какъ и обширнѣйшіе лѣса пермской губерніи, также какъ и рыбная ловля по Камѣ, и все это вмѣстѣ давало бы земству средства содержать себя, и школы, и врачей, и больницы, и т. п. Въ любомъ уѣздѣ пермской губерніи имѣются во множествѣ естественныя богатства; тамъ хорошая глина, здѣсь неисчерпаемая руда, въ иномъ мѣстѣ богатѣйшія залежи каменнаго угля и все это на земляхъ, населенныхъ государственными крестьянами. Все это ждетъ не дождется эксплуатаціи, нѣтъ предпріимчивости, нѣтъ иниціативы.

Въ самарской губерніи богатѣйшая и обширнѣйшая хлѣбная торговля или, лучше сказать, хлѣбное производство. Огромное населеніе отдаетъ всю свою продуктивность въ руки двухъ-трехъ капиталистовъ, эксплуатирующихъ народный трудъ до послѣдней крайности. Земство положительно обязано взять на себя правильную эксплуатацію народнаго труда, и производство, дающее милліоны дохода, должно сдѣлаться земскимъ достояніемъ, т. е. народнымъ. Такое же богатство представляетъ рыбная ловля въ Астрахани. Если мы сюда прибавимъ пароходство, желѣзныя дороги, страхованіе и другіе источники разнаго рода, то читателю станетъ ясно, что у зем-

ства обширное поприще дѣятельности. Была бы охота и умѣнье. Но вѣдь именно въ этомъ и заключаются жизненныя задачи земства, вѣдь именно въ этомъ и коренится вся суть его истиннаго существованія и существенной народной пользы. Безъ этого, земство—пустая формальность или, пожалуй, еще хуже: обуза для народа. Земство должно поэтому стремиться къ тому, чтобы не брать съ народа *ничего* и давать народу *все*. Все—значитъ все то, что оно вправѣ давать. Легально же оно вправѣ дать народу очень много, именно: школу, медицину и экономическое благосостояніе. Да больше этого ничего и не нужно пока. Больше этого просто грѣхъ затѣвать что-нибудь земству. Земство должно быть строго вѣрно себѣ. Мы не требуемъ, чтобы земскіе дѣятели были совершенно чужды всякихъ соціальныхъ тенденцій, но они могутъ проявлять ихъ въ другомъ мѣстѣ; здѣсь же, въ земствѣ, они могутъ лишь повредить, погубить народное дѣло несвоевременными, неумѣстными затѣями. Альфа и омега земства—поднять экономическое убожество народа до степени благосостоянія. Въ этомъ отношеніи, въ этомъ смыслѣ земству предстоитъ пропасть работы, но за то никакое другое земство и не мыслимо. То земство не земство, которое, съ грѣхомъ пополамъ выбранное, собирается, дѣлаетъ произвольный налогъ, часть удѣляетъ на содержаніе управы, а другую часть на дороги и гоньбу. Какой тутъ толкъ и какая тутъ выгода народу? Выходя изъ того принципа, что земство обязано каждую копѣйку, взятую съ народа, возвращать ему же, оно уже будетъ не вправѣ тратить по сту тысячъ на содержаніе управъ въ губерніи. Возьмите бюджетъ любой губерніи, и вы убѣдитесь, что всякое земство тратитъ огромныя суммы на содержаніе управъ, которыя круглый годъ ровно ничего не дѣлаютъ и дѣлать не могутъ. Присмотритесь пристальнѣй, и вы убѣдитесь, что иная управа—просто два безграмотные мужика-члена да безтолковый канцелярскій служитель въ качествѣ предсѣдателя, и всѣми ими орудуетъ какой-нибудь крючкотворъ изъ приказныхъ. Ничего нѣтъ смѣшнѣе такой управы. При этомъ цѣлая канцелярія съ книгами, писцами, чернильницами, перьями, стопами бумаги, исписанной и разлинованной. Все это завалено исходящими и входящими, безъ смысла, безъ толку, безъ всякой надобности, безъ заранѣе обдуманной цѣли, молча, машинально. Все это наводитъ лишь тоску и уныніе. Намъ иной разъ даже кажется, что легко бы было совсѣмъ обойтись безъ этихъ дорого стоющихъ и ничего не дѣлающихъ управъ. Пред-

ставьте себѣ такой порядокъ. Собравшееся земское собраніе, вѣрное принципу народной экономіи, обсуждаетъ свои насущныя нужды. Оно приглашаетъ отъ одного до трехъ врачей на уѣздъ и сдаетъ имъ дѣло медицины въ полное вѣдѣніе. Ниже мы это объяснимъ подробно. Это первое. Затѣмъ второе—училищная часть. Земство должно разстаться съ однимъ крупнымъ предразсудкомъ; ему необходимо отказаться отъ компетентности по всѣмъ отраслямъ знанія. Странно и непонятно, откуда родилась у земства полная увѣренность въ компетентности по всевозможнымъ вопросамъ. Если бы земству какъ нибудь поручили заниматься изслѣдованіемъ небесныхъ свѣтилъ и слѣдить за ихъ движеніемъ, оно ни мало не задумалось бы и превратилось бы въ спеціальныя конторы по части астрономіи. Пора отрѣшиться отъ этихъ заблужденій. Необходимо предоставить всякому свое. Все это мы говоримъ въ отношеніи весьма важнаго для земства вопроса объ училищахъ и школахъ. Какъ въ медицинѣ, такъ и въ вопросѣ школьнаго образованія, земство слишкомъ самоувѣренно берется за дѣло и сплошь и рядомъ терпитъ отчаянное фіаско. Кто у насъ не умѣетъ лечить и кто откажется отъ права толковать и разсуждать о педагогіи! Земству необходимо поставить это дѣло на прочную ногу. Для этого каждое земское собраніе приглашаетъ опытнаго спеціалиста педагога, платитъ ему хорошее содержаніе, minimum 1,200 р. сер. и вручаетъ ему все дѣло школьнаго образованія въ своемъ уѣздѣ. Такой спеціалистъ педагогъ, въ родѣ старшаго врача, приглашаетъ учителей или учительницъ по своему собственному усмотрѣнію, устраиваетъ школы, слѣдитъ за преподаваніемъ въ нихъ, за ихъ успѣхами, вводитъ улучшенія, пріискиваетъ средства къ ихъ распространенію и во всемъ этомъ даетъ строгій отчетъ земскому собранію, котораго онъ непремѣнный членъ съ правомъ голоса. Откуда взять такихъ педагоговъ? А откуда взялась такая масса претендентовъ на товарищей прокурора? Кликните кличъ и они явятся. А если нѣтъ, то подождите годъ, два, три и пять. Лучше подождать, чѣмъ заводить какія нибудь школы лишь формы ради. Затѣмъ, остаются дороги и гоньба. Что касается дорогъ, то это дѣло обще-государственное. По дорогамъ разъѣзжаютъ всѣ. Здѣсь подъ словомъ дороги разумѣются почтовыя дороги; слишкомъ несправедливо всякія почтовыя дороги взваливать на плечи мѣстнымъ жителямъ. Проселочныя дороги—совершенно другое дѣло. Тѣ цѣликомъ составляютъ потребность крестьянъ; зато онѣ и хороши такъ, что по нимъ нѣтъ воз-

можности проѣхать безъ опасности для жизни и объ нихъ никто не заботится. Содержаніе и ремонтировка большихъ почтовыхъ трактовъ должна быть дѣломъ обще-государственнымъ и падать преимущественно на проѣзжающихъ. Такъ, теперь по тракту отъ Перми до Камышлова, на разстояніи 500 верстъ, каждый проѣзжающій платитъ по 9 коп. за тройку на версту. Если каждый проѣзжающій заплатитъ вмѣсто 9—10, то изъ одной этой копѣйки составится въ годъ сумма тысячъ въ десять, которою можно поправлять и содержать всю эту дорогу въ наилучшемъ видѣ. Но если даже взвалить цѣликомъ заботу о дорогѣ и заботу о гоньбѣ на земство, то и тогда для этихъ двухъ несложныхъ отправленій вовсе не нужно платить огромныя суммы управамъ. Для этого достаточно имѣть одного земскаго повѣреннаго, съ платой отъ 2 до 2,500 руб. въ годъ. Въ доказательство того, какъ безплодно расходуются у насъ земскія деньги, мы приводимъ слѣдующій разсчетъ. Въ одномъ изъ уѣздовъ пермской губерніи обитаетъ 80-ти-тысячное населеніе. Въ прошломъ году бюджетъ мѣстнаго земства также составлялъ нѣсколько больше 80,000 р. Изъ этой суммы 12,000 р. было назначено на содержаніе управы и 8,000 мировымъ посредникамъ. Что два крестьянина въ управѣ получали по 1,000 р. въ годъ жалованья, отъ этого народу не только не тепло, а напротивъ скорѣе холодно. Такимъ образомъ четверть бюджета, 20,000, прямо выброшена за окно. Затѣмъ слѣдуютъ 10,000 на школы. Деньги эти конечно уйдутъ, но когда отъ нихъ будетъ ощутительная польза—Богъ вѣсть. Затѣмъ дороги и гоньба стоили огромныхъ денегъ. Что чиновникамъ и членамъ управы удобнѣе и комфортабельнѣе кататься, отъ этого народу тоже не особенно весело. Остается 12,000, употребленныхъ на медицину. Такъ какъ въ прошломъ году сильно свирѣпствовала перемежающаяся лихорадка, то медицина принесла осязательную пользу. Ушло двѣнадцать фунтовъ хины въ короткое время. Такъ или нѣтъ, но въ результатѣ положительно получилось, что за 80,000 рублей, потраченныхъ въ прошломъ году народомъ на земство, пять человѣкъ со ста получили шесть хинныхъ порошковъ! Вѣдь это ужасно! А между тѣмъ это такъ. Замѣчательно, что народъ благословлялъ судьбу, ниспославшую ему помощь.... И въ самомъ дѣлѣ: что съ народа ежегодно берутъ опредѣленную сумму, конечно для него нисколько не ново; въ прошломъ году тоже взяли извѣстный кушъ. Но народъ больше всего опытомъ дозналъ, что если что съ возу упало, то пропало.

Вдругъ, откуда ни возьмись, въ прошломъ году какъ съ неба свалилась лихорадка, и гдѣ только она ни появлялась въ уѣздѣ — немедленно являлась и помощь. Отправлялся туда или врачъ или фельдшеръ и раздавалъ лекарства безвозмездно, даромъ, такъ сказать. Это было очень ново, непонятно, странно, загадочно для народа и принесло огромную пользу земству, расположивъ къ нему народъ. Отсюда ясно какъ Божій день, что земство можетъ существовать только съ цѣлью приносить народу непосредственную пользу, и что не вправѣ расходовать изъ народнаго кармана ни единаго гроша на что нибудь постороннее, не идущее въ прокъ народу. Одну изъ такихъ услугъ и составляетъ земская медицина, о раціональномъ устройствѣ которой мы главнымъ образомъ и рѣшились здѣсь говорить. Остальныя части мы предоставляемъ людямъ болѣе компетентнымъ.

Но прежде чѣмъ перейти къ спеціальному изложенію интересующаго насъ здѣсь вопроса, мы снова должны напомнить, что насъ крайне поражаетъ отношеніе земскихъ управъ къ народу. Въ большинствѣ случаевъ земскія управы усвоили себѣ совершенно ложный взглядъ на вещи. Онѣ положительно увѣрены, что онѣ хозяева, а народъ ихъ подчиненный: что хотятъ онѣ, то даютъ народу—школы, врачей, больницы и прочее, а не хотятъ, такъ не даютъ; если онѣ хотятъ, онѣ пожалуй удостоятъ вниманія нужды народа, не хотятъ, никто имъ въ томъ не можетъ указать. Онѣ никакъ не хотятъ повѣрить и думать не желаютъ, что онѣ—первыя слуги народа, что онѣ отъ него получаютъ жалованье за свою мало полезную службу; а потому онѣ обращаются съ народомъ крайне небрежно и представляютъ собою самые лучшіе образцы канцелярій прежняго административнаго характера, вовсе не приставшаго къ лицу земскимъ управамъ. Пока управы не отрѣшатся отъ этихъ узкихъ взглядовъ и ложныхъ отношеній, онѣ не поймутъ, въ чемъ ихъ призваніе, въ чемъ вся суть ихъ соціальнаго назначенія. До сихъ поръ мы еще не встрѣтили ни одной управы, которая задалась бы цѣлью умалить экономическое убожество своего народа и сколько нибудь улучшить его матеріальное состояніе. Ни умѣнья, ни сознанія—ничего по этой части не имѣется. Остаются двѣ истинно-народныя заботы, отъ которыхъ управы не могутъ отказаться: это медицина и школы. Вы часто услышите на земскомъ собраніи или изъ устъ земской управы, что имъ вовсе не нужны врачи. Въ отвѣтъ такой управѣ мы прежде всего скажемъ, что скорѣе всего не нужно такой упра-

вы, которая не съумѣетъ разузнать нуждъ народа, и что если кѣмъ пожертвовать, такъ лучше всего жертвовать управой, а не медициной. Вмѣсто того, чтобъ удерживать на содержаніе управы отъ 5 до 10 тысячъ въ годъ, а на народное леченіе какихъ нибудь 50 руб., какъ это сдѣлали нѣкоторыя управы, во всякомъ случаѣ лучше, справедливѣе на эти деньги имѣть хоть одного врача съ нѣсколькими фельдшерами и безвозмездно раздать лекарства хотя бы тысячи на двѣ. Думаемъ, что мало найдется людей, которые станутъ оспаривать безполезность всякихъ управъ въ виду неудовлетворенныхъ самыхъ насущныхъ потребностей народа. Предложите народу рѣшить, не согласится ли онъ, чтобы сегодня же закрыли всѣ управы въ большей части нашихъ губерній и чтобы вслѣдъ за этимъ уменьшился налогъ хотя бы по 10 коп. съ души—и вы увидите, какъ возрадуется народъ такой благодѣтельной мѣрѣ. Попробуйте наоборотъ уничтожить врачей, больницы, фельдшеровъ, безмездную раздачу лекарствъ и—народъ возопіетъ всюду. Слѣдовательно, мы вопросъ о потребности для народа медицины рѣшаемъ утвердительно. Дѣло только сводится къ тому, какого рода медицина нужна народу.

III.

Жизненныя задачи земства заключаются въ стремленіи и умѣньи постоянно оказывать народу самую существенную и осязательную пользу. Жизненныя задачи его должны состоять въ томъ, чтобы не брать съ народа въ видѣ прямыхъ налоговъ *ничего* и давать ему все. Земство должно помнить, что его назначеніе исключительное, не отвлеченное, а прямое и непосредственное. А потому одна изъ серьознѣйшихъ заботъ земства — охраненіе народнаго здоровья. Факты слишкомъ громко говорятъ въ пользу этого положенія. И теперь не рѣдкость земскій врачъ, который въ теченіе года подаетъ медицинскую помощь отъ 10 до 12 тысячъ больнымъ. Мы сами, живя въ Камышловѣ, имѣли и навѣстили въ теченіе трехъ мѣсяцевъ, марта, апрѣля и мая, больше пяти тысячъ больныхъ. Въ рыночные дни мы принимали отъ ста до полутороста больныхъ. Осматривая съ шести часовъ утра до двухъ часовъ дня больныхъ, мы доходили до такого изнеможенія, что теряли способность говорить, языкъ не повиновался и мозгъ работалъ машинально. Такъ какъ приходилось осмотрѣть, выслушать и изслѣдовать больнаго, тутъ же записать

его и немедленно дать ему лекарство, разъяснивъ, какъ принимать его, то необходимо было держаться очереди и впускать въ пріемную комнату, гдѣ помѣщалась и аптечка, больныхъ по одиночкѣ. При этомъ случалось, что крестьяне, занимавшіе задніе ряды, дожидаясь съ ранняго утра аудіенціи и прождавъ до самаго полудня, не могли дождаться и уѣзжали ни съ чѣмъ. Все это доказываетъ наше безсиліе помочь, съ одной стороны, но главнымъ образомъ—потребность народа въ медицинѣ, его охоту лечиться, если есть гдѣ. Когда на поклоны и изъявленія благодарности крестьянъ мы имъ объясняли, что они всѣмъ этимъ обязаны самимъ себѣ, что съ нихъ взято въ текущемъ году по 10 коп. съ души на наемъ врачей, на лекарство, на фельдшеровъ и т. д., то они утверждали, что «возьми хоть по рублю—не жалко, только бы польга (польза) была». Если такіе факты, собранные нами въ теченіе цѣлыхъ десяти лѣтъ въ разныхъ мѣстахъ Россіи, не могутъ убѣдить слѣпотствующихъ въ необходимости правильной и организованной медицины, то съ такими скептиками и толковать нечего. Мы теперь коснемся вопроса, какого рода медицина нужна собственно земству. Прежде всего мы замѣтимъ, что теперь существуетъ двоякая медицина, чисто врачебная или лечебная и санитарная или гигіеническая. Земство, не спросясь броду, полѣзло въ воду и взяло на себя участіе и въ той и въ другой. Такъ, всѣ городскія больницы ушли въ земство и вышла путаница. Вообще съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ у насъ появились двѣ статьи, земская и городская, дѣла начали путаться. Положимъ, въ городѣ появилась холера. Кому хлопотать? Администрація имѣетъ очень сильный голосъ, но ни гроша денегъ. Земство хочетъ взять на себя иниціативу въ устраненіи эпидеміи и требуетъ отъ города денежнаго пособія, городъ же думаетъ, что онъ все это самъ лучше сдѣлалъ бы. Почему бы не раздѣлиться? Городъ долженъ заботиться самъ о себѣ, а земство должно заботиться объ уѣздѣ, о губерніи, о народѣ въ общемъ его составѣ. Поэтому мы того мнѣнія, что всѣ городскія больницы должны быть въ вѣдѣніи городовъ и городскихъ управъ. И это вовсе не будетъ стоить особенно дорого. Такъ, почти во всѣхъ городахъ имѣются военныя роты. За каждаго больнаго изъ военныхъ правительство платитъ по 30 коп. сер. въ сутки, такъ что любая городская больница въ уѣздныхъ городахъ можетъ существовать и до сихъ поръ почти существовала на счетъ военнаго вѣдомства. Въ городѣ Самарѣ губернская земская больница ежегодно расходуетъ до 50,000 р. сер.,

медленно, тихо подвигаясь вверхъ, доплететься до Твери и вплоть до Петербурга, гдѣ она, положимъ, зимуетъ, какъ это случилось въ прошломъ году; перезимовавъ, она возвращается обратно тѣмъ же путемъ, какъ это случилось тоже въ прошломъ году, производя повсюду страшное, ужасающее опустошеніе. Но интересно то, что ни одинъ городъ, лежащій по Волгѣ, не принимаетъ никакихъ мѣръ, чтобы охранять себя отъ этой напасти, отъ этого бѣдствія. Совершенно наоборотъ. Города, лежащіе по Волгѣ, наперерывъ другъ передъ другомъ спѣшатъ остановить плывущую мимо дорогую гостью, непремѣнно попросятъ завернуть къ себѣ, встрѣчаютъ ее съ подобающими почестями, устроивая процессіи, помѣщаютъ ее въ обыкновенныхъ больницахъ, холятъ ее, лелѣятъ, и когда она сдѣлаетъ свое дѣло, провожаютъ ее съ такимъ же тріумфомъ. Безпечность и отсутствіе всякой предусмотрительности въ русскомъ человѣкѣ просто поразительны. Если съ одной стороны доказано, что эпидеміи распространяются самими людьми, ихъ обычными путями сообщенія, то съ другой стороны также положительно извѣстно, что города и отдѣльныя мѣстожительства, прекратившія во-время всякое сообщеніе съ внѣшнимъ міромъ, тѣмъ самымъ предохраняли и избавляли себя отъ незваннаго бѣдствія. Такъ, многіе города въ Швеціи избѣгли холеры единственно этимъ путемъ. Такъ, не было ни одного случая холеры въ 1830 году въ царскосельскомъ дворцѣ, совершенно изолированномъ. Основываясь на этихъ несомнѣнныхъ данныхъ, земства и города всего приволжья, вплоть до Петербурга, должны принять свои мѣры, о которыхъ мы не замедлимъ тутъ же сказать свое слово. Что именно земство и городскія управы должны этимъ заняться, кажется не можетъ быть и спору. Администрація тутъ совершенно безсильна. Даже вовсе не желательно ея участіе. Кто хоть разъ видѣлъ, какъ несостоятельна администрація въ дѣлахъ этого рода, тотъ отъ всей души пожелаетъ, чтобы она оставалась тутъ совершенно въ сторонѣ, потому что она ни на волосъ не заинтересована тутъ ничѣмъ. Совсѣмъ другое дѣло земство. Въ одной самарской губерніи отъ холеры въ прошломъ году умерло до 5,000 людей по оффиціальнымъ даннымъ. Всякому извѣстно, на сколько у насъ вѣрны статистическія данныя, собираемыя оффиціальнымъ путемъ, и какую цѣну имъ можно придавать; потому смѣло можно утверждать, что здѣсь цифра смертности уменьшена. Тоже самое и по всей Россіи. А въ этомъ году холэра

неистовствовала мѣстами въ ужасающихъ размѣрахъ. Въ Кіевѣ, Харьковѣ и особенно въ Тамбовѣ умирали отъ 100 до 150 человѣкъ въ день, такъ что смертность по всей Россіи отъ холеры въ этомъ году достигаетъ весьма почтенной и крупной цифры. Мы думаемъ, что такая страшная потеря въ людяхъ и въ экономическихъ силахъ земства вовсе не особенно выгодна. Если не жалко людей, то вѣдь экономическая производительность страны отъ этого значительно уменьшается и земство все-таки теряетъ. Хотя бы съ этой-то точки зрѣнія, не говоря о другихъ, земству слѣдуетъ заботиться объ устраненіи такихъ народныхъ бѣдствій. Но необходимо принять во вниманіе и другія обстоятельства, не менѣе важныя. Каждый разъ, какъ въ Россіи появляется холера, вся Европа дрожитъ и начинаетъ проклинать свое невыгодное сосѣдство съ нею. И рѣшительно, Россія каждый разъ передаетъ холеру изъ Азіи въ Европу. Пора поэтому убѣдиться, что холера—остатокъ варварства, а не плодъ цивилизаціи, что распахнуть двери настежъ холерѣ стыдъ и срамъ цивилизованной странѣ, признакъ соціальнаго убожества, соціальной несостоятельности народа. На Россіи поэтому лежитъ нравственная обязанность не только себя оберегать отъ холеры и отъ другихъ эпидемій, но избавить и Европу отъ такихъ непріятностей. Кромѣ того, холера влечетъ за собою самыя печальныя послѣдствія. Не говоря уже о томъ, что она положительно останавливаетъ приращеніе народонаселенія, она производитъ на народъ угнетающее впечатлѣніе. Человѣкъ приходитъ въ какое-то тоскливое состояніе духа. Не то чтобы онъ становится вполнѣ равнодушнымъ ко всему окружающему, но такъ какъ жизнь его ничѣмъ не гарантирована, ничѣмъ не обезпечена, то онъ впадаетъ въ апатію, въ уныніе, онъ коротаетъ жизнь день за днемъ безъ всякаго удовольствія. Нравственныя страданія въ это время ужасны. По Волгѣ мы слыхали, какъ цѣлыя селенія, при первомъ появленіи холернаго случая, отправлялись къ священнику исповѣдываться и причащаться. Всѣ между собою прощаются, плачъ, слезы, стонъ и вопли.... Думаемъ, не особенно же весела эта картина! Не даромъ остроумный Бёрне охотнѣе соглашался допустить любую конституцію, даже Гессенскую, лишь бы только предупредить появленіе *Cholera morbus*. Спѣшимъ предупредить приволжскія земства, что въ прошломъ году холера была такъ-себѣ, ослабленная зимовкой въ Петербургѣ, но что намъ съ Востока грозитъ новая бѣда, болѣе ужасная, чѣмъ до

сихъ поръ. Недавно въ Персіи была такая холера, что въ городѣ Тавризѣ ежедневно умирало по 250 человѣкъ. Кромѣ того, тамъ свирѣпствовала чума, тифъ и другія сверстницы нищеты и голода. Если всѣ эти милыя вещи весною заберутся на Волгу къ намъ, станутъ насъ бить въ два кнута, то мы право не знаемъ, куда дѣваться тогда русскому человѣку. Вѣдь это ужасно, что у русскаго человѣка во всѣхъ такихъ бѣдствіяхъ одинъ исходъ— смерть, одна дорога—въ могилу! А куда больше? Что прикажете дѣлать безпомощному? Какъ и къ кому обратиться за помощью? Ясно, что одно лишь земство и городскія учрежденія должны взять на себя заботу о предупрежденіи всѣхъ этихъ бѣдствій. Вы посмотрите только, что приходится на долю нашему народу. Кто у насъ горитъ цѣлыми селеніями и выгораетъ до тла изъ конца въ конецъ въ какихъ нибудь 50 лѣтъ? Разумѣется народъ! Не смотря на десятки милліоновъ пудовъ хлѣба, ежегодно потомъ и кровью добытыхъ руками его, кто у насъ голодаетъ цѣлыми губерніями — тотъ же народъ! Кого затопляетъ ежегодно обиліе рѣкъ, «весной многоводной», срываетъ мосты и портитъ дороги. такъ что по цѣлымъ мѣсяцамъ прекращается всякое сообщеніе—опять таки все это у народа! Кто валится отъ всякихъ эпидемій во всѣ времена года, не тутъ, такъ тамъ—все тотъ же народъ! Такъ за все это дайте ему хоть что нибудь, пусть онъ знаетъ, что выбранныя имъ лица за жалованье, которое онъ имъ платитъ, приносятъ ему хоть какую нибудь пользу.

Пусть же земство цѣликомъ возьметъ на себя нравственное обязательство быть полезнымъ народу по преимуществу. Въ медицинскомъ отношеніи земство можетъ достигнуть этой цѣли двумя важными мѣрами: санитарно-гигіенической, или дезинфекціей всѣхъ нечистотъ, и учрежденіемъ эпидемическихъ больницъ вблизи городовъ или при въѣздѣ въ города, расположенные по Волгѣ и по главнымъ линіямъ желѣзныхъ дорогъ. Такія эпидемическія больницы намъ крайне необходимы. Онѣ непремѣнно должны быть постоянными, а никакъ не временными, потому что у насъ по большимъ путямъ сообщенія всегда какая нибудь эпидемія да господствуетъ: если не холера, такъ тифъ, не тифъ, такъ кровавый поносъ, дифтеритъ, родильная горячка, оспа, скарлатина. Всѣ эти болѣзни если не прилипчивы, зато въ высшей степени заразительны. Потому ихъ необходимо изолировать, въ противномъ случаѣ онѣ дѣлаются повсемѣстными.

Такъ, въ прошломъ году въ самарскую губернскую земскую больницу были привезены съ рѣки Волги первые холерные больные, которые и заразили всю больницу. Пока догадались устроить отдѣльныя холерныя больницы, въ больницѣ перехворали чуть не всѣ больные холерой, и смертность, и безъ того ужасная въ нашихъ больницахъ, значительно усилилась. Многіе умерли положительно зря, только потому, что имѣли несчастье попасть въ больницу. Не успѣли мы управиться съ холерой, какъ на смѣну появились тифъ, который поражалъ также губительно, какъ и холера, и въ тоже время кровавый поносъ. Не смотря на всѣ наши хлопоты, ухаживанія, доводы, чтобы наняли отдѣльное помѣщеніе подъ эпидемическую больницу на берегу рѣки, при въѣздѣ въ городъ, всѣ наши старанія остались напрасными; мы ничего не могли добиться. Намъ отвѣчали обычнымъ non-possumus, нѣтъ-де домовъ, никто не отдаетъ. И вотъ вмѣсто того, чтобы задержать эпидемію внѣ города, на берегу рѣки, около пристаней, вмѣсто того, чтобы не дать ей пробраться въ городъ, мы сами собственными руками развозили ее по всему городу и размѣстили въ разныхъ углахъ. Всѣ увѣрены, что холера, тифъ, дизентерія заразительны, и не смотря на это, такихъ больныхъ везутъ съ рѣки въ городскую больницу, кладутъ среди больныхъ другого рода, заражаютъ совершенно неповинныхъ людей, больницы превращаются чуть не въ центры распространенія эпидеміи, потому что прислуга, фельдшеръ заболѣваютъ и такимъ образомъ народъ отправляютъ на тотъ свѣтъ en masse. Все это насъ положительно убѣждаетъ въ несомнѣнной необходимости эпидемическихъ больницъ на берегу Волги, внѣ городовъ, которыя могли бы такимъ образомъ хоть сколько нибудь замѣнить карантины. Тогда городскія больницы будутъ предохранены отъ ежеминутно грозящей имъ опасности быть безвинно зараженными опаснѣйшими эпидеміями. Мы того убѣжденія, что при первыхъ признакахъ такой эпидеміи гдѣ нибудь въ Персіи или на берегу Каспійскаго моря, мѣстные земскіе и городовые врачи должны имѣть право осматривать всякій прибывающій пароходъ и баржу и малѣйшій подозрительный случай задерживать на мѣстѣ впредь до исцѣленія. Вотъ почему намъ необходимы эпидемическія больницы неподалеку отъ городовъ, въ виду пристаней, притомъ снабженныя всѣми современными орудіями борьбы противъ эпидемій.

Одно изъ могущественнѣйшихъ орудій этой борьбы—безспорно дезинфекція. Но въ чемъ она заключается? Въ систематической, по-

стоянной очисткѣ человѣческихъ мѣстожительствъ отъ всякихъ нечистотъ. Въ послѣднее время это искуство къ счастью упрощено до nec plus ultra. До сихъ поръ лучшими дезинфицирующими средствами считались желѣзный купоросъ, сѣрная кислота и карболевая кислота. Всѣ эти вещи стоютъ денегъ хотя, и небольшихъ, но все-таки денегъ; сдѣлать ихъ употребленіе повсемѣстнымъ очень трудно, притомъ здѣсь нужно нѣкоторое умѣнье, кое-какія условія, упущеніе которыхъ дѣлаетъ безполезнымъ употребленіе всѣхъ этихъ веществъ. Самое лучшее средство, пальма первенства теперь на сторонѣ сухой земли. Года полтора тому назадъ мы заявили въ «Пермскихъ Вѣдомостяхъ», что уличная пыль испытана нами, какъ самое лучшее средство для дезинфекцій. «Эпидеміологическій листокъ» перепечаталъ наше заявленіе, но всѣ эти органы слишкомъ мало доступны публикѣ. Нѣкоторыя больницы приняли нашъ совѣтъ и до сихъ поръ продолжаютъ пользоваться землей, какъ самымъ удовлетворительнымъ средствомъ. Во-первыхъ, уличная пыль или сухая земля положительно уничтожаетъ всякое зловоніе, и даже вѣрнѣе, чѣмъ что нибудь другое; во-вторыхъ, такая земля не допускаетъ до щелочнаго броженія и тѣмъ препятствуетъ появленію какъ животныхъ, такъ и растительныхъ паразитовъ или міазмовъ. Такимъ образомъ, какъ самое лучшее дезинфецирующее средство мы предлагаемъ вещество, которое у насъ на Руси имѣется подъ рукой вездѣ и всюду, вполнѣ общедоступно, не стоитъ денегъ вовсе и скорѣе всего достигаетъ цѣли. Остается лишь распространить введеніе его въ употребленіе; необходимо, чтобы вошло въ обычай народа и всего общества очищать себя отъ опасныхъ нечистотъ, отъ всякой гнили и погани, отъ грязи и зловонія. А за этимъ могутъ смотрѣть и слѣдить одни лишь санитарные врачи, которыхъ должны пріобрѣсти земство и городскія учрежденія. Если земство возьметъ на себя преимущественно санитарную часть, оно равномѣрно распредѣлитъ между членами ту пользу, которую должна принести эта часть. Такъ, земство исключительно въ свои руки должно взять оспопрививаніе. Собирая съ народа деньги на эту отрасль санитарной медицины, земство окажетъ всѣмъ жителямъ уѣзда равномѣрную услугу, потому что оно прививаетъ предохранительную оспу въ каждой крестьянской избѣ. Для предупрежденія разныхъ эпидемій, истребляющихъ народъ и подкашивающихъ всѣ силы его, необходимо, напримѣръ, устранить почву, служащую источникомъ зарожденія этихъ міазмовъ. Такъ, цѣлыя села

по шею буквально завалены навозомъ, который повсемѣстно гніетъ, имъ запруживаютъ рѣченки, гдѣ застаивается гнилая вода, и этимъ путемъ распространяются самыя сильныя перемежающіяся болотныя лихорадки, доводящія сотни людей до крайняго истощенія. Такъ, весною прошлаго года въ Камышловскомъ уѣздѣ Пермской губерніи среди населенія въ 200,000 обоего пола было по крайней мѣрѣ до 10,000 больныхъ болотною лихорадкою. Мы сами израсходовали до 12 фунтовъ хинина въ теченіе трехъ мѣсяцевъ и тогда же потребовали еще десять фунтовъ. Когда мы выписали изъ Петербурга отъ Штоля и Шмидта десять фунтовъ хинина, они удивились и спросили насъ, не по ошибкѣ ли мы написали десять фунтовъ и не десять ли унцій намъ нужны. Но мы того убѣжденія, что главная причина распространенія міазмовъ это именно скопленіе навоза, среди котораго тонутъ многія наши села. Чтó въ такомъ случаѣ прикажете дѣлать? Мы пришли къ тому убѣжденію, что единственный путь—экономическій: предложить гласнымъ отъ крестьянъ сдѣлать налогъ по 5 коп. съ души, деньги эти отдать въ руки тѣмъ же крестьянамъ, съ условіемъ, чтобы они вывезли этотъ навозъ на поля, принадлежащія обществамъ, и такимъ образомъ удобрили свои собственныя пашни. Такія санитарныя мѣры могутъ быть обсуждаемы земскими представителями и приведены въ дѣйствіе, исполнены санитарными земскими врачами.

Итакъ, эпидеміи въ большинствѣ случаевъ требуютъ совмѣстнаго дѣйствія земства и городскихъ управъ. Во всемъ же остальномъ, по нашему крайнему разумѣнію, земства и города должны раздѣлить между собою медицинскую часть, и притомъ такъ, чтобъ города сами заботились о городскихъ больницахъ и о городскихъ врачахъ; земства же должны преимущественно заботиться объ уѣздахъ. Система устройства земской медицины должна, по нашему убѣжденію, заключаться въ слѣдующемъ. Во главѣ каждаго медицинскаго раіона стоитъ врачъ. Ему подчинены фельдшера, по одному на двѣ волости по меньшей мѣрѣ, или, еще лучше, по одному въ каждой волости. Врачъ кромѣ того завѣдуетъ и аптекарской частью. Всѣ эти статьи требуютъ разъясненія. Самое главное условіе земской медицины, чтобы она была какъ-бы безмездной. Этотъ принципъ непоколебимъ. Всѣ, участвующіе въ земскихъ сборахъ, имѣютъ полное право пользоваться земскими учрежденіями одинаково. Этого требуетъ справедливость. Это принципъ, нарушеніе котораго противорѣчитъ самымъ элементарнымъ понятіямъ о справедливости. Положимъ, что населеніе въ 100

тысячъ ревизскихъ душъ собираетъ и сдаетъ въ земство на устройство земской медицины по 10 коп. съ души. Это составитъ на 200,000 душъ обоего пола десять тысячъ рублей сер. Сумма эта для удовлетворенія медицинскихъ потребностей не особенно тяжела. Спѣшимъ оговориться. Мы очень хорошо понимаемъ, какъ крестьянину дорога каждая копѣйка, какимъ трудомъ она ему достается, какъ онъ въ ней вѣчно нуждается и какъ неохотно съ нею разстается. Но если съ него берутъ рубли и тратятъ ихъ вовсе не въ его пользу, то пусть же хоть десять копѣекъ изъ взятой съ него суммы употребляются на его существенныя потребности. Сумму эту прійдется распредѣлить такимъ образомъ: одинъ врачъ за 2000 р. жалованья, 20 фельдшеровъ по одному на пять тысячъ жителей по 300 р. каждый, а 2000 р. на лекарство. Если же этого мало и средства позволяютъ, тогда приходится прибавить еще по 5 к. и тогда можно имѣть двухъ врачей, каждый по 2000 р. жалованья; тоже количество жалованья трехъ акушерокъ, каждой по 300 р., и 2000 р. на устройство небольшой больницы. Какъ врачъ, такъ и фельдшеръ должны положительно всѣхъ участвующихъ въ земскомъ сборѣ лечить безплатно и давать лекарства безвозмездно. Только при соблюденіи этого условія крестьяне станутъ обращаться за медицинскою помощью всѣ безъ исключенія. Это условіе sine qua non. Если ихъ лечить за плату и давать лекарства за деньги, то они и тогда станутъ обращаться за помощью, но въ десять разъ меньше; т. е. если теперь обращаются къ врачу 100 человѣкъ, то тогда станутъ обращаться къ нему десять. Даровое леченіе и даровыя лекарства имѣютъ самое магическое вліяніе на крестьянство и крайне располагаютъ ихъ въ пользу земства. Въ прошломъ году лихорадка, господствовавшая въ камышловскомъ уѣздѣ, оказала великую услугу мѣстному земству. Не смотря на всю горечь хинина, крестьянство по-истинѣ почувствовало всю сладость земскихъ учрежденій и отъ души благословляло судьбу. Какъ только разнеслась вѣсть о томъ, что въ городѣ существуетъ лекарь, что онъ всѣмъ даетъ лекарства безъ денегъ и что отъ его порошковъ навѣрняка проходитъ *непряха*, или *трясучка*, т. е. лихорадка, какъ со всѣхъ сторонъ стали къ намъ обращаться, и если кто лично не могъ явиться, то обращался письменно, какъ въ свое собственное депо, съ полною увѣренностью, что получитъ какое нибудь пособіе. Мы рѣшаемся здѣсь привести нѣсколько полученныхъ нами отъ крестьянъ записокъ, характеризирующихъ и степень развитія, и степень грамот-

этомъ не заводили никакой аптечной посуды, да ее и не нужно. Крестьяне скоро освоились съ этимъ недостаткомъ и, отправляясь въ городъ или къ фельдшеру за лекарствомъ, брали съ собой, кто бутылку, кто шкаликъ, кто банку изъ подъ помады, временъ царя гороха. Между тѣмъ посуда аптечная иногда стоитъ дороже самаго лекарства. Въ одномъ губернскомъ городѣ, съ 35,000 населеніемъ, аптека ежегодно выручаетъ до 50,000 р. сер. за лекарства, лишь отпускаемыя по рецептамъ врачей. На такую сумму мы беремся кормить цѣлую губернію всякими лекарствами до отвалу, чтобы не сказать хуже. Эти цифры ужасны и показываютъ, насколько медицина—выгодная промышленность и барышничество. Въ одной губернской земской больницѣ, имѣющей среднимъ числомъ до 200 больныхъ ежедневно, на содержаніе аптеки уходитъ свыше 4,000 р. Но изъ этихъ денегъ развѣ третья часть достается на долю больныхъ, остальныя двѣ трети ускользаютъ такъ же ловко, какъ и въ блаженное время Приказовъ Общественнаго Призрѣнія. Земскія учрежденія унаслѣдовали самыя непродуктивныя традиціи: разные штаты, смотрителей, вахтеровъ, надсмотрщиковъ, надзирателей, которые всѣ то же вѣрны своимъ традиціямъ и обкрадываютъ земство такъ же усердно, какъ прежде казну. Все бы это прочь...

Князь Васильчиковъ разсказываетъ, что во Франціи и Пруссіи есть особый родъ врачей для бѣдныхъ, Armen-arzt, medecin des pauvres. Эти врачи оказываютъ медицинскую помощь безплатно только такимъ лицамъ, которыя представляютъ формальное свидѣтельство о своей бѣдности отъ приказовъ общественнаго призрѣнія. Представьте, еслибъ это ввелось у насъ въ селахъ и уѣздахъ. У насъ и безъ того подчасъ не заманишь крестьянина полечиться у врача, у насъ цѣлыя секты считаютъ грѣхомъ вовсе лечиться, у насъ всякая помѣщица и любой генералъ, вышедшій въ отставку, за неимѣніемъ другого занятія, заводятъ аптечки и занимаются медицинской практикой, такъ куда намъ тутъ со свидѣтельствами! Притомъ же, нашъ народъ настолько повсемѣстно бѣденъ, что ему смѣло можно выдать такое свидѣтельство огуломъ, и на этомъ-то основаніи ему необходимо *даровое* леченіе и *даровыя* лекарства, т. е. на деньги, собранныя съ этой цѣлью именно съ него же. Такимъ образомъ мы этотъ вопросъ считаемъ рѣшеннымъ въ принципѣ. Да при чемъ же остается земство, если медицина не удовлетворительна, не приноситъ никакой выгоды? Чѣмъ еще земство можетъ заявить свою полезность народу? Рѣши-

тельно не можемъ догадаться. Мы, напротивъ того, скорѣе желаемъ, чтобы, если не совсѣмъ упразднить управы, то, по крайней мѣрѣ, уменьшить ихъ содержаніе впятеро и деньги эти съ большей пользой употребить на леченіе народа. Это довольно интересно: заговорите о прибавкѣ жалованья предсѣдателю или кому изъ членовъ—откуда и деньги возьмутся, замолвите слово о томъ, что нужно увеличить содержаніе фельдшера или повивальныхъ бабокъ — денегъ нѣтъ и достать негдѣ.

Мы, слѣдовательно, полагаемъ, что въ каждомъ раіонѣ во главѣ медицины стоитъ врачъ. Смотря по обстоятельствамъ, на каждый уѣздъ можетъ у насъ понадобиться отъ одного до трехъ врачей. Если средства позволяютъ, хорошо имѣть трехъ, въ противномъ случаѣ можно обойтись съ однимъ. Мы не гонимся за идеаломъ, который требуетъ, чтобы въ каждомъ селѣ былъ врачъ. Идеалъ этотъ слишкомъ далекъ отъ осуществленія; но пока врача въ большинствѣ случаевъ можетъ замѣнить фельдшеръ. Вы часто замѣтите въ обществѣ какую-то непонятную враждебность къ фельдшерамъ. Особенно въ этомъ отношеніи рекомендуютъ себя врачи—хотя, впрочемъ, врачи былыхъ временъ, отжившіе свое время. Фельдшеръ и пьяница, и кровопійца, и пьявочникъ, и ничего несмыслитъ. Какъ будто эти свойства присущи однимъ лишь фельдшерамъ! Какъ будто грѣхи до сихъ поръ водились только за фельдшерами! На самомъ дѣлѣ явленіе это обще не однимъ лишь фельдшерамъ, и нечего особенно на нихъ нападать. А потому мы полагаемъ совершенно достаточнымъ на первыхъ порахъ одного врача и по одному фельдшеру на двѣ волости. Попробуемъ это разъяснить.

Князь Васильчиковъ полагаетъ, что «радіусъ круга дѣйствій одного врача не можетъ быть болѣе 25 верстъ, т. е. разстояніе, какое можетъ пройти, безъ изнуренія, рабочая лошадь или пѣшеходъ. За этой линіей вліяніе, полезное дѣйствіе врачебныхъ учрежденій прекращается; ни силы больнаго, ни земледѣльческія работы не позволяютъ нашимъ простолюдинамъ отлучаться на такія разстоянія, гдѣ требуется ночлегъ, кормъ лошади или даже перемѣна упряжи; скорѣе, чѣмъ подвергнуть себя такимъ случайностямъ, русскій крестьянинъ будетъ переносить, съ свойственнымъ ему долготерпѣніемъ, самыя мучительныя боли (О самоуправленіи. Т. 2, стр. 448).» Мнѣніе это слишкомъ преувеличено. Крестьянинъ не только на парѣ лошадей, но и на одной лошади, везетъ свой хлѣбъ продавать на рынокъ за 100 и

богоносъ меня полечить; шесть банекъ (бань) въ одинъ день велѣлъ истопить и все меня въ ней парилъ, какое то стеклушко показалъ и велѣлъ въ него посмотрѣть. Потомъ поилъ мачихой травой. Я и безъ ума стала. За леченіе я ему дала пудовку пшеницы. Сосѣда тоже полечилъ, тотъ такъ и трекнулся (умеръ). Лечатъ больше знахарки, ну ей холста аршинъ отрѣжешь, хоть тебѣ вѣкъ легче небудетъ.» Врачъ потому долженъ имѣть подъ рукой всѣ средства, чтобы сдѣлать свой авторитетъ такъ сказать непогрѣшимымъ и явиться въ глазахъ народа человѣкомъ незаинтересованнымъ ни въ чемъ, кромѣ желанія его вылечить, сдѣлать его здоровымъ. А потому онъ самъ долженъ получать такое вознагражденіе, которое его совершенно обезпечивало бы, чтобъ онъ не нуждался ни въ какой другой частной практикѣ, но весь былъ бы преданъ дѣлу народа, чтобъ его называли «крестьянскимъ лекаремъ». Вотъ почему мы полагаемъ, что земскому врачу необходимо платить minimum 2,000 р. сер. или отъ 2 до 3,000 р. сер.; тогда онъ будетъ въ состояніи равномѣрно распредѣлять свою дѣятельность въ пользу цѣлаго округа. При такомъ положеніи онъ объявитъ крестьянину напрямикъ или его окружающимъ, что онъ такого-то больнаго берется вылечить, что онъ такому-то попробуетъ помочь, а что такому-то «нѣтъ вѣку», т. е. вылечить нельзя. Необходимо съ крестьяниномъ поступать прямо, безхитростно, объявлять ему просто, въ чемъ дѣло, сколько времени нужно, чтобы его вылечить и т. д. Первое время къ врачу пожалуй будутъ относиться съ недовѣріемъ и мнѣніе его станутъ провѣрять всякими знахарками, но по прошествіи нѣкотораго времени крестьяне убѣдятся, что предсказанія врача были справедливы, и тогда къ нему станутъ обращаться съ полнымъ довѣріемъ. Только этимъ путемъ будетъ современемъ положенъ конецъ всякимъ знахаркамъ.

Русскій человѣкъ неисправимый утилитаристъ и не любитъ никакихъ формальностей. Аптеки, рецепты, сигнатурки — все это для него китайская грамота. Всю эту процедуру онъ терпѣть не можетъ, да главное не понимаетъ и считаетъ ее совершенно безполезною. Онъ любитъ *надобье, зѣлье* и очень радъ, когда ему его даютъ или даже продаютъ въ лавкѣ безъ всякихъ затѣй. Такъ, въ прошломъ году по всей восточной полосѣ Урала повсемѣстно господствовала лихорадка и во всѣхъ лавочкахъ продавали *хинную соль*. Крестьянинъ, отправляясь на рынокъ, мимоходомъ заходитъ къ знакомому купцу, покупаетъ хинной соли на 15 к. сер. и выздоравливаетъ... Дѣло это очень

просто. Аптеки съ мраморными колоннами, съ золотымъ двуглавымъ орломъ и съ элегантными провизорами земству вовсе ненужны. Земству нужны лекарства изъ магазина Штоля и Шмидта. Врачъ выписываетъ на опредѣленную сумму лекарства, удѣляетъ извѣстную порцію каждому фельдшеру, остальное хранитъ у себя въ земской больницѣ, гдѣ фельдшеръ, при немъ или безъ него, просто раздаетъ крестьянамъ готовыя лекарства. Разумѣется, все это записывается въ книгу для вѣрности, для счета. При повальномъ распространеніи лихорадки прошлой весной, мы объѣзжали села и, являясь въ волость въ праздничный день во время сходки, приглашали къ себѣ больныхъ и тутъ же раздавали до 50 порцій хинныхъ порошковъ, имѣвшихся у насъ на-готовѣ. Сдѣлавъ это, мы отправлялись дальше. Этимъ способомъ можно въ нѣсколько дней объѣхать нѣсколько волостей, узнать всѣхъ имѣющихся на лицо больныхъ, опредѣлить ихъ болѣзни и частію тутъ же снабдить ихъ лекарствомъ, а частію выписать изъ города съ отдѣльнымъ нарочнымъ, присылаемымъ для этой цѣли. Если же въ волости имѣется фельдшеръ, то дѣло совершается еще проще, еще легче. Все это необходимо отправлять безвозмездно и не дѣлать положительно никакого различія между больными, не оказывать никакого предпочтенія никому изъ сельской аристократіи, ни попу, ни писарю, ни старшинѣ, которые всѣ, съ перваго разу, непремѣнно претендуютъ на преферансъ и решпектъ къ своимъ профессіямъ, или къ своему высокому сану. Впродолженіе пяти мѣсяцевъ, на нашемъ попеченіи было около 200,000 сельскаго населенія и до 3-хъ тысячъ жителей въ городѣ. Во все это время было очень много больныхъ лихорадкой, такъ что хинину ушло 12 фунтовъ. Полагая по 50 руб. за фунтъ, значитъ 600 р. За все это время другого лекарства ушло рублей на 200. Мы поэтому вправѣ сдѣлать такой разсчетъ. Полагая, что въ народѣ всегда найдется до 20 проц. больныхъ, на 200,000 населенія—40,000 больныхъ. Если изъ нихъ будетъ положимъ 20,000 больныхъ лихорадкой, то понадобится до 40 фунтовъ хинину, что будетъ стоить 2000 р., да на остальныхъ 20,000 больныхъ другія лекарства будутъ стоить maximum 1000 р.; итого 3000 р. Мы положительно ручаемся за эту сумму даже при такихъ неблагопріятныхъ обстоятельствахъ. Въ дѣйствительности ничего подобнаго никогда не бываетъ. Не каждый же годъ, въ самомъ дѣлѣ, свирѣпствуетъ такая лихорадка, какъ въ прошломъ году, а хининъ самое дорогое лекарство. Все остальное просто пустяки. Мы, правда, при

шиваетъ между собою вещи, вовсе несравниваемыя. Мы—не Европа, Европа—не мы. Европа не нуждается въ томъ, въ чемъ мы нуждаемся и въ чемъ мы еще долго будемъ нуждаться. Населенность Европы, богатство ея, обиліе врачей, дешевизна ихъ помощи и аптекарскихъ снадобій съ одной стороны; съ нашей же стороны—разбросанность и многочисленность населенія, его повсемѣстная бѣдность, по одному врачу на двухсоттысячное населеніе, раскинутое на пространствѣ сотень квадратныхъ миль, равняющихся иногда цѣлому Европейскому государству. Что тутъ общаго? Затѣмъ, европейская образованность, ея нравственное развитіе, ея установившіеся нравы и обычаи, не нуждающіеся ни въ какихъ регламентаціяхъ, ея умѣнье быть во время и кстати благотворительной—и наше невѣжество, отсутствіе всякаго общественнаго и умственнаго развитія, наша косность и пассивность, наша безтолковая и неумѣстная благотворительность, наши провинціальные нравы и обычаи, наше общежитіе и въ добавокъ наши традиціи и наши милыя климатическія условія. Что тутъ общаго? Потомъ князь Васильчиковъ смѣшиваетъ такія вещи, какъ правительственныя и земскія учрежденія; но въ томъ-то и сила, что между ними непроходимая бездна или по крайней мѣрѣ должна быть такова. Отъ правительственныхъ учрежденій никто никогда и не думалъ требовать, чтобы они «организовали всенародное безплатное врачеваніе». Совсѣмъ другое дѣло земскія учрежденія. Они съ правительственными не могутъ идти въ паралель. Земскія учрежденія—дѣло ассоціаціи. Каждый вкладчикъ долженъ имѣть одинаковую долю пользы; всякій пайщикъ долженъ пользоваться соотвѣтственной долей барыша. Сто тысячъ крестьянъ даютъ по 10 коп. съ души на наемъ лекаря и на покупку лекарствъ. Справедливость требуетъ, чтобъ каждый получалъ и то и другое въ случаѣ надобности за тѣ деньги, которыя съ него взяты предварительно на это дѣло и съ этимъ условіемъ. И то здѣсь справедливость далеко не абсолютная. Вѣдь на 100,000 душъ maximum захварываетъ въ теченіе года до 20,000; изъ нихъ дай Богъ, чтобы половина т. е. 10,000 увидѣли врача или фельдшера и получили бы лекарства; слѣдовательно, чтобы одного Ивана вылечить отъ лихорадки золотникомъ хинина, девять его сосѣдей вмѣстѣ съ нимъ заплатили по 10 к. сер. съ души. Остальные девять тутъ ни причемъ.. До какого же еще minimum'а вы хотите довести справедливость? Изъ-за какого благополучія станутъ десять платить съ тѣмъ условіемъ, что въ случаѣ, если хотя одинъ

изъ нихъ захвораетъ, то этотъ одинъ долженъ платить и врачу за леченіе и за лекарства? Потому-то эти десять и платятъ каждый по мѣрѣ силъ и возможности, чтобъ быть обезпеченными на случай болѣзни одного изъ нихъ. Здѣсь положительно предѣлъ справедливости и дальше этого идти будетъ уже не справедливо. Съ другой стороны, даровое леченіе и безмездныя лекарства имѣютъ крайне благодѣтельныя послѣдствія. При оплачиваемомъ леченіи никогда крестьяне не станутъ обращаться въ такомъ множествѣ, при безплатномъ они обращаются всѣ почти безъ исключенія. Молва далеко разноситъ вѣсть о томъ, что тамъ-то существуетъ теперь и лекарь и лекарства и что за все это не требуется никакой платы. Мало того, если кто и предлагаетъ какую нибудь плату или вознагражденіе или благодарность въ формѣ десятка яицъ и пары огурцовъ, или двухъ-трехъ десятковъ картофелю, то все это не принимается и отвергается на томъ основаніи, что и леченіе и лекарства уже оплачены раньше, сборомъ тѣхъ десяти копѣекъ, о которыхъ крестьянинъ совсѣмъ было забылъ. Обстоятельство это крайне располагаетъ крестьянина, внушаетъ ему довѣріе къ врачу и къ медицинѣ и къ предлагаемому лекарству. Въ виду господствующаго въ народѣ повсемѣстнаго знахарства и колдовства, безмездное леченіе получаетъ особенно важное значеніе. Знахарство появилось въ народѣ именно потому, что эта помощь была всегда подъ рукой и не стоила особенно дорого. Точь въ точь въ такія же отношенія должна стать и раціональная медицина къ народу. Князь Васильчиковъ забываетъ, что земскія учрежденія въ Европѣ явились какъ потребность общества и вызваны самимъ обществомъ, но у насъ имъ необходимо носить характеръ воспитательнаго свойства. Земскія учрежденія у насъ должны имѣть воспитательное и образовательное значеніе. Безплатное леченіе и безплатныя лекарства могутъ современемъ подорвать въ корнѣ знахарство, и шарлатанизмъ, и эксплуатацію разныхъ коноваловъ и разныхъ богоносовъ, шатающихся по всей Руси святой, плѣняющихъ ее своими разсказами о бѣлой Арапіи и стоющихъ все-таки дорого народу. И вотъ народъ будетъ платить деньги на наемъ врача и на покупку лекарствъ, а въ случаѣ надобности онъ обратится за помощью къ богоносу, которому за услугу все-таки заплати. Въ доказательство того, что народъ платитъ за эти услуги, мы приведемъ здѣсь разсказъ крестьянки Авдотьи Воробьевой изъ деревни Полдневой, Ильинской волости, у которой было сильное маточное кровотеченіе: «Позаимствовался

ности и отношенія къ новымъ учрежденіямъ. Сохраняемъ въ точности орѳографію подлинника.

1) «Господину объезному дохтуру Притуганову осмѣлюсь вамъ донести о больной женшины къ серцу приступитъ, отъ серца отъступитъ животъ заболитъ, вушахъ болитъ, въ корле не даетъ глатать, отъ пупа какъ простень наперво морозить нечноять, ноги болятъ. Села Ирбитцкихъ вершинъ».

2) «Куровской волости деревни Талицы крестьянинъ Владимеръ Васильевъ Каргапольцевъ нездаровъ вънутреной болезни лихоманка беретъ удушьемъ, свидетельствовали фершала мая 25 дня составляли составъ отъ того полги не оказалось прошу ваше благородіе неоставъте моей брозьбы невозможно ли прислать лекарства засвидетельствовалъ староста Андрей Потаповъ приложилъ печать».

3) «Куровской волости изъ деревни Портомойки крестьянина Осипа Петрова Кропивина и предъписаю въ г. Камышловъ г. лекарю и прошу я васъ измилости г. лекарь. Не отпустите ли мне лекарство для етой болѣзни первое голово болитъ, въ голове жаръ состоитъ въ 2 насамово морозъ, третие серце болитъ лихота на сердце состоитъ хлеба несколь на нутро непущатъ горко тяжко я немогу зделаитѣ такое великое попечение г. лекарь».

4) «Въ обтекъ сіе въ Камышловской Городъ Господину Лекарю; Покорнѣйше просимъ Выдать надобьевъ Для изличенія крестьянину Михаилу Устинову Фомину съ женой Его Маріміаной Петровой Фоміныхъ, Оба они находятся въ немоще въ одной; А неизвѣстной намъ въ какой, Нездоровы они Грудію и крыльцамъ, и харковіна идетъ небаякая, сельской староста Устинъ Филиповъ Фоминыхъ, Печать Приложилъ А сей податель требуетъ сіе, Степанъ Кузьминъ Фоминыхъ же».

Вотъ по такимъ запискамъ крестьяне получали лекарства и невстрѣчали почти никогда отказа, а потому они не упускали ни одного удобнаго случая, чтобы изъ самыхъ отдаленныхъ уголковъ не обратиться за *снадобьемъ*, получали его, и лихорадка проходила. Вотъ почему мы полагаемъ, что какъ леченіе, такъ и отпускъ лекарства должны быть совершенно безмездны и безъ всякой платы. Правило это необходимо поставить въ принципѣ и свято соблюдать его. Князь Васильчиковъ въ своей книгѣ о самоуправленіи говоритъ: «У насъ общее направленіе земскихъ учрежденій при составленіи проектовъ санитарной организаціи таково, что предполагается имѣть врачей

на земскомъ жалованьи, которые обязаны бы были, довольствуясь этимъ жалованьемъ, лѣчить все окружное населеніе безплатно или за самую умѣренную плату и не только бѣдныхъ неимущихъ, но и всѣхъ обывателей безъ различія. Въ этомъ, какъ намъ кажется, заключается главнѣйшее и едва-ли преодолимое затрудненіе къ устройству врачебной части; оно проистекаетъ изъ шаткаго и смутнаго понятія, которое вкралось въ Россіи во всѣ вѣдомства народнаго продовольствія, общественнаго призрѣнія, народнаго здравія, что всякій расходъ, производимый обществомъ или земствомъ, даетъ и каждому члену общества и земства право пользоваться предметомъ, на который расходъ ассигнованъ. При этомъ, не допускается различія между зажиточнымъ крестьяниномъ и бездомнымъ бобылемъ, не дается никакого преимущества нуждающемуся; предполагается, что всякія пособія—хлѣбныя, денежныя, врачебныя разверстываются по той же нормѣ, какъ и повинности, коими они удовлетворяются, однимъ словомъ, что всякія общественныя мѣропріятія имѣютъ въ виду не помощь бѣднымъ и неимущимъ, не благотворительность, а общее и даровое пользованіе всего мѣстнаго населенія».

«Весьма трудно найти выходъ изъ этого ошибочнаго круга; въ другихъ странахъ врачебныя пособія устраиваются собственно для бѣднѣйшаго класса въ томъ предположеніи, что прочіе жители пріищутъ себѣ медицинскую помощь въ случаѣ нужды. У насъ же отъ правительственныхъ и земскихъ учрежденій требуется, чтобы они организовали всенародное безплатное врачеваніе; отъ этого разумѣется расходы возвышаются чрезмѣрно и за недостаткомъ средствъ ничего не предпринимается. Мы полагаемъ, что собственно къ вѣдомству народнаго здравія относится не общее устройство врачебной части, а *только безплатныя пособія тѣмъ больнымъ, которые не имѣютъ средствъ прибѣгнуть къ врачу*, или случайно, внезапно, подвергаются несчастнымъ случаямъ».

Не смотря на высокій авторитетъ князя Васильчикова въ вопросѣ о самоуправленіи и на глубокое уваженіе, которое намъ внушаетъ его почтенный трудъ, мы не согласны ни съ однимъ изъ взглядовъ, высказанныхъ имъ въ приведенной нами цитатѣ. Мы не согласны съ нимъ не на основаніи теоріи или какихъ нибудь кабинетныхъ соображеній, а на основаніи опыта; мы не согласны съ нимъ не книжно, а потому, что мы убѣдились въ совершенно противномъ de facto, при столкновеніи съ живою дѣйствительностью. Князь Васильчиковъ смѣ-

просъ о больницахъ еще далеко не рѣшенъ, то мы намѣрены коснуться и этого вопроса. Существенный принципъ всей медицины долженъ конечно заключаться въ стремленіи принести больному возможно большую пользу. Руководствуясь этимъ принципомъ, намъ необходимо въ виду извѣстныхъ обстоятельствъ подумать о томъ, что мы въ состояніи сдѣлать. Опытъ вѣковъ и особенно послѣднихъ временъ доказалъ, что всѣ больницы—учрежденія, вовсе не соотвѣтствующія своему главному назначенію—исцѣлять больныхъ. Особенно много въ этомъ отношеніи разъяснилъ дѣло все тотъ же знаменитый двигатель ея Н. И. Пироговъ. Онъ именно утверждаетъ, что каждый больной всегда имѣетъ больше шансовъ выздоровѣть дома или вообще внѣ больницъ и несравненно больше шансовъ умереть въ больницѣ, чѣмъ гдѣ-либо въ иномъ мѣстѣ. Это важное обстоятельство очень и очень часто упускается изъ виду, и о больницахъ трактуютъ, какъ о чемъ-то безусловно спасительномъ. Но есть масса несчастныхъ страдальцевъ, которымъ положительно некуда дѣваться въ случаѣ болѣзни, и вотъ только для этихъ несчастныхъ именно больница нужна. Слѣдовательно, всякая больница ни больше ни меньше, какъ неизбѣжное зло. Это отрицательное значеніе больницъ возрастаетъ конечно тѣмъ больше, чѣмъ меньше онѣ удовлевлетворяютъ современымъ требованіямъ гигіены и медицины, и въ этомъ смыслѣ наши губернскія земскія больницы такое страшное зло, что въ ихъ пользу ничто не говоритъ, а противъ нихъ все. При сооруженіи больницъ, обыкновенно имѣютъ въ виду воздвигнуть величественное зданіе, которое бы поражало зрителя—разумѣется, издали. Но эти величественныя зданія лишь временная станція при переправѣ огромной массы людей на тотъ свѣтъ, потому что въ этихъ зданіяхъ воздухъ всегда самый ядовитый, насыщенный міазмами, пища большею частью отвратительна, уходъ самый жалкій и вслѣдствіе этого смертность ужасная. Администрація и порядки нашихъ больницъ—нѣчто не то чудовищное, не то курьезное. Въ нѣкоторыхъ больницахъ существуетъ ненарушимое правило, что вновь поступающіе больные получаютъ пищу *только на другой день*, хотя бы они поступили съ ранняго утра и хоть вы тутъ распинайтесь до полночи. Иногда случаются такого рода курьезы, что ординаторы во время визитацій спрашиваютъ больныхъ, не пожелаютъ ли они чего-нибудь *завтра*, потому что всякое желаніе больнаго относительно пищи, питья и другихъ прихотей, можетъ быть исполнено только на другой день. Ради

Бога не думайте, что это выдумка, или такъ себѣ сказано, для краснаго словца. Это слишкомъ грустная правда. Положеніе больного въ больницѣ вообще самое безотрадное. Его душитъ мрачная палата и формальность обстановки, темные корридоры съ ихъ зловоніемъ внушаютъ ему скорѣе отвращеніе, чѣмъ охоту прогуливаться по нимъ, а сонъ и спокойствіе, столь необходимые для его здоровья, постоянно нарушаются миріадами клоповъ. Смѣло можно поручиться, что еслибъ какой нибудь дерзкій врагъ потребовалъ контрибуцію съ нашихъ больницъ клопами, то ихъ можно было бы доставить по меньшей мѣрѣ «пять милліардовъ». Положимъ, что въ данную минуту ихъ не найдется столько, но съ разсрочкой въ три-четыре года навѣрное можно выплатить эту сумму. Каково же хворать-то въ такой больницѣ! И въ такихъ-то больницахъ всѣ норовятъ, какъ бы съэкономничать и воспользоваться насчетъ больнаго, начиная съ сторожа и оканчивая поставщикомъ матеріаловъ. Совокупность всѣхъ этихъ неблагопріятныхъ обстоятельствъ приводитъ къ тому, что смертность въ нашихъ больницахъ доходитъ до 12 процентовъ на сто: цифра ужасная! Если при этомъ принять во вниманіе, что у насъ содержаніе такой губернской больницы обходится отъ 50 до 60 тысячъ руб. сер., то можно пожалуй подумать, что было бы цѣлесообразнѣе деньги эти раздавать больнымъ на руки. Результаты такого способа лѣченія несомнѣнно были бы плодотворнѣе, потому что трудно рѣшить, на что назначены наши больницы, на то, чтобъ въ нихъ выздоравливали, или скорѣе на то, чтобы въ нихъ вѣрнѣе умереть. Вся эта mise en scéne больничныхъ порядковъ приводитъ насъ къ тому убѣжденію, что для блага больныхъ необходимо радикально водоизмѣнить ихъ внутренній бытъ и отчасти внѣшнія отношенія и обстановку. Во главѣ управленія больницы долженъ непремѣнно стоять совѣтъ врачей, который въ лицѣ старшаго врача необходимо долженъ завѣдывать всею хозяйственною частью. Вся больничная прислуга, вмѣстѣ съ служащими и съ смотрителемъ, должна составлять больничную артель, зависящую только отъ совѣта врачей. Земская управа контролируетъ и вѣдаетъ лишь совѣтъ врачей и ей дѣла нѣтъ до внутренняго строя больницы, до ея научнаго и гигіеническаго характера, за который отвѣтствуетъ совѣтъ предъ лицемъ общественнаго мнѣнія и предъ земскимъ собраніемъ. Совѣтъ врачей создаетъ внутренніе распорядки больницы, больничной артели, выборное и представительное лицо которой отвѣтствуетъ за малѣйшее упущеніе

губернскихъ и большихъ уѣздныхъ городахъ, необходимо устроить фельдшерскія школы и вести дѣло этихъ школъ особенно старательно. Въ каждомъ губернскомъ городѣ при земской больницѣ имѣются старшій врачъ и четыре ординатора. Хорошо, если каждый изъ нихъ по какой-нибудь отрасли спеціалистъ. Эти пять человѣкъ должны преподавать въ фельдшерской школѣ и непремѣнно за хорошую плату, minimum 50 р. сер. за годовой урокъ. Въ такой фельдшерской школѣ, въ которой рядомъ съ мальчиками сидятъ и дѣвочки, желающія изучить фельдшерство, преподаются кромѣ русскаго языка и ариѳметика, анатомія и физіологія, патологія и терапія, фармакологія и рецептура, *сифилидологія* и, какъ вѣнецъ всего этого,—гигіена. Этого мало. Школы необходимо поставить на такую ногу, чтобы онѣ выпускали людей не только съ знаніями, какъ практическими, такъ и теоретическими, но съ извѣстнымъ нравственнымъ колоритомъ. Школы должна научить фельдшеровъ быть добросовѣстными въ отправленіи своей обязанности и чуждаться пороковъ. Для насъ вопросъ о пользѣ нашихъ большихъ госпиталей крайне сомнителенъ, но мы нисколько не сомнѣваемся, что хорошая фельдшерская и акушерская школы крайне полезны и необходимы. Судите сами. Земство ежегодно вынимаетъ изъ народа массу необтесанной молодежи обоего пола и пускаетъ ихъ въ народное обращеніе людьми позитивнаго знанія, людьми непосредственной пользы и дѣла. Вотъ почему на земствѣ лежитъ нравственная обязанность всѣми силами содѣйствовать процвѣтанію такихъ школъ. Наши больницы располагаютъ всѣми средствами, чтобы сдѣлать эти школы образцовыми; не достаетъ лишь сочувствія и должной матеріальной поддержки со стороны самого земства.

Тоже нужно сказать и объ акушерской школѣ. Подъ этимъ мы разумѣемъ, что каждая центральная больница должна имѣть при себѣ акушерскую школу, которая приготовляла бы повивальныхъ бабокъ изъ мѣстныхъ жителей, для мѣстнаго потребленія. Почти въ каждомъ губернскомъ городѣ и въ каждой губерніи несомнѣнно множество дѣвицъ, неимѣющихъ ни средствъ, ни возможности ѣхать въ университетскій городъ для слушанія лекцій. При томъ это вовсе не такъ нужно. Мудрость акушерская, преподаваемая въ сжатой и сокращенной формѣ акушеркамъ, вовсе неприлична университету, а скорѣе всего пристойна ординаторамъ земской больницы. Не въ обиду будь сказано иному университету, мы сталкивались въ жизни провинціальной съ акушерками, апробованными нашими провинціальными уни-

верситетами и никуда негодными. Ровно ничего не смыслятъ. Между тѣмъ намъ случилось присутствовать при выпускномъ экзаменѣ акушерокъ, получившихъ образованіе въ Самарской земской больницѣ, и мы были *поражены*, *ушамъ своимъ* не вѣрили, мы удивлялись практическимъ и теоретическимъ познаніямъ акушерокъ. Мы положительно утверждаемъ, что провинціальныя больницы и акушерскія школы несравненно лучше приготовляютъ акушерокъ, чѣмъ ветхіе денми корифеи. На стотысячное населеніе женскаго пола необходимо по меньшей мѣрѣ три акушерки. Одна изъ нихъ, покрайней мѣрѣ, должна быть знакома съ леченіемъ сифилиса и женскихъ и дѣтскихъ болѣзней. Такихъ акушерокъ приготовляетъ пока одна лишь Калинкинская больница. Но необходимо, чтобы каждая провинціальная акушерская школа, существующая при земской больницѣ, знакомила акушерокъ съ этими важными отраслями знанія. Часто у насъ раздаются голоса противъ акушерокъ: говорятъ о ихъ безполезности для земства на томъ основаніи, что всякая акушерка, такъ или иначе, но все-таки барыня и что поэтому наши крестьянки не станутъ къ ней обращаться. Это справедливо развѣ относительно городскихъ бабокъ, разжирѣвшихъ отъ купеческихъ пироговъ и занятыхъ сколько практикой, столько и сплетничаньемъ. Совсѣмъ другое—земскія акушерки на земскомъ жалованьи. Если земская акушерка вздумаетъ въ селѣ разыгрывать роль барыни и станетъ дожидаться призыва отъ крестьянокъ, то она конечно этого съ трудомъ дождется. Но каждая акушерка должна сама искать практики и, такъ сказать, навязывать свои услуги. Она предварительно знакомится съ беременными крестьянками, предлагаетъ имъ свои услуги—и одно слово ласки дотого расположитъ къ ней крестьянокъ, что ей потомъ не будетъ отбою и ее станутъ таскать изъ одного села въ другое. Была бы лишь охота, а работа, и самая полезная, всегда найдется.

Мы поэтому считаемъ безусловно нужнымъ преподаваніе акушеркамъ гигіены; тогда у нихъ занятіе будетъ всегда подъ рукой. Притомъ имъ необходимо преподавать не гигіену богатыхъ, а гигіену бѣдныхъ....

Имѣя акушерскую и фельдшерскую школы, имѣя въ каждомъ раіонѣ врача и извѣстное число фельдшеровъ, поставивъ въ принципѣ даровое или, лучше сказать, безплатное леченіе и безплатныя лекарства, земство выполнило девять десятыхъ своей задачи, по отношенію къ народной медицинѣ. Но такъ какъ у насъ во-

узкая недобросовѣстность можетъ ему противорѣчить. Вотъ эту-то пропорцію больныхъ могутъ между собою раздѣлить врачъ и фельдшера. Врачъ при поступленіи въ земство объѣзжаетъ свой околодокъ, ознакомливается приблизительно съ господствующимъ характеромъ болѣзней и вслѣдъ затѣмъ немедленно издаетъ инструкцію своимъ фельдшерамъ. Инструкція эта должна быть отпечатана въ мѣстныхъ губернскихъ вѣдомостяхъ, издана отдѣльной брошюрой, раздана фельдшерамъ и вручена имъ, какъ обязательное руководство. Такая инструкція въ рукахъ опытнаго и дѣльнаго фельдшера избавитъ врача по меньшей мѣрѣ отъ 70 процентовъ больныхъ. Предчувствуемъ довольно грозное возраженіе: «гдѣ взять опытныхъ и дѣльныхъ фельдшеровъ?» На это мы отвѣтимъ вопросомъ: «А гдѣ взять опытныхъ и дѣльныхъ врачей?» «А гдѣ взять опытныхъ и дѣльныхъ земскихъ дѣятелей?» Ихъ еще меньше, чѣмъ дѣльныхъ фельдшеровъ. Гдѣ взять? Время создастъ все это, при извѣстномъ стараніи и строѣ земства.

Распредѣливъ фельдшеровъ по своему усмотрѣнію въ одной изъ двухъ волостей, врачъ постановляетъ правиломъ, чтобы фельдшеръ проживалъ мѣсяцъ въ одной волости и наѣзжалъ въ другую, а другой мѣсяцъ проживалъ бы въ другой волости и наѣзжалъ въ первую. Тогда помощь, имъ подаваемая, будетъ близка и непосредственна. Врачъ объѣзжаетъ свой околодокъ по своему усмотрѣнію четыре раза въ теченіе года. Это совершенно достаточно для повѣрки дѣйствій фельдшеровъ. Являясь въ волость, врачъ проситъ по возможности представить ему тѣхъ больныхъ, которыхъ фельдшеръ уже лечилъ и вылечилъ, и тѣхъ, лечить которыхъ онъ небралъ на себя, такъ какъ фельдшеръ долженъ лечить только болѣзни, обозначенныя въ инструкціи, и такъ какъ ему отпускаются и лекарства соотвѣтственно этой инструкціи. При посѣщеніи волостей и осмотрѣ больныхъ, врачъ приглашаетъ къ себѣ тѣхъ, которымъ онъ надѣется оказать помощь, въ противномъ случаѣ преподаетъ наставленіе на мѣстѣ. Кромѣ того, врачъ во время этого путешествія слѣдитъ за ходомъ оспопрививанія и за исполненіемъ другихъ санитарныхъ мѣръ. Эти четыре поѣздки врачъ совершаетъ по своему усмотрѣнію въ какое ему угодно время и конечно не иначе, какъ на земскихъ лошадяхъ. Все же остальное время онъ проводитъ въ центрѣ, въ своемъ постоянномъ мѣстопребываніи, откуда онъ въ экстренныхъ случаяхъ выѣзжаетъ въ уѣздъ не иначе, какъ по требованію фельдшера, напр.

во время эпидеміи или для какого-нибудь случая, требующаго присутствія врача. Фельдшеръ же вызываетъ врача только въ самомъ крайнемъ случаѣ, потому что врачъ, сидя на мѣстѣ, также занятъ постоянно подаваніемъ помощи и леченіемъ тѣхъ больныхъ, которые къ нему собираются изъ уѣзда. Отсюда ясно, насколько мы раздѣляемъ дѣятельность между врачемъ и фельдшеромъ. Если врачъ живетъ въ городѣ, гдѣ есть городская больница, которою завѣдуетъ особый городовой врачъ, то земство можетъ туда класть своихъ больныхъ за плату, или имѣть свою особенную отдѣльную больницу гдѣ-нибудь въ уѣздѣ, которою станетъ завѣдывать свой земскій врачъ. Прежде чѣмъ перейдемъ къ разсмотрѣнію вопроса о больницѣ, мы еще разъ обратимся къ дѣятельности врача съ фельдшерами и укажемъ, откуда же взять дѣльныхъ и хорошихъ фельдшеровъ. Послѣ всего нами сказаннаго, трудно сомнѣваться въ необходимости фельдшеровъ; но вотъ еще обстоятельства, указывающія, какъ трудно и даже невозможно безъ нихъ обойтись. До появленія такихъ эпидемій какъ холера, раздавались сильные голоса въ земствѣ, что фельдшера совершенно безполезны. Во время же холерной эпидеміи и по окончаніи ея, нѣкоторыя земства прямо заявили, что тамъ, гдѣ были на лицо хорошіе фельдшера, снабженные инструкціями и всякими снадобьями, холера дѣйствовала слабѣе, смертность отъ нея была незначительна и она скоро уступала стараніямъ и общепринятымъ мѣрамъ. Далѣе, знаменитый нашъ ученый Н. И. Пироговъ утверждаетъ, что въ военное время число раненыхъ и больныхъ бываетъ иногда дотого велико, что нѣтъ никакой возможности обойтись безъ фельдшеровъ и; раздѣляя раненыхъ на четыре категоріи, онъ цѣлую категорію легко-раненыхъ возлагаетъ на фельдшеровъ. Земствамъ конечно не мѣшаетъ подумать о томъ, что вдругъ можетъ случиться война, когда понадобится ихъ помощь и содѣйствіе, такъ какъ теперь положительно доказано Американскою и Прусско-Французскою войнами, что частная помощь, хорошо организованная, имѣетъ могущественное вліяніе на уменьшеніе смертности въ войскахъ, среди раненыхъ, слѣдовательно и на ходъ самой войны. Всѣ эти обстоятельства настолько важны, что возражать противъ фельдшеровъ только на томъ основаніи, что между ними встрѣчаются пьяницы, просто нелѣпо. Скорѣе необходимо принять всѣ мѣры къ тому, чтобы имѣть хорошихъ фельдшеровъ. Ихъ можетъ дать только земство. Въ тѣхъ пунктахъ, гдѣ имѣются большіе госпитали, какъ въ

даже за 200 верстъ. Такимъ же образомъ онъ ѣдетъ за медицинскою помощью за сто и за двѣсти верстъ, какъ скоро онъ услышитъ, что тамъ живетъ лекарь, который помогаетъ. Безъ пріувеличенія мы утверждаемъ, что къ знаменитому эскулапу, доктору Рудановскому, слѣпые катарактами отправляются изъ отдаленныхъ угловъ Пермской, Тобольской и Оренбургской губерній за нѣсколько сотъ верстъ. Къ святому Симеону Верхотурскому съ самой почти весны и въ теченіе всего лѣта плетутся сотни больныхъ крестьянъ за тою же медицинскою помощью въ городъ Верхотурье изъ разныхъ городовъ западной Сибири, и непремѣнно пѣшкомъ. Потому, если въ городѣ, находящемся въ центрѣ и отстоящемъ отъ окраинъ уѣзда даже на 100 верстъ, если въ этомъ центрѣ живетъ дѣльный, хорошій врачъ, то къ нему больные станутъ стекаться во множествѣ, такъ что у него ни времени, ни силъ не хватитъ удовлетворить всѣхъ. Все это доказано теперь фактически и совершенно достаточно. Въ Пруссіи полагается врачъ на 50,000 жителей; кромѣ того, на это же число полагается еще хирургъ и ветеринаръ. Но эти 50,000 жителей живутъ тамъ на 16 кв. миляхъ; у насъ же если 50,000 жителей живутъ на 50 квадр. миляхъ, то это уже густое населеніе, потому что у насъ есть губерніи, какъ напримѣръ Архангельская, гдѣ на каждую квадратную милю приходится по 18 человѣкъ. Отсюда ясно, что прусская мѣрка къ намъ не подходитъ. У насъ пожалуй есть уголки, которые не уступятъ прусскимъ. Нижне-Тагильскій округъ г. Демидова, гдѣ живетъ знаменитый докторъ Рудановскій, имѣетъ нѣсколько больше 50,000 жит. обоего пола. Всѣ они скучены въ немногихъ заводахъ, на небольшомъ разстояніи одинъ отъ другаго. Тамъ имѣются два врача, великолѣпный госпиталь, аптека и опредѣленное число фельдшеровъ. Вся медицинская часть ежегодно обходится владѣльцу тысячъ въ 30. Если это считать нормой, то на такой уѣздъ, какъ Камышловскій или хоть Самарскій, пропитывающіе каждый двухсоттысячное населеніе, пришлось бы употребить на медицинскую часть до 120,000 р. Но Камышловскій уѣздъ аесигновалъ лишь десятую часть этой суммы, т. е. 12,000 руб. На эти деньги не больно развернешься. А потому необходимо ихъ такъ распредѣлить, чтобы каждому досталась доля выгоды. Поэтому радіусъ въ 25 верстъ слишкомъ малъ и не можетъ считаться нормой. Вѣрнѣе назначить по числу жителей, и на 50,000 жителей одного врача дѣйствительно достаточно, съ тѣмъ однакоже усло-

віемъ, чтобы у этого врача было подъ рукой нѣсколько фельдшеровъ. Фельдшеровъ мы отстаиваемъ на слѣдующемъ основаніи. Мы дѣйствительно стоимъ за нихъ горой, но мы на это имѣемъ неоспоримыя доказательства. Практикующіе врачи должны съ нами согласиться, что по меньшей мѣрѣ 70 процентовъ больныхъ на сто страдаютъ самыми обыкновенными, обыденными болѣзнями, и что лишь 30 процентовъ представляютъ нѣчто особенное, болѣе рѣдкое. Въ этихъ 70 процентахъ на сто можетъ оказать одинаковую пользу какъ врачъ, такъ и фельдшеръ, или же ни тотъ ни другой не принесутъ вовсе никакой пользы. Вѣдь теперь уже вовсе не секретъ, что большинство болѣзней проходитъ безъ всякаго леченія, а иногда вопреки леченію. Еще вѣрнѣе то, что діететеческое и гигіеническое содержаніе больныхъ играетъ первенствующую роль въ леченіи большей части больныхъ. Поэтому мы полагаемъ, что для этихъ 70 процентовъ совершенно безразлично, фельдшеръ-ли или врачъ ихъ лечитъ. Остается 30 процентовъ. Третьей части изъ этого количества врачъ-спеціалистъ дѣйствительно можетъ оказать громадную услугу; напримѣръ, хорошій хирургъ или окулистъ можетъ изцѣлить слѣпоту, срѣзать наросты, раки, опухоли, полипы и т. д. Двѣ трети представляютъ такихъ субъектовъ, которымъ ни врачъ, ни фельдшеръ, *никто* не поможетъ. Сюда относятся всѣ органическіе пороки нашего тѣла. Въ доказательство, что тутъ и врачъ ничего особеннаго не значитъ, вы обратите вниманіе на ту массу больныхъ, которые ежегодно таскаются изъ угла въ уголъ по Европѣ, на минеральныя воды Кавказа, на кумысъ въ Мекку Самарскую, которые садятся въ разные колокола и вообще во множествѣ спѣшатъ на всевозможныя кумысо-воздухо-минерально-лечебныя зазыванія. Одному Богу извѣстно, сколько толку отъ всего этого безцѣльнаго шатанья по свѣту съ своими неисцѣлимыми недугами. И такихъ людей—просто бездна. Мы ихъ поэтому оставимъ въ покоѣ. Въ народѣ тоже очень много больныхъ этой категоріи, и, положа руку на сердце, мы сознаемся, что вся наша медицина, и земская въ особенности, не въ силахъ оказать этимъ страдальцамъ ни малѣйшей пользы. Остается слѣдовательно около 70 процентовъ, которыхъ фельдшеръ, подъ руководствомъ врача, смѣло можетъ лечить такъ же успѣшно, какъ и самъ врачъ, и процентовъ 10, maximum 15, гдѣ требуется спеціальная помощь врача. Этотъ нашъ доводъ до того вѣренъ, что только самая

предъ старшимъ врачемъ. Словомъ, больничная артель такое благо, которое сразу устранитъ всякую кражу и уничтожитъ цѣль шумныхъ и безсмысленныхъ отношеній, потому что артель будетъ заинтересована въ томъ, чтобы больные были довольны хорошимъ содержаніемъ въ больницѣ. Большую часть больничной прислуги лучше всего набирать изъ женщинъ, потому что уходъ женщинъ за больными въ милліонъ разъ благотворнѣе; мужскую прислугу слѣдуетъ оставить только для самыхъ грубыхъ обязанностей; она должна топить печи, таскать дрова, выносить мертвецовъ и т. п.

Во время крымской компаніи въ англійскихъ госпиталяхъ смертность сперва доходила до 23 процентовъ на 100; такая смертность превосходила самыя кровопролитныя войны; но съ пріѣздомъ миссъ Найтингель, благодаря ея стараніямъ и сестрамъ милосердія, смертность эта уменьшилась до 4 процентовъ на 100: такъ важенъ, такъ много значитъ въ больницахъ хорошій гигіеническій уходъ! Содержаніе въ больницѣ должно быть поэтому крайне хорошее. Въ большей части больницъ существуетъ обыкновеніе утромъ давать больнымъ овсяную похлебку, потомъ обѣдъ и ужинъ, состоящіе изъ первой, или второй, или третьей порціи. Все это неумѣстная, казенная рутина и путаница. Попробуйте указать на всю непрактичность и вредность такой кормежки и вамъ на это отвѣтятъ: «Ладно и это! Народъ не лучше ѣлъ дома, такъ тутъ его нечего баловать!» Между тѣмъ мы торжественно заявляемъ, что народъ нашъ, вовсе не привередливый и далеко не разборчивый, постоянно ропщетъ и жалуется на пищу. Дѣйствительно, представьте себѣ какую-то похлебку, безвкусную, способную возбудить тошноту и кусокъ говядины, жесткій какъ подошва. Это такъ-называемая первая порція нашихъ больницъ. Приготовляютъ ее такимъ образомъ. Берутъ нѣсколько кусковъ худшихъ сортовъ говядины, бросаютъ въ котелъ, варятъ съ крупой и капустой, а вываренную рѣжутъ въ куски. Здѣсь у васъ такъ-называемый бульонъ и говядина. Это два блюда. Мерзѣе этого трудно себѣ представить что нибудь, такъ что нашъ уже вовсе не брезгливый народъ съ отвращеніемъ относится къ больничной пищѣ. Мы положительно утверждаемъ, что больнымъ необходимо давать самую удобоваримую и питательную пищу, а потому въ больницахъ, въ которыхъ намъ приводилось принимать участіе, мы добивались того, чтобы больнымъ давали утромъ и вечеромъ чай съ бѣлымъ хлѣбомъ. Русскому человѣку, и особенно больнымъ, чай самое драгоцѣнное и ни-

чѣмъ незамѣнимое наслажденіе. Если онъ не имѣетъ этого удобства, этой роскоши дома, то именно больница обязана ему доставить это благо. Замѣна всякихъ овсяныхъ похлебокъ часто вызываетъ со стороны больныхъ живѣйшую благодарность и лишать больныхъ этого ничѣмъ незамѣнимаго пособія—просто безчеловѣчно, грѣшно. Лучше, во сто разъ лучше большинство больныхъ оставить безъ всякихъ лекарствъ, чѣмъ отказать имъ въ самомъ дорогомъ для нихъ снадобьѣ, въ чаѣ. Притомъ мы готовы математически доказать, что чай несравненно экономнѣе, чѣмъ овсяная похлебка утромъ и ужинъ вечеромъ. Мы этимъ хотимъ сказать, что при чаѣ больнымъ никакого ужина не нужно. Даже вопросъ о пищѣ можетъ быть крайне упрощенъ. Обѣдъ можетъ быть двоякій. Больные большею частью лишены аппетита и рѣдко соглашаются что-нибудь кушать. Кромѣ того, есть болѣзни, именно разстройство пищеварительнаго аппарата, гдѣ не допускается никакая плотная пища. Въ такихъ случаяхъ дѣйствительно можно ограничиваться слизистымъ наваромъ изъ овсяныхъ или ячневыхъ крупъ. Это будетъ такъ называемая слабая порція. Но чуть явился у больнаго аппетитъ, какъ только онъ сталъ поправляться и почувствовалъ потребность пищи, его необходимо кормить самой питательной и удобоваримой пищей; ему тогда необходимо давать тарелку хорошаго супу и кусокъ жаренной говядины, разнообразя эти два блюда попеременно, сегодня супъ и жаркое, завтра щи и котлетка и т. д. При этомъ необходимо, чтобы врачъ никогда не стѣснялся въ назначеніи больному вина, кофе, плодовъ и т. д. Только при такихъ условіяхъ можно ожидать какой нибудь пользы отъ больницы. Въ противномъ случаѣ это выходитъ одна лишь форменная обязанность на бумагѣ. Самое устройство больницы должно быть совершенно спеціальное, особенное. Мы прилагаемъ здѣсь въ концѣ нашъ планъ устройства земской больницы, а потому больше объ этомъ распространяться не будемъ.

Но если внутренній бытъ нашихъ больницъ представляетъ такое печальное зрѣлище, то положеніе нашихъ земскихъ врачей нисколько не лучше. Безпомощность ихъ подчасъ самая жалкая. Попадая прямо со школьной скамьи въ наши милыя трущобы и несравненныя захолустья, они вязнутъ въ тинѣ повседневной посредственности. Полные розовыхъ мечтаній, честныхъ и возвышенныхъ надеждъ, они скоро свыкаются и втягиваются средой. Притомъ они дѣйствительно завалены работой по-шею, до того, что у нихъ едва хватаетъ времени

прочесть номеръ газеты. Мало по малу они страшно отстаютъ отъ всего и становятся равнодушными къ прогрессу науки, къ интересамъ народа и его здоровья. Скажите на-милость, что внесли новаго въ науку всѣ наши больницы? Ровно ничего. Чѣмъ заявили онѣ себя выдающимся или достойнымъ особеннаго вниманія? Ровно ничѣмъ. Не смотря на обиліе матеріала, которымъ онѣ располагаютъ, онѣ представляютъ собою типичные образцы рутины и застоя рѣшительно по всѣмъ частямъ. Въ нашихъ провинціальныхъ больницахъ нѣтъ ни усовершенствованныхъ приборовъ, ни новѣйшихъ инструментовъ; введеніе новыхъ способовъ леченія встрѣчаетъ всегда непреоборимыя препятствія; подчасъ операціи грозитъ дурной исходъ изъ-за того только, что ножи притупились. Объ изобрѣтеніяхъ или о какомъ нибудь своеобразномъ научномъ открытіи въ нашихъ больницахъ и думать смѣшно. Между тѣмъ для того, чтобы больницы наши сколько нибудь достигали цѣли, необходимо, чтобы врачи наши были знакомы съ современнымъ развитіемъ медицины. Медицина, наука опыта, каждый день приноситъ съ собой что нибудь новое. Она требуетъ постояннаго обновленія и освѣженія. Какъ въ наукѣ опыта и наблюденія, въ ней слишкомъ много такого, что необходимо видѣть собственными глазами, необходимо изучить на мѣстѣ подъ руководствомъ опытныхъ корифеевъ. Новые способы операцій, вновь изобрѣтенныя машины и аппараты, новые методы леченія требуютъ личнаго ознакомленія въ университетахъ, при клиникахъ или за границей. Наши университеты правда не принадлежатъ еще къ такимъ самостоятельнымъ учрежденіямъ, которыя сами двигали бы науку, но они по крайней мѣрѣ почти всегда (хотя и не всегда) стоятъ на уровнѣ современнаго европейскаго развитія науки. Положимъ, что люди состоятельные могутъ отправиться за тридевять земель къ разнымъ Оппольцерамъ, Грефе, Рикорамъ et tutti quanti искать медицинской помощи, но что же дѣлать массѣ бѣдныхъ людей? Гдѣ имъ искать помощи? Вѣдь у нихъ одно лишь прибѣжище—земство, одна дорога—въ больницу! Было время, когда хирургъ, снимавшій катарактъ или дѣлавшій операцію, считался осьмымъ чудомъ и къ нему стекался народъ за сотни верстъ. Теперь не рѣдкость встрѣтить въ каждомъ большомъ городѣ хорошаго акушера. Пока медициной завѣдывала администрація, на послѣднюю падала вся вина въ томъ, что она не имѣетъ никакихъ жизненныхъ элементовъ и не носитъ въ себѣ зародышей прогресса. Но съ появленіемъ земства, всѣ надежды были возложены на него. Всѣ

были увѣрены, что земство вообще сбросить съ себя всѣ узы и путы отжившихъ традицій, что оно не только не будетъ тормозить, но напротивъ, скорѣе явится могучимъ двигателемъ прогресса, что оно дастъ людямъ науки всѣ средства и укажетъ всѣ пути къ прогрессивному развитію. Ожиданія эти пока не сбылись, но не всѣ надежды еще потеряны, и потому мы считаемъ необходимымъ, чтобы земство ежегодно командировало одного изъ своихъ врачей въ университетскіе города или заграницу для усовершенствованія въ медицинѣ. Пора провѣтрить наши больницы новымъ духомъ современности, пора освѣжить мозги нашихъ врачей новыми научными впечатлѣніями въ университетскихъ центрахъ или въ заграничныхъ лабораторіяхъ ума, знанія и правды. Пора хоть немножко расшевелить наши увядающія силы, нашу дремлющую энергію и съ нѣсколько большимъ толкомъ употребить ихъ на народное дѣло, на народную пользу. Тогда наши больницы хоть сколько нибудь обновятся и своею внутреннею сутью заявятъ что нибудь свѣжее, современное, а не ту затхлую гниль, которою онѣ теперь насквозь пропитаны.

Нельзя сказать, чтобы всѣ эти нужды медицинскаго міра не были до сихъ поръ заявлены если не тѣмъ, такъ другимъ путемъ. Но земство дѣлаетъ видъ, что оно ничего этого не замѣчаетъ, что все это крайне преувеличено и что на самомъ дѣлѣ все обстоитъ благополучно. Но вдругъ ударила тревога. Холера съ ножемъ къ горлу подступила къ безпомощному народу, а между тѣмъ цѣлые уѣзды оказались безъ врачей, безъ медицинскаго пособія. Живой примѣръ— самарскій уѣздъ. Въ прошломъ году взято съ народа 17 тысячъ руб. на устройство медицинской части—и въ самое горячее холерное время въ самарскомъ уѣздѣ не оказалось ни одного врача! Народъ, какъ всегда, умиралъ безъ помощи, молча, безъ ропота. За то часть денегъ будетъ записана въ экономію.... и управа будетъ удостоена благодарности... Странное и непростительное недоразумѣніе! Земскіе чины увѣрены, что лишь они одни принимаютъ близко къ сердцу народные интересы; врачи же лишены даже этого права. Они должны быть лишь бездушными и простыми исполнителями своей обязанности, то есть машинами, прописывающими рецепты. Всякъ сверчокъ знай свой шестокъ. Взглядъ этотъ на врачей крайне непрактичный. Оттого врачи и бѣгутъ изъ нѣкоторыхъ земствъ какъ отъ чумы, и притомъ всѣ разомъ, такъ что цѣлые уѣзды остаются безъ врачей въ то именно время, когда они всего болѣе нужны.

Такой взглядъ на врачей и порождаетъ тѣ темныя отношенія, въ которыхъ пребываютъ врачи къ земству, и пока эти отношенія будутъ оставаться in statu quo, до тѣхъ поръ дѣло народнаго врачеванія не подвинется ни на одну іоту. А чтобъ это устранить, намъ необходимъ въ дѣлѣ разъясненія народныхъ нуждъ коллективный голосъ земскихъ врачей. И чтобы его добиться въ надлежащей формѣ—мы видимъ одно лишь средство, именно—*общіе съѣзды земскихъ врачей*. Князь Васильчиковъ въ своемъ сочиненіи о самоуправленіи утверждаетъ, что въ Европѣ почти повсемѣстно существуютъ такіе съѣзды и приносятъ огромную пользу дѣлу народнаго врачеванія. Онъ требуетъ и для Россіи «учредить общіе съѣзды окружныхъ врачей по одному отъ каждаго уѣзда въ губернскомъ городѣ и въ сроки, совпадающіе съ губернскими земскими собраніями, чтобъ на таковыхъ съѣздахъ обсуждались общія санитарныя мѣры и предлагались отъ врачебныхъ съѣздовъ земскимъ собраніямъ.» (Т. 3, стр. 465). Думаемъ, что еще лучше будетъ, когда эти съѣзды будутъ происходить ежегодно въ каждомъ уѣздномъ городѣ попеременно, предшествуя уѣзднымъ земскимъ собраніямъ или совпадая съ ними. Лучшіе люди, истинно преданные интересамъ земства, считаютъ такіе съѣзды безусловно нужными. Эти съѣзды сразу уничтожатъ тѣ темныя отношенія, которыя теперь мѣшаютъ правильному водворенію у насъ земской медицины. Тогда корпорація врачей въ губерніи составитъ особое вѣдомство съ извѣстнымъ апломбомъ. Корпорація сама увидитъ, гдѣ какой врачъ въ губерніи нужнѣе, куда требуется та или другая спеціальная медицинская помощь по преимуществу. *Опредѣленіе и удаленіе врачей тогда зависѣло бы какъ отъ земскихъ собраній, такъ и отъ самой корпораціи, голосу которой необходимо придать извѣстную опредѣленную силу и цѣну*. Управы откажутся отъ замашки швырять врачей по первому капризу, а на врачахъ будетъ лежать нравственная обязанность не покидать своего поста изъ-за личностей, изъ-за вздоровъ. На такихъ съѣздахъ коллективный голосъ врачей выскажетъ, въ чемъ именно нуждается русскій народъ и какія мѣры необходимы для устраненія его бѣдствій. Только на такихъ съѣздахъ выработается правильный взглядъ на взаимныя отношенія. Земство тогда пріучится относиться съ бо́льшимъ уваженіемъ къ заявленіямъ врачей, а врачи съ своей стороны пріучатся относиться съ бо́льшимъ вниманіемъ къ своей обязанности. Съѣзды выскажутъ свои мнѣнія за и противъ больнич-

ныхъ порядковъ, убѣдятъ земство въ необходимости или безполезности командировать врачей съ научной цѣлью, разберутъ вопросъ о пользѣ или вредѣ фельдшеровъ, а главное укажутъ тѣ пути, по которымъ можно будетъ провести извѣстныя санитарныя мѣры, чтобы уменьшить оскорбительную смертность и ограничить хоть сколько нибудь свирѣпость эпидемій, такъ безжалостно истребляющихъ народъ en masse. Съѣзды же главнымъ образомъ будутъ контролировать на мѣстѣ дѣйствія самихъ врачей. Тѣхъ, которые ничего не видятъ дальше своего носа, весьма трудно убѣдить въ пользѣ и необходимости медицинскихъ съѣздовъ, потому что для русскаго человѣка самая тяжолая обязанность —все таки *обязанность думать*. Тысячелѣтнимъ своимъ существованіемъ онъ къ этой обязанности не привыкъ и ему приходится исподоволь пріучаться къ этой трудной обязанности. Но только этимъ путемъ, путемъ взаимнаго обмѣна мыслей, путемъ всесторонняго обсужденія могутъ быть разрѣшены вопросы, касающіеся народнаго здравія и народнаго благополучія. Нечего только заходить слишкомъ далеко, нѣтъ надобности создавать обширныя программы, строить утопіи, воздвигать воздушные замки; нельзя сразу ожидать полнаго удовлетворенія отъ такихъ съѣздовъ; но съ другой стороны также не нужно парализовать излишнимъ скептицизмомъ робкіе шаги этихъ съѣздовъ на первыхъ порахъ; лучше дать имъ возможность укрѣпиться и стать на ноги. Тогда польза ихъ будетъ громадна. Такіе съѣзды зададутся конечно вопросами исключительно медицинскими, чисто санитарными; они представятъ обильный матеріалъ господствующихъ въ краѣ болѣзней, лучшіе способы и испытанныя средства къ ихъ устраненію, они познокомятъ читающую публику съ образомъ жизни народа, съ его средствами питанія, съ его семейнымъ и соціальнымъ бытомъ и съ тѣми болѣзнями, которыя вытекаютъ изъ этихъ обстоятельствъ. Они такимъ образомъ дадутъ возможность положить начало самостоятельной русской народной, а можетъ быть и ученой, медицинѣ. Они во-очію докажутъ земству, что самая существенная польза народу отъ земства—забота о народномъ здоровьѣ.

Такова, по нашему крайнему разумѣнію, должна быть организація земской медицины. Въ такой же соотвѣтственной формѣ должна быть организована учебная и училищная часть. Экономическое развитіе должно быть въ рукахъ третьей категоріи людей, исключительно занятыхъ этимъ дѣломъ, дѣломъ улучшенія народнаго быта,

улучшеніемъ экономическаго состоянія. Эти три элемента необходимо должны быть между собою крайне солидарны и имѣть въ виду одну общую цѣль—народное благо. Земское собраніе отъ себя установляетъ контору земскихъ дѣлъ, состоящую при обыкновенныхъ обстоятельствахъ изъ делегата, вѣдающаго гоньбу и дороги, старшаго врача, вѣдающаго медицину, и педагога, вѣдающаго учебную часть. По мѣрѣ развитія земской дѣятельности въ экономическомъ смыслѣ, контора увеличивается числомъ компетентныхъ спеціалистовъ и довѣренныхъ лицъ. Земство должно помнить, что самымъ глубокимъ сочувствіемъ и преданностью дѣла навѣрное готовы заявить себя скорѣе всего люди съ высокимъ образованіемъ, съ самыми честными убѣжденіями, словомъ самые дѣльные, самые развитые люди. Земство должно воспользоваться ихъ готовностью и желаніемъ быть полезными дѣлу народнаго преуспѣянія, а не отшатываться отъ нихъ. Въ рукахъ земства счастье и будущность русскаго народа; вотъ почему земству нельзя не желать полнаго успѣха.

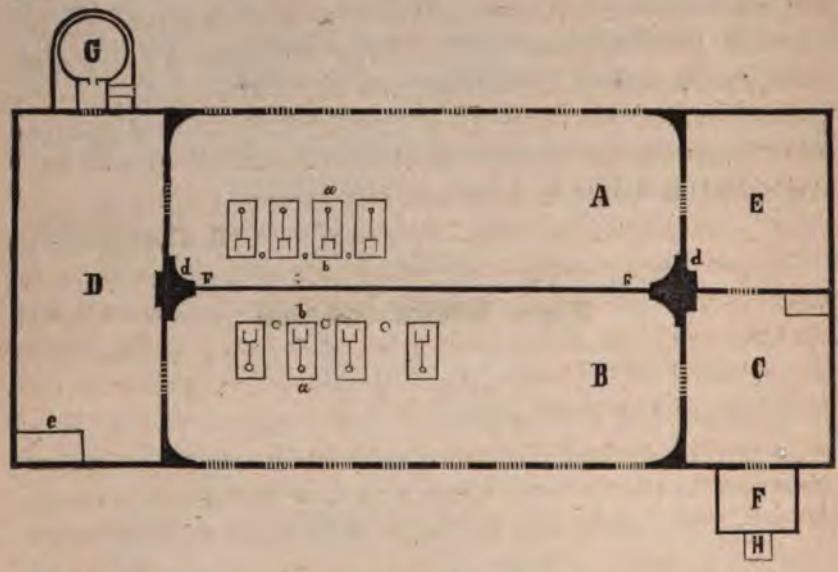
В. Португаловъ.

Планъ земской больницы

(Приложеніе къ статьѣ и «Жизненныя задачи земства»).

Еще въ концѣ прошлаго столѣтія было замѣчено, что большіе госпитали отличаются необыкновенною смертностью. Послѣднее десятилѣтіе еще болѣе убѣдило корифеевъ науки, что величественныя каменныя пятиэтажныя зданія крайне неблагопріятны для больныхъ. Въ нихъ очень скоро заводится свой особенный специфическій воздухъ, въ которомъ кишатъ мирріады міазмъ, дѣйствующихъ разрушительно на человѣческій организмъ. Это и побудило американцевъ поставить правиломъ, что госпиталь служитъ своему назначенію не больше десяти лѣтъ, по истеченіи которыхъ зданіе продается на сломъ. Въ новѣйшее время принята вездѣ такъ называемая павильонная система, состоящая изъ ряда отдѣльныхъ домиковъ, одноэтажныхъ и вмѣщающихъ небольшое число больныхъ. Основываясь на этихъ данныхъ, мы предлагаемъ слѣдующій планъ устройства земской больницы. На всемъ сѣверо-востокѣ Россіи, не особенно еще бѣдномъ лѣсомъ, больницу лучше всего устроить деревянную, изъ бревенъ. Домъ можетъ быть на каменномъ фундаментѣ, или имѣть нижнее жилье каменное—подъ кухню, прачешную, квартиру фельдшеровъ и комнату для платья приходящихъ больныхъ. Но этотъ этажъ не долженъ былъ выше четырехъ стеколъ надъ поверхностью земли. Деревянное помѣщеніе, узкое въ длину и не особенно широкое въ поперечникѣ, можетъ за то отличаться въ вышину. Посрединѣ зданія проходитъ капитальная стѣна. У этой стѣны, въ нѣкоторомъ отдаленіи, стоятъ койки, на которыхъ лежатъ больные, обращенные ногами къ капитальной стѣнѣ, а головой въ свободное пространство, освѣщаемое ок-

номъ. Выгода здѣсь та, что больные не лежатъ ни у оконъ, ни у печки, ни у дверей. Стѣны должны быть и снаружи, и особенно внутри, оштукатурены, и, если средства позволяютъ, то необходимо ихъ сдѣлать внутри подъ мраморъ. Притомъ необходимо округлять углы. Подъ мраморъ стѣны и округлять углы нужно для того, чтобы можно было ежедневно мокрой губкой обтирать стѣны и не допускать до скопленія ядовитыхъ міазмовъ. Полъ лучше всего подъ паркетъ, но непремѣнно вощенный—опять-таки съ тою же цѣлью. При больницѣ должна быть отдѣльная комната, особая столовая, въ которой больные ѣдятъ вмѣстѣ. Изъ столовой крытый корридоръ ведетъ въ сортиръ. Внутри же больницы ни подъ какимъ видомъ нельзя допускать никакихъ корридоровъ. Съ одной стороны больницы столовая, а съ другой ванная, комната для бѣлья, инструментовъ, и т. д.—чтобы всегда все было подъ рукой.



A и B — комнаты для больныхъ. C—пріемная. D—столовая. E—ванная. F—передняя. G—сортиръ. H—крыльцо. a—голова. b—ноги. d—печь. e—шкафъ подъ книги. f—капитальная стѣна. Разстояніе между кроватями полтора аршина; пространство, занимаемое кроватью, сажень; отъ кровати до оконъ minimum сажень.

Сложная больница. 1, 2, 3, 4 корпуса.

НЕРѢШЕННЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ

КРЕСТЬЯНСКАГО ДѢЛА *).

I.

Со времени обнародованія Положенія о крестьянахъ прошло уже одиннадцать лѣтъ. Послѣ упорной борьбы, съ которою встрѣчена была со стороны нѣкоторыхъ крестьянская реформа, успѣло наступить затишье. Даже мировыя по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ учрежденія, бывшія такъ долго предметомъ ожесточенной вражды, получили наконецъ право гражданства. Сдѣлалось это очень просто: тѣ изъ мировыхъ посредниковъ, которые слишкомъ ревностно примѣняли начала Положенія, принуждены были оставить дѣло, не будучи въ силахъ выдерживать общественнаго натиска, который выражался не только въ доносахъ и инсинуаціяхъ, но и въ попыткахъ исключить неподходящихъ посредниковъ изъ числа дворянъ или просто урезонить ихъ иными дѣйствіями. Понятно, что такіе посредники должны были наконецъ уйти и уступить мѣсто новымъ лицамъ, которыя скоро обжились и сдѣлались своими людьми. О губернскихъ присутствіяхъ нечего и говорить. Ихъ составъ измѣнился самъ собою. Та-

*) Авторъ настоящаго очерка предполагалъ сперва написать по этому предмету нѣсколько статей въ «Недѣлѣ». Такъ, были написаны статьи «Положеніе 19 февраля и крестьянское самоуправленіе» и «Русское общинное землевладѣніе» (1871 г. № 7 и 9). Но пріостановка «Недѣли» помѣшала этому. Представляя теперь свой трудъ въ видѣ цѣльнаго очерка, авторъ по необходимости долженъ, между прочимъ, повторить тѣ мысли, которыя уже были имъ высказаны въ названныхъ статьяхъ.

кимъ образомъ дѣло, хотя и измѣненное по мѣрѣ возможности въ практическомъ примѣненіи, пошло уже спокойнымъ путемъ. Правда, въ разныхъ углахъ еще раздавалось ворчанье людей, немогшихъ забыть прежнихъ порядковъ, но на нихъ никто не обращалъ вниманія, тѣмъ болѣе, что въ сущности сердиться уже было неначто. Такъ, газета «Вѣсть» еще нѣсколько лѣтъ продолжала заниматься инсинуаціями, и ея редакторъ отъ времени до времени выражалъ сожалѣніе о прекращеніи того порядка, «которымъ были довольны всѣ и который рухнулъ 19 февраля 1861 г.». Но скоро и онъ долженъ былъ умолкнуть, не смотря на вещественную поддержку своихъ патроновъ. Г. Скарятинъ умолкъ, потому что сдѣлался ненуженъ; а ненуженъ онъ сдѣлался между прочимъ потому, что скорбѣть стало уже не о чемъ. Отъ мировыхъ посредниковъ дѣло перешло въ Губернскія Присутствія, куда успѣли проникнуть другіе люди и другіе нравы. Правда, у крестьянъ оставалась важная опора въ Комитетѣ объ устройствѣ сельскаго состоянія, рѣшенія котораго и теперь многимъ стоятъ поперегъ горла. Но добраться до комитета не легко, ибо путь къ нему обставленъ разными сроками, формальностями и гербовыми пошлинами, такъ что дѣлъ туда доходитъ немного... А между тѣмъ для инсинуацій открылись новые предметы: введено земство и новые суды, объявлена свобода печати... Крестьянское дѣло было забыто.

Только передъ 1870-мъ годомъ это спокойствіе было нѣсколько нарушено разными опасеніями. Кончался девятилѣтній срокъ, послѣ котораго отношенія помѣщиковъ къ крестьянамъ должны были слегка видоизмѣниться. Главнымъ образомъ это видоизмѣненіе заключалось въ томъ, что для отдѣльныхъ лицъ крестьянскаго сословія облегчалась возможность окончательнаго выхода изъ обязательныхъ отношеній, да помѣщики лишались права просить о ссылкѣ крестьянъ въ Сибирь административнымъ порядкомъ. Какъ это ни просто, но по этому случаю ожидалось нѣчто необыкновенное и пріуготовлялись мѣры... Впрочемъ, нужно сознаться, что эти опасенія существовали только въ умахъ людей, незнающихъ ни того дѣла, о которомъ они безпокоились, ни условій той страны, для которой они пріуготовляли мѣры. Это были или юноши, разсуждавшіе о практическихъ вещахъ теоретическимъ способомъ, или дѣлопроизводители разныхъ канцелярій, неразсуждавшіе никакимъ способомъ. Наконецъ, страшный годъ прошелъ и все успокоилось. Дѣло пошло «установленнымъ порядкомъ», и какъ бы то ни было, но въ настоящее время почти всѣ

уставныя грамоты составлены и утверждены и болѣе 60% крестьянскаго населенія въ губерніяхъ, состоящихъ на общемъ положеніи, сдѣлались крестьянами собственниками.

Ровное теченіе крестьянскаго дѣла успокоило страсти противниковъ реформы, но вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ и охладило къ нему интересъ въ обществѣ. Стало распространяться убѣжденіе, что это дѣло покончено, что его нечего и трогать. Убѣжденіе это принималось тѣмъ легче, что «тронуть» было трудно. За сохраненіе statu quo стояли теперь тѣ самые люди, которые были прежде врагами этого дѣла; теперь они успѣли повернуть его по своему и боялись, что всякій пересмотръ обнаружитъ, какъ далеко ушла здѣсь практика отъ основныхъ началъ законодательства.

Однако, эти люди могли только задержать, но не остановить возникновеніе новыхъ требованій, ибо ихъ вызываетъ сама жизнь. Окончаніе обязательныхъ отношеній между помѣщиками и крестьянами заставило изыскивать мѣры къ упраздненію мировыхъ посредниковъ; и уже одно это неминуемо должно повлечь измѣненія въ организаціи крестьянскаго управленія. Въ то-же время передача мѣстнаго хозяйства въ руки земства и предполагаемая замѣна подушной подати указываютъ на необходимость реорганизаціи волостей въ общія для всѣхъ сословій территоріальныя единицы. Затѣмъ введеніе новаго порядка судопроизводства наводитъ на мысль о преобразованіи волостныхъ судовъ, которые въ нѣкоторыхъ отношеніяхъ дѣйствительно представляютъ аномалію, установляя для мѣщанина и крестьянина различныя взысканія за одно и тоже преступленіе, совершенное въ одно время, при однихъ условіяхъ и даже противъ одного лица. Наконецъ, обнаружившаяся во многихъ мѣстностяхъ бѣдность крестьянъ заставляетъ, хотя бы даже только для устраненія недоимокъ въ податяхъ, обратить вниманіе на ихъ экономическое положеніе.

Указанные нами вопросы возникли недавно и сейчасъ же сдѣлались предметомъ преній въ земскихъ собраніяхъ и проэктовъ въ административныхъ сферахъ. При этомъ, впрочемъ, слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что для обсужденія въ земскихъ собраніяхъ не всѣ эти вопросы одинаково доступны. Объяснять недостатки волостныхъ судовъ и высчитывать проступки и преступленія волостныхъ старшинъ и сельскихъ старостъ еще довольно удобно; но обсуждать вопросъ объ экономическомъ состояніи крестьянъ и особенно объ ихъ платежныхъ сред-

ствахъ—уже не такъ легко. Тѣмъ не менѣе, въ земствѣ раздаются голоса, утверждающіе, что бѣдность крестьянъ происходитъ отъ ихъ дурной нравственности, а дурная нравственность отъ общиннаго владѣнія, что для исправленія зла крестьянъ нужно сѣчь, а для лучшаго устройства экономическаго быта лишить ихъ земли, допустивъ выдѣлъ изъ общины болѣе богатыхъ лицъ и оставивъ остальныхъ нести тяжелые платежи. Такія мнѣнія иногда находятъ поддержку, и на основаніи ихъ составляются даже проэкты. Въ этомъ родѣ, какъ извѣстно, представило проэктъ Петербургское Губернское Земское Собраніе, желающее во что бы то ни стало добиться отмѣны общиннаго землевладѣнія. Но встрѣчаются иногда люди и другихъ взглядовъ, которые рѣшаются видѣть причину бѣдности крестьянъ въ несоотвѣтствіи лежащихъ на нихъ платежей съ ихъ платежными средствами и, какъ мѣру исправленія зла, предлагаютъ пониженіе этихъ платежей. Тогда въ земствѣ поднимаются горячіе споры и защитники такихъ мнѣній умолкаютъ, тѣмъ болѣе, что иногда противъ нихъ принимаютъ мѣры гораздо болѣе рѣшительныя, нежели всякіе споры и убѣжденія. Такъ напримѣръ, когда большинство Черниговскаго губернскаго собранія пожелало заявить ходатайство о пониженіи выкупныхъ платежей, то предводитель дворянства, предсѣдательствовавшій въ собраніи, объявилъ, что онъ считаетъ самое обсужденіе этого вопроса противузаконнымъ; а затѣмъ, когда вслѣдствіе этого половина гласныхъ ушла изъ собранія, вопросъ былъ снова пущенъ на обсужденіе и уже рѣшенъ другимъ образомъ. Мы приводимъ одинъ этотъ примѣръ, потому что онъ былъ заявленъ печатно со всѣми подробностями; но легко предположить, что бываютъ и другіе случаи въ этомъ родѣ.

Тѣмъ не менѣе, необходимость въ скорѣйшемъ разрѣшеніи вопросовъ, вызванныхъ примѣненіемъ крестьянской реформы, дѣлается все настоятельнѣе. Положеніе 19 февраля, по необходимости, дало много простора практическому примѣненію и установило много мѣръ временныхъ, принаровленныхъ къ переходному состоянію. Теперь приходитъ время рѣшить, какія изъ этихъ мѣръ могутъ быть устранены или измѣнены и какія учрежденія должны получить развитіе. Для этого, конечно, недостаточно теоретическихъ разсужденій, а необходимо провѣрить самую практику дѣла и посмотрѣть, насколько она удовлетворяетъ основной цѣли законодательства, выраженной въ манифестѣ 19 февраля 1861 г.—дать крестьянскому населенію граж-

данскія права, улучшить его бытъ и обезпечить исполненіе его обязанностей передъ правительствомъ.

Намѣреваясь посвятить этому предмету настоящую статью нашу, мы прежде всего считаемъ нужнымъ бросить взглядъ на Положеніе 19 февраля и высказать наше отношеніе къ этому важнѣйшему законодательному акту въ нашей новой исторіи.

Ни десять лѣтъ жизни, исполненной треволненій, ни рядъ крупныхъ реформъ, послѣдовавшихъ за освобожденіемъ крестьянъ, не заглушили конечно въ нашемъ образованномъ обществѣ воспоминаній о томъ сравнительно свѣтломъ времени, которое переживало оно, когда подготовлялась реформа, возвѣщенная положеніемъ 19 февраля, и не изгладили изъ его памяти имена людей, подготовившихъ эту реформу. Но съ того времени измѣнилось многое: многимъ надеждамъ не суждено было сбыться вовсе, многое вышло не такъ, какъ ожидали, и въ послѣднее время, при обсужденіи нѣкоторыхъ сторонъ Положенія 19 февраля, стали раздаваться горькіе упреки его составителямъ. И, что всего важнѣе, эти упреки исходятъ отъ людей безукоризненно честныхъ и горячо преданныхъ интересамъ нашего отечества. Причина этихъ упрековъ понятна: чрезмѣрно высокая оцѣнка крестьянскихъ надѣловъ, принятая въ сѣверной Россіи, принесла свои печальные плоды: громадныя недоимки, продажа крестьянскаго имущества и истощеніе почвы, бывшее ея послѣдствіемъ, составляютъ въ губерніяхъ неземледѣльческихъ чуть не общее явленіе. Даже тамъ, гдѣ уже совершенъ выкупъ и гдѣ, слѣдовательно, крестьянскіе платежи значительно понижены, часто встрѣчается страшное несоотвѣтствіе между доходностью земли и налогомъ, на ней лежащимъ Оказывается, что есть мѣстности, гдѣ крестьяне платятъ по 2 рубля въ годъ за десятину земли, которая вся не стоитъ этой цѣны. Понятно, что все это должно вызывать недовольство существующимъ порядкомъ вещей, и конечно мы не будемъ его защитниками. Но мы считаемъ несправедливымъ возлагать отвѣтственность за эти печальные результаты на Положеніе 19 февраля, и особенно на его составителей.

Прежде всего надо припомнить, что условія, при которыхъ работали эти люди, были далеко не такъ благопріятны, какъ это обыкновенно думаютъ. Изданные въ послѣднее время г. Скребицкимъ матеріалы по крестьянскому дѣлу, нѣсколько разъясняютъ эти условія; они показываютъ, съ какими людьми и съ какими стремленіями

приходилось имѣть дѣло редакціоннымъ коммиссіямъ. И конечно, подобные люди встрѣчались не въ однихъ провинціальныхъ комитетахъ; въ Петербургѣ ихъ также было не мало, по крайней мѣрѣ вполнѣ достаточно для того, чтобы вскорѣ послѣ изданія Положенія изъять изъ рукъ его составителей то дѣло, которому они посвятили свои лучшія усилія, и начать передѣлывать его иначе. Само собою разумѣется, что всѣ эти неблагопріятныя вліянія прилагались всего болѣе къ тѣмъ сторонамъ реформы, которыя непосредственно затрогивали интересы землевладѣльческаго сословія, т. е. къ вопросамъ экономическимъ и къ вопросамъ объ отношеніяхъ сословій между собою. Результатомъ этихъ вліяній явились широкія нормы для оцѣнки крестьянскихъ надѣловъ, уравненіе въ платежахъ крестьянъ сѣверныхъ губерній съ крестьянами губерній хлѣбородныхъ, лишеніе крестьянъ права требовать обязательнаго выкупа, какое имѣютъ помѣщики, назначеніе мировыхъ посредниковъ исключительно изъ одного сословія и т. п. Постановленія эти частію вошли въ законъ при окончательномъ его разсмотрѣніи, частію могли быть допущены составителями положенія въ виду того, что добросовѣстная практика должна была дополнить несовершенства законодательства. Такъ, можно было, не опасаясь, назначить довольно высокія нормы *высшихъ* платежей, поставивъ окончательное опредѣленіе ихъ въ зависимость отъ мѣстныхъ условій.

Но люди, писавшіе Положеніе 19-го февраля, и люди, примѣнявшіе его на практикѣ, были не одни и тѣ же. Дѣло освобожденія крестьянъ вышло изъ рукъ составителей Положенія въ самомъ его началѣ. Въ памяти современниковъ еще живо то время, когда вслѣдъ за обнародованіемъ Положенія 19-го февраля начались вполнѣ понятныя опасенія, что отъ него останется весьма немногое... При этихъ условіяхъ нечего удивляться, что оно было примѣнено не такъ, какъ бы слѣдовало; а между тѣмъ въ этомъ-то примѣненіи и лежитъ главная причина всѣхъ справедливыхъ жалобъ и упрековъ. Впослѣдствіи нѣкоторые изъ составителей Положенія 19-го февраля получили возможность провести въ жизнь свои стремленія въ мѣстностяхъ, поставленныхъ въ исключительныя условія, и тамъ ихъ дѣятельность дала другіе результаты, не смотря на ту мрачную обстановку, при которой она совершалась и которой, впрочемъ, сами они были чужды....

Въ виду всего этого, мы не считаемъ себя вправѣ винить соста-

вителей Положенія за все то, что было въ немъ неудовлетворительнаго; мы можемъ только сказать, что они можетъ быть были менѣе предусмотрительны, чѣмъ было нужно. Они слишкомъ разсчитывали на возможность примѣнить Положеніе въ томъ духѣ, какъ его слѣдовало примѣнить, не ознакомившись вполнѣ съ противными силами и не предвидя грядущихъ себытій.

Но въ тѣхъ вопросахъ, гдѣ составители Положенія имѣли большій просторъ, ихъ дѣятельность оказалась болѣе успѣшною. Если бы мы вздумали сдѣлать общую оцѣнку Положенія 19-го февраля, какъ законодательнаго акта, то должны были бы признать, что лучшія его страницы именно тѣ, которыми опредѣляется взаимное отношеніе лицъ, входящихъ въ составъ крестьянскихъ обществъ и отношенія этихъ обществъ къ правительственнымъ учрежденіямъ. И это совершенно понятно, ибо условія здѣсь были нѣсколько другія, сравнительно съ тѣми, при которыхъ пришлось разработывать экономическія отношенія. Люди, смотрѣвшіе враждебно на дѣятельность составителей Положенія, были главнымъ образомъ поглощены заботою о своихъ экономическихъ интересахъ; имъ было не до крестьянскаго самоуправленія и, быть можетъ, этому именно обстоятельству мы обязаны лучшими страницами Положенія.

Конечно и здѣсь дѣло не обошлось безъ борьбы; но борьба была уже легче. Она велась противъ мнѣній, взглядовъ или предубѣжденій, словомъ, противъ направленія, но не противъ личныхъ выгодъ; а извѣстно, насколько въ подобныхъ классахъ общества личныя выгоды дѣйствуютъ сильнѣе всякихъ принциповъ. Какъ бы то ни было, составители Положенія вышли изъ этой борьбы побѣдителями; а чтобы понять значеніе этой побѣды, нужно только вспомнить, какую громадную важность имѣли тѣ вопросы, которые зависѣли отъ ихъ рѣшенія.

Извѣстно, что въ великорусскихъ губерніяхъ у крестьянъ издавна существуетъ общинное землевладѣніе. Извѣстно точно также, что оно весьма многимъ не нравится, точно также какъ не нравилось и во время составленія Положенія. Оно обезпечиваетъ за крестьянами извѣстныя средства къ жизни и отдаляетъ необходимость продажи земель и работы на чужихъ поляхъ изъ-за куска хлѣба. Поэтому уже во время первыхъ трудовъ по крестьянскому дѣлу, стали раздаваться возгласы о необходимости сломать эту вѣковую форму народнаго быта. Въ этой необходимости убѣждали не только люди, по-

нимавшіе дѣло ясно и завѣдомо хлопотавшіе объ обѣднѣніи крестьянъ; имъ вторили и наши доморощенные экономисты, которые перелагали на русскіе нравы г. де-Молинари, пользовались за это ученымъ авторитетомъ и смѣло выдавали свои соображенія за послѣдніе плоды европейской науки. Но составители Положенія не увлеклись ни указаніями такъ-называемыхъ сельскихъ практиковъ, ни желаніемъ пріобрѣсти лестное реноме отъ патентованныхъ ученыхъ. Они не посягнули на народную форму землевладѣнія и, предоставивъ крестьянскому обществу полную свободу устроивать его, какъ оно само знаетъ, не принесли общественныхъ интересовъ въ жертву личнымъ интересамъ немногихъ людей, которые успѣли скопить себѣ средства подъ покровомъ той же общины.

Тоже повторилось и съ вопросомъ объ административномъ устройствѣ крестьянскихъ обществъ. Въ то время, когда впервые пришлось разрѣшать этотъ вопросъ, и въ обществѣ и въ законодательствѣ были всѣ задатки для того, чтобы подчинить бывшихъ крѣпостныхъ той же административной опекѣ, которая существовала, напримѣръ, у крестьянъ государственныхъ. Повсюду раздавались возгласы о необходимости точно регулировать всю внутреннюю жизнь крестьянскихъ обществъ и подчинить ихъ самому строгому полицейскому надзору. Споръ происходилъ только о томъ, кому дать право этого надзора: полиціи или помѣщикамъ. Но составители Положенія не поддались на эти возгласы. Они не увлеклись ни «вотчинной полиціей помѣщиковъ», ни готовымъ «Уставомъ о благоустройствѣ въ казенныхъ селеніяхъ», гдѣ предусмотрительность опекающихъ дошла до того, что въ числѣ законодательныхъ требованій до сихъ поръ существуетъ запрещеніе государственнымъ крестьянамъ *ѣсть падаль*. Вмѣсто всего этого они на нѣсколькихъ страницахъ опредѣлили отношенія членовъ крестьянскихъ обществъ къ лицамъ, выбраннымъ ими самими изъ ихъ среды. Затѣмъ всѣ внутреннія дѣла общества предоставлены міру. Міръ распредѣляетъ землю, разлагаетъ подати, установляетъ правила для рекрутской повинности и т.п. Въ эти распоряженія не можетъ вмѣшиваться никто, и даже мировой посредникъ существуетъ здѣсь, по смыслу Положенія, не столько для опеки, сколько для предохраненія крестьянскихъ обществъ отъ вторженія въ ихъ область чуждыхъ имъ элементовъ. Если затѣмъ остаются кое-какія вотчинно-полицейскія права помѣщиковъ, если посредникамъ дана въ иныхъ случаяхъ слишкомъ

большая власть, а въ другихъ крестьяне поставлены въ слишкомъ непосредственныя отношенія къ полиціи, то всѣ эти условія не имѣютъ органической связи съ существенными сторонами дѣла; онѣ составляютъ только временныя мѣры и, съ минованіемъ переходнаго времени, могутъ быть устранены безъ всякаго потрясенія существующей организаціи.

Наконецъ, не смотря на тѣ нападки, съ которыми обращаются теперь къ волостнымъ судамъ, мы и здѣсь не можемъ не отдать справедливости составителямъ Положенія. Когда представилась необходимость установить въ средѣ крестьянскаго сословія юридическія отношенія, то всего легче было, конечно, потолковавъ объ юридической равноправности, подчинить эти отношенія X и XV томамъ Свода законовъ. Но составители Положенія опять-таки не увлеклись этимъ; они постарались запечатлѣть закономъ силу народныхъ обычаевъ и установили крестьянскіе суды, соотвѣтствующіе потребностямъ населенія. Суды эти, конечно, далеко не совершенны; на нихъ слишкомъ легко отражаются всѣ тѣ условія, которыя вообще неблагопріятно вліяютъ на бытъ нашихъ крестьянъ, и конечно, послѣ введенія новыхъ началъ въ общее судоустройство, и въ этихъ судахъ должно желать измѣненій къ лучшему; но за составителями Положенія все-таки остается та заслуга, что они спасли крестьянъ отъ невыгоднаго столкновенія съ прежними судами или съ полицейскою расправою и не подчинили имущественныя отношенія въ средѣ общинъ юридической казуистикѣ.

Читатели, которые согласны съ нами въ общихъ взглядахъ на крестьянское самоуправленіе, скажутъ, можетъ быть, что все это такъ и должно было быть, что хвалить здѣсь составителей Положенія не за что, что они только заслуживали бы несочувствія, если бы сдѣлали иначе. Но пусть они вспомнятъ, что дѣлается теперь въ нашихъ земскихъ собраніяхъ, которыя обязаны идеѣ самоуправленія своимъ собственнымъ существованіемъ. Развѣ въ нихъ не высказываются поползновенія подчинить крестьянскія общества земской опекѣ; развѣ не признаютъ они вполнѣ возможнымъ рѣшать на основаніи X тома вопросъ о томъ, кто долженъ считаться хозяиномъ въ крестьянской семьѣ, и развѣ не стремятся испробовать на устройствѣ крестьянскаго быта свои экономическія теоріи, изыскивая мѣры къ уничтоженію общиннаго землевладѣнія?

Такимъ образомъ, мы должны отдать справедливость составите-

лямъ Положенія, которые въ рѣшительную минуту спасли крестьянское сословіе отъ многаго, что ему могло угрожать. Вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ мы должны признать, что причина неудовлетворительности настоящаго положенія вещей заключается не столько въ Положеніи 19-го февраля, сколько въ тѣхъ условіяхъ, которыя явились вслѣдъ за изданіемъ этого Положенія.

Но это не можетъ заставить насъ отвернуться отъ требованій времени и смотрѣть на правила, установленныя Положеніемъ 19-го февраля, какъ на что-то во вѣки неизмѣнное. Если намъ мало симпатичны тѣ узкіе доктринеры и бюрократы нивилляторы, которые хотятъ переустроить крестьянское дѣло по своей мѣркѣ, не желая знать историческихъ особенностей страны, то конечно еще менѣе симпатичны намъ тѣ своекорыстные любители statu quo, которые поддерживаютъ его изъ боязни, чтобы пересмотръ крестьянскаго Положенія не повлекъ за собою какихъ-нибудь измѣненій въ томъ положеніи, на которомъ состоятъ у насъ высшія сословія. Мы начали нашу бесѣду съ читателями именно съ того, что условія времени вызываютъ необходимость измѣненій въ крестьянскомъ положеніи. Но мы думаемъ, что измѣненія эти должны выходить изъ тѣхъ же началъ, которыми руководились составители Положенія; что теперь, какъ и тогда, слѣдуетъ не ломать основныя формы народнаго быта, а напротивъ, дать имъ возможность дальнѣйшаго развитія, сообразно требованіямъ жизни; что главнымъ началомъ для устройства экономическаго быта крестьянъ слѣдуетъ теперь, какъ и тогда, принять улучшеніе ихъ положенія и обезпеченіе исполненія ихъ обязанностей передъ правительствомъ, какъ это было указано въ Высочайшемъ манифестѣ 19-го февраля 1861 года.

Полагая, что каждое искреннее слово, сказанное объ этомъ предметѣ, можетъ принести свою долю пользы, мы посвящаемъ нашу статью нерѣшеннымъ вопросамъ крестьянскаго дѣла. Подъ этими вопросами мы разумѣемъ измѣненіе въ крестьянскомъ управленіи, вызываемое упраздненіемъ мировыхъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ учрежденій, преобразованіе волостныхъ судовъ и улучшеніе экономическаго положенія крестьянъ. Само собою разумѣется, что мы не имѣемъ претензіи на окончательное разрѣшеніе этихъ вопросовъ и будемъ вполнѣ довольны, если намъ удастся выяснить такія стороны дѣла, которыя оставались незамѣченными, и указать на такія мѣры, которыя были упущены изъ виду.

II.

Прежде чѣмъ дѣлать оцѣнку нашихъ крестьянскихъ учрежденій, мы считаемъ необходимымъ напомнить читателямъ, хотя въ общихъ чертахъ, организацію крестьянскаго управленія, чтобы избавить ихъ отъ необходимости постоянно справляться съ Положеніемъ. Личныя права крестьянъ и устройство ихъ общественныхъ учрежденій опредѣлены, какъ извѣстно, въ «Общемъ положеніи о крестьянахъ», а устройство мировыхъ учрежденій и отношенія ихъ къ крестьянскимъ обществамъ изложены въ «Положеніи о губернскихъ и уѣздныхъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ учрежденіяхъ». Изложивъ въ общихъ чертахъ содержаніе этихъ законодательныхъ актовъ, мы вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ укажемъ на тѣ немногія измѣненія, какія были сдѣланы въ нихъ впослѣдствіи, и коснемся, сколько возможно, исторіи этого законодательства, т. е. покажемъ, что въ немъ принадлежитъ первоначальнымъ составителямъ Положенія и что введено при окончальномъ обсужденіи закона.

Первоначальное обсужденіе вопросовъ, связанныхъ съ рѣшеннымъ уже въ принципѣ освобожденіемъ помѣщичьихъ крестьянъ, было предоставлено въ 1857 и 1858 гг. губернскимъ комитетамъ, состоявшимъ, подъ предсѣдательствомъ губернскаго предводителя, изъ двухъ дворянъ помѣщиковъ отъ каждаго уѣзда и двухъ лицъ (также изъ дворянъ помѣщиковъ), назначенныхъ отъ правительства. Этимъ комитетамъ, впрочемъ, были даны основныя положенія и программа вопросовъ, подлежавшихъ ихъ обсужденію. Для разсмотрѣнія проэктовъ, присылаемыхъ комитетами, были, въ февралѣ 1859 г., учреждены *Редакціонныя коммиссіи*, которыя собственно и составляли проэктъ положеній. Черезъ полгода были разсмотрѣны отзывы 21 губернскаго комитета и въ августѣ приглашены въ Петербургъ для совѣщанія представители отъ каждаго комитета и каждаго особаго мнѣнія, образовавшагося въ комитетѣ. Такимъ образомъ въ большинствѣ губерній было избрано по двое членовъ комитета, одинъ отъ большинства, а другой отъ меньшинства, а отъ нѣсколькихъ губерній, гдѣ образовалось три мнѣнія—по трое. Еще черезъ полгода, т. е. къ марту 1860 года, были разсмотрѣны отзывы остальныхъ 19-ти комитетовъ и затѣмъ приглашены для совѣщанія ихъ предста-

вители. Наконецъ, съ марта по октябрь 1860 года редакціонныя коммиссіи закончили свои работы и проэкты ихъ поступили на разсмотрѣніе Главнаго комитета объ устройствѣ сельскаго состоянія, который былъ учрежденъ въ 1858 г. и до сихъ поръ остается высшимъ законодательнымъ и отчасти административнымъ учрежденіемъ по устройству крестьянскаго быта. По обсужденіи въ Комитетѣ, проэктъ положеній былъ внесенъ въ государственный совѣтъ.

Въ извѣстномъ трудѣ г. Скребицкаго, «Крестьянское дѣло въ царствованіе Императора Александра II», собраны матеріалы, относящіеся къ дѣятельности дворянскихъ комитетовъ и редакціонныхъ коммиссій. Этими матеріалами мы и воспользуемся, чтобы показать читателямъ, какъ относились къ кореннымъ вопросамъ крестьянскаго управленія представители дворянства, какъ отнеслись къ нимъ редакціонныя коммисіи, и что было введено при окончательномъ обсужденіи ихъ проэктовъ.

Вмѣстѣ съ отмѣною крѣпостнаго права, Положеніе предоставило крестьянамъ личныя и имущественныя права свободныхъ сельскихъ обывателей. При этомъ помѣщики, «сохраняя право собственности на всѣ принадлежащія имъ земли», были обязаны предоставить часть этой земли крестьянамъ за опредѣленныя повинности. Пока эта земля не пріобрѣтена крестьянами, съ помощію дара или выкупа, въ собственность, крестьяне, пользующіеся ею, называются «временно-обязанными», а съ пріобрѣтеніемъ земли получаютъ названіе «крестьянъ собственниковъ».

Какъ тѣ, такъ и другіе, пріобрѣли, на основаніи Положенія, общія права семейныя (ст. 21), право вступать въ договоры безъ ограниченія суммы (ст. 22), право производить, безъ платежа пошлинъ, ту торговлю, которая вообще предоставлена сельскимъ сословіямъ, открывать и содержать фабрики и разныя торговыя и промышленныя заведенія и вступать въ гильдіи (ст. 23), право ходатайствовать по своимъ дѣламъ, подавать жалобы, начинать иски *), быть довѣренными и т. п. (ст. 24); право перечисляться, на основаніи особыхъ правилъ, въ другія сословія и общества, отлучаться отъ мѣста житель-

*) На основаніи прим. 2 къ ст. 24, крестьяне не могутъ только начинать иски и тяжбы противъ помѣщиковъ по такимъ дѣйствіямъ и распоряженіямъ ихъ, которыя совершены до изданія Положенія, въ силу крѣпостныхъ отношеній. Исключеніе составляютъ иски о земляхъ, купленныхъ крестьянами на имя помѣщиковъ.

ства, отдавать своихъ дѣтей въ общія учебныя заведенія и поступать на службу, по увольненіи изъ оклада, на общихъ основаніяхъ, установленныхъ для податныхъ сословій, т. е. съ пріобрѣтеніемъ права на чинъ по образованію (ст. 29).

Что касается правъ имущественныхъ, то крестьяне пріобрѣли право пользованія извѣстнымъ количествомъ земли (въ большинствѣ случаевъ тою, которою они пользовались фактически при крѣпостномъ правѣ) и право собственности на эту землю въ случаѣ выкупа, съ воспрещеніемъ, впрочемъ, на первые девять лѣтъ, продавать или закладывать эту землю лицамъ, не принадлежащимъ къ обществу. Право пріобрѣтать земли въ собственность получили какъ отдѣльныя лица, такъ и цѣлыя общества; такими землями они распоряжаются по своему усмотрѣнію. Земли, которыя пріобрѣтены были крестьянами въ прежнее время на имя помѣщика, должны быть укрѣплены за ними въ собственность, если только крестьяне представятъ доказательства такого пріобрѣтенія. Доказывать свои права крестьяне могутъ только письменными документами (хотя бы домашними), и притомъ «не пропуская десятилѣтней давности со времени пріобрѣтенія имущества». Споры по этимъ дѣламъ рѣшаются окончательно, на правахъ высшаго совѣстнаго суда, Губернскимъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствіемъ, въ которое приглашается предсѣдатель гражданской палаты и совѣстный судья. Если имущество заложено или продано, то крестьянамъ предоставляется отыскивать съ помѣщиковъ убытки (ст. 32 и приложеніе къ ней по прод. 1863 г.).

Затѣмъ движимое имущество признано полною собственностью крестьянъ; а мірскіе денежные капиталы и хлѣбные запасы собственностью сельскихъ обществъ. Наконецъ въ дѣлахъ о наслѣдствѣ крестьянамъ *дозволено руководствоваться мѣстными обычаями;* право же на выморочное имущество, оставшееся послѣ крестьянина, предоставлено сельскому обществу.

Какъ ни ограничено пространство этихъ правъ, но и ими законодательство обязано энергіи редакціонныхъ коммиссій. Дворянскіе комитеты были по многимъ вопросамъ совершенно другого мнѣнія.

Постановленіе объ отмѣнѣ крѣпостного права (впрочемъ, принятое уже ранѣе правительствомъ) вошло въ проэкты всѣхъ комитетовъ; два изъ нихъ были даже на столько предусмотрительны, что требовали запрещенія укрѣплять кого-либо изъ освобожденныхъ людей *«хотя бы они и сами того пожелали»* (Крестьянское дѣло, т. I,

стр. 4). Но относительно земли мнѣнія были иныя. Большинство комитетовъ настаивало на оставленіи за помѣщиками вотчиннаго права на всю землю и на ограниченіи правъ крестьянъ даже въ пользованіи этими землями. Другіе же выражали мысль, что земли должны быть даны крестьянамъ только временно, а потомъ опять перейти къ помѣщикамъ.

Такія же тенденціи высказывались и относительно личныхъ правъ. Одинъ изъ членовъ полтавскаго комитета, вызванныхъ на совѣщаніе *(г. Позенъ)*, высказалъ, что подъ уничтоженіемъ личнаго крѣпостнаго права можно разумѣть только «прекращеніе продажи, даренія, всякаго отчужденія, переселенія крестьянъ противъ ихъ воли въ другія имѣнія, обращенія въ дворовые и вообще всякаго произвольнаго распоряженія личностью крестьянина. Сюда можно еще прибавить права семейныя, право на пріобрѣтеніе недвижимой собственности безъ согласія помѣщиковъ и право жалобъ; *но идти далѣе этаго невозможно*, если въ реформѣ должна быть сохранена указанная постепенность». Поэтому гг. *Позенъ* и *Богдановичъ* (также членъ полтавскаго комитета) «крайне сомнѣвались въ благополучномъ исходѣ реформы, если свобода будетъ объявлена крестьянамъ въ томъ пространствѣ, какъ она предначертана редакціонными коммиссіями, а повинности къ помѣщику будутъ установлены обязательныя» (стр. 22 и 23).

Ограниченіе правъ крестьянъ, требуемое комитетами, заключалось, преимущественно въ подчиненіи ихъ, до извѣстной степени, прежней власти помѣщика. Такъ, нѣкоторые комитеты желали, чтобы переходъ крестьянъ въ другія общества и сословія совершался не иначе, какъ съ дозволенія помѣщика. Были и такіе, которые желали сохранить право помѣщика разрѣшать браки. Это именно комитеты вологодскій, таврическій и тульскій. За то костромской комитетъ, напротивъ, призналъ необходимымъ противодѣйствовать безбрачію. По мнѣнію этого комитета, безбрачіе ведетъ къ подкидыванію младенцевъ, вымариванію зародышей и *расколу* (?!). При крѣпостномъ состояніи, говоритъ комитетъ, помѣщики противодѣйствовали вреднымъ послѣдствіямъ безбрачія «всѣми мѣрами своего полноправія»; съ устраненіемъ же помѣщичьяго вліянія родители и родственники будутъ изъ корыстолюбія оставлять дѣвицъ и вдовъ въ безбрачіи «ко вреду ихъ нравственности и къ растройству семейнаго быта молодыхъ вдовцовъ и неженатыхъ крестьянъ». Поэтому комитетъ полагалъ полезнымъ «въ видахъ нравственнаго обороченія» (?!)

облагать дѣвицъ и молодыхъ бездѣтныхъ вдовъ и мужчинъ ежегодною платою въ мірской капиталъ отъ 3-хъ до 10 рублей (стр. 12—14).

Мы привели эти мнѣнія, чтобы показать, какіе взгляды существовали въ то время среди лицъ, обсуждавшихъ крестьянскую реформу въ дворянскихъ комитетахъ. Это лучше всего даетъ понять, изъ какого матеріала должны были созидать редакціонныя коммисіи тѣ проэкты положеній, которые составили главную основу существующаго законодательства.

Въ отношеніи правъ крестьянъ по имуществу, интересъ заключался конечно не въ юридическихъ правахъ, а въ правѣ на усадебныя строенія и на тѣ земли, которыя были куплены крестьянами въ прежнее время на имя помѣщиковъ. О строеніяхъ мы будемъ говорить впослѣдствіи; что же касается правъ крестьянъ на прежде купленныя земли, то право это было признано почти всѣми комитетами, но только теоретически. Именно, большинство комитетовъ требовало, чтобы возвратъ земли зависѣлъ отъ воли помѣщика, споровъ же отъ крестьянъ не принималось. Другіе полагали подчинить эти иски общимъ формамъ тогдашняго судопроизводства. Вызванные члены комитетовъ частію склонялись къ тому, чтобы не допускать со стороны крестьянъ подобныхъ исковъ; частію предлагали передавать подобныя дѣла на рѣшенія дворянскихъ собраній съ правомъ апелляціи въ Сенатъ; при этомъ члены отъ Костромскаго комитета сочли нужнымъ оговорить, что «за неправильное и бездоказательное вчинаніе крестьянами подобныхъ исковъ, они подвергаются суду на общемъ основаніи законоположенія о ябедахъ».

Предположеній редакціонныхъ коммисій по всѣмъ этимъ вопросамъ мы приводить не будемъ, такъ какъ они вошли въ Положеніе почти безъ всякихъ измѣненій. Только право крестьянъ на иски о земляхъ, пріобрѣтенныхъ на имя помѣщиковъ, ограничено десятилѣтнею давностью, тогда какъ редакціонныя коммисіи предполагали предоставить право этихъ исковъ относительно всѣхъ имуществъ, пріобрѣтенныхъ послѣ марта 1848 года (когда былъ обнародованъ особый указъ, запрещавшій подобные споры по дѣламъ предшествовавшаго времени).

Въ числѣ личныхъ правъ крестьянъ Положеніе указало и на право общественнаго управленія, подробности котораго изложены въ томъ же Положеніи.

Въ крестьянскомъ управленіи мы видимъ двѣ территоріальныя

единицы: одну почти исключительно хозяйственную, *село* или *деревню*, съ сельскимъ сходомъ и сельскимъ старостою, и другую административную, *волость*, съ волостнымъ сходомъ, волостнымъ старшиною, волостнымъ правленіемъ и волостнымъ судомъ. Надъ этими учрежденіями установленъ, въ административномъ отношеніи, контроль уѣздныхъ и губернскихъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ учрежденій.

Сельское общество составляетъ, какъ мы уже сказали, нисщую хозяйственную и отчасти административную единицу. Оно составляется изъ крестьянъ, водворенныхъ на землѣ одного помѣщика, и можетъ состоять или изъ цѣлаго селенія, или изъ нѣсколькихъ мелкихъ, по возможности смежныхъ, поселковъ, пользующихся всѣми или нѣкоторыми угодьями съобща. Это послѣднее условіе принято и для образованія сельскихъ обществъ у крестьянъ удѣльныхъ и казенныхъ. Хозяйственными вопросами сельскаго общества завѣдуетъ *сельскій сходъ*, который состоитъ изъ всѣхъ крестьянъ домохозяевъ. Этотъ сходъ избираетъ *сельскаго старосту*, сборщиковъ податей и другихъ должностныхъ лицъ (смотрителей магазиновъ, школъ и больницъ, сельскихъ писарей, лѣсныхъ сторожей, и пр.); онъ же учитаетъ ихъ и разсматриваетъ на нихъ жалобы. Вообще въ 51 ст. Положенія приведенъ слѣдующій дѣла, подлежащихъ веденію схода:

выборы сельскихъ должностныхъ лицъ и назначеніе выборныхъ на волостной сходъ;

приговоры объ удаленіи изъ общества вредныхъ и порочныхъ членовъ его и временное устраненіе крестьянъ отъ участія въ сходахъ, не долѣе, какъ на три года;

увольненіе изъ общества членовъ его и пріемъ новыхъ;

назначеніе опекуновъ и попечителей, повѣрка ихъ дѣйствій;

разрѣшеніе семейныхъ раздѣловъ;

дѣла, относящіяся до общиннаго пользованія мірскою землею, какъ-то: передѣлъ земель, накладка и скидка тяголъ, окончательный раздѣлъ общинныхъ земель на постоянные участки, и т. п;

при участковомъ или подворномъ (наслѣдственномъ) пользованіи землею, распоряженіе участками мірской земли, по какому-либо случаю остающимися праздными или несостоящими въ подворномъ пользованіи;

совѣщанія и ходатайство объ общественныхъ нуждахъ, благоустройствѣ, призрѣніи и обученіи грамотѣ;

принесеніе, куда слѣдуетъ, жалобъ и просьбъ по дѣламъ общества, чрезъ особыхъ выборныхъ;

назначеніе сборовъ на мірскіе расходы;

раскладка всѣхъ лежащихъ на крестьянахъ казенныхъ податей, земскихъ и мірскихъ денежныхъ сборовъ, равно какъ земскихъ и мірскихъ натураль-

ныхъ повинностей, и порядокъ веденія счетовъ по означеннымъ податямъ и сборамъ;

учетъ должностныхъ лицъ, сельскимъ обществомъ избранныхъ, и назначеніе имъ жалованья или инаго за службу вознагражденія;

дѣла по отбыванію рекрутской повинности въ той степени, въ какой онѣ касаются сельскаго общества (*);

раскладка оброка и издѣльной повинности по тягламъ, по душамъ, или инымъ принятымъ способомъ, тамъ, гдѣ повинности, въ пользу помѣщика, отбываются за круговою порукою цѣлаго общества;

принятіе мѣръ къ предупрежденію и взысканію недоимокъ;

назначеніе ссудъ изъ запасныхъ сельскихъ магазиновъ и всякаго рода вспомоществованій; и

дача довѣренностей на хожденіе по дѣламъ общественнымъ.

Въ приговоры сельскихъ сходовъ, составленные по всѣмъ этимъ предметамъ, никакое начальство не вмѣшивается. Всѣ хозяйственныя дѣла рѣшаетъ само общество. Если-же сельское общество состоитъ изъ крестьянъ нѣсколькихъ селеній, имѣющихъ каждое особую землю, (что иногда допускается), то вытекающіе изъ поземельнаго владѣнія вопросы разрѣшаются отдѣльными сходами селеній. Рѣшенія сходовъ считаются дѣйствительными, когда на сходѣ присутствовалъ сельскій староста и не менѣе половины крестьянъ, имѣющихъ право голоса. Затѣмъ дѣла рѣшаются простымъ большинствомъ голосовъ. Но въ нѣкоторыхъ, особенно важныхъ дѣлахъ (указанныхъ въ 54 ст. Положенія), требуется согласіе $^2/_3$ всѣхъ креетьянъ, имѣющихъ голосъ на сходѣ; а именно, въ дѣлахъ:

о замѣнѣ общиннаго пользованія землею участковымъ или подворнымъ (наслѣдственнымъ);

о раздѣлѣ мірскихъ земель на постоянные наслѣдственные участки;

о передѣлахъ мірской земли;

объ установленіи мірскихъ добровольныхъ складокъ и употребленіи мірскихъ капиталовъ, и

объ удаленіи порочныхъ крестьянъ изъ общества и предоставленіи ихъ въ распоряженіе правительства.

Сельскій староста избирается на три года; онъ исполняетъ относительно сельскаго общества слѣдующія обязанности:

созываетъ и распускаетъ сельскій сходъ и охраняетъ въ немъ должный порядокъ;

предлагаетъ на разсмотрѣніе схода всѣ дѣла, касающіяся нуждъ и пользъ сельскаго общества;

приводитъ въ исполненіе приговоры сельскаго схода, распоряженія волостнаго управленія и мировыхъ учрежденій;

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*) Собственно у бывшихъ помѣщичьихъ крестьянъ, личное назначеніе рекрутъ по правиламъ, опредѣленнымъ на волостномъ сходѣ.

наблюдаетъ за цѣлостью межъ и межевыхъ знаковъ на земляхъ, въ пользованіи крестьянъ находящихся или принадлежащихъ имъ въ собственность;

наблюдаетъ за исправнымъ содержаніемъ дорогъ, мостовъ, гатей, перевозовъ, и пр., на земляхъ, отведенныхъ сельскому обществу въ надѣлъ или пріобрѣтенныхъ крестьянами въ собственность;

наблюдаетъ за исправнымъ отбываніемъ крестьянами податей и всякаго рода повинностей, какъ казенныхъ, земскихъ и мірскихъ, такъ оброка или издѣльной повинности въ пользу помѣщика, и собираетъ сіи подати и оброки въ тѣхъ обществахъ, гдѣ не будетъ особыхъ сборщиковъ;

понуждаетъ къ исполненію условій и договоровъ крестьянъ между собою, а равно заключенныхъ съ помѣщиками и посторонними лицами, когда такіе договоры не оспариваются самими крестьянами;

надзираетъ за порядкомъ въ училищахъ, больницахъ, богадѣльняхъ и другихъ общественныхъ заведеніяхъ, если они учреждены сельскимъ обществомъ на свой собственный счетъ;

наблюдаетъ за своевременнымъ составленіемъ ревизскихъ сказокъ и подаетъ оныя куда слѣдуетъ;

по просьбамъ крестьянъ о выдачѣ имъ установленныхъ билетовъ и паспортовъ на отлучки или объ увольненіи вовсе изъ общества, даетъ волостному старшинѣ надлежащее удостовѣреніе въ томъ, что къ увольненію означенныхъ крестьянъ препятствія нѣтъ;

завѣдываетъ, въ порядкѣ, установленномъ обществомъ, мірскимъ хозяйствомъ и мірскими суммами, надзираетъ за цѣлостью запаснаго общественнаго хлѣба и за правильнымъ распоряженіемъ онымъ, и

охраняетъ отъ растраты тѣ имущества неисправныхъ плательщиковъ, коими обезпечивается взысканіе недоимки.

Кромѣ этихъ хозяйственныхъ и административныхъ обязанностей, на сельскаго старосту возлагаются еще обязанности полицейскія, вслѣдствіе чего онъ долженъ исполнять всѣ законныя распоряженія волостнаго старшины, полиціи, мироваго посредника, судебнаго слѣдователя и всѣхъ установленныхъ властей и даже помѣщика (особенно въ дѣлахъ, касающихся взысканія оброка и наряда на работу). Кромѣ того, сельскій староста, не ожидая ничьихъ приказаній, обязанъ:

принимать необходимыя мѣры для охраненія благочинія, порядка и безопасности лицъ и имуществъ отъ преступныхъ дѣйствій, а равно предупреждать, чтобы не было потравъ хлѣба, побоя травы, лѣсныхъ пожаровъ и порубокъ въ лѣсахъ;

задерживать бродягъ, бѣглыхъ и военныхъ дезертировъ и представлять ихъ мѣстной полиціи для дальнѣйшаго распоряженія;

распоряжаться подачею помощи въ чрезвычайныхъ случаяхъ, какъ напримѣръ, при пожарахъ, наводненіяхъ, повальныхъ болѣзняхъ, падежѣ скота и другихъ общественныхъ бѣдствіяхъ, немедленно извѣщая волостнаго старшину, а въ случаѣ надобности донося прямо и полиціи о важнѣйшихъ происшествіяхъ въ сельскомъ обществѣ;

въ случаѣ совершенія преступленія, дѣлать предварительное дознаніе, за-

держивать виновныхъ и охранять слѣдъ преступленія до прибытія мѣстной полиціи или судебнаго слѣдователя.

Сельскій староста имѣетъ право подвергать виновныхъ крестьянъ за маловажные проступки назначенію на общественныя работы до двухъ дней, аресту, также до двухъ дней, и денежному штрафу до одного рубля. Такому же наказанію онъ можетъ подвергать и сельскихъ должностныхъ лицъ.

Жалобы на сельскаго старосту приносятся мировому посреднику, который имѣетъ право подвергнуть его штрафу въ размѣрѣ пяти рублей или аресту до семи дней, а въ случаѣ важныхъ преступленій по должности, предать суду. Право удаленія сельскаго старосты отъ должности принадлежитъ мировому съѣзду; но по требованію помѣщика, это можетъ сдѣлать и мировой посредникъ, который въ такомъ случаѣ самъ назначаетъ новаго старосту на все то время, которое оставалось служить прежнему. Опредѣленнаго жалованья сельскому старостѣ, какъ и всѣмъ вообще лицамъ крестьянскаго управленія, не полагается; но общество можетъ назначить ему содержаніе по своему усмотрѣнію. По закону, сельскій староста освобождается на время службы отъ натуральныхъ повинностей и тѣлеснаго наказанія. При этомъ слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что сельскій староста, какъ и всѣ должностныя лица крестьянскаго управленія, замѣщаемыя по выбору, *не имѣетъ права отказаться* пока не прослужатъ трехъ лѣтъ. Исключеніе допускается только для лицъ, достигшихъ 60-ти лѣтняго возраста и одержимыхъ сильными недугами.

Обязанности прочихъ сельскихъ должностныхъ лицъ (сборщиковъ податей, смотрителей магазиновъ и пр.) — видны изъ ихъ названія. Опредѣленіе и увольненіе этихъ лицъ предоставляется самому сходу.

Высшую единицу крестьянскаго управленія представляетъ *волость*. Она образуется изъ состоящихъ въ одномъ уѣздѣ и по возможности смежныхъ сельскихъ обществъ. Наименьшее число жителей полагается около 300 ревизскихъ душъ мужескаго пола, а наибольшее около 2000 душъ. Наибольшее разстояніе для отдѣльныхъ селеній отъ средоточія волостнаго управленія полагается 12 верстъ. При образованіи волостей принимается въ разсчетъ прежнее дѣленіе на приходы; кромѣ того, отдѣльныя сельскія общества не дробятся. Значительное селеніе составляетъ всегда одну волость и тогда сельское управленіе сливается съ волостнымъ.

Главную роль въ управленіи дѣлами волости играетъ волостной сходъ. Онъ составляется изъ сельскихъ и волостныхъ должностныхъ лицъ и изъ крестьянъ, избираемыхъ отъ каждаго селенія по одному отъ десяти дворовъ, при чемъ отдѣльные поселки, хутора, починки, и т. п., хотя имѣющіе менѣе десяти дворовъ, всегда посылаютъ одного выборнаго. *) Тамъ, гдѣ волость состоитъ изъ одного селенія, волостной сходъ замѣняется сельскимъ и соединяетъ обязанности того и другаго. Тогда вмѣсто сельскихъ старостъ выбирается нѣсколько помощниковъ старшины. Вѣденію волостнаго схода (по 78 ст. Положенія) подлежатъ:

выборы волостныхъ должностныхъ лицъ и судей волостного суда;

постановленіе о всѣхъ вообще предметахъ, относящихся до хозяйственныхъ и общественныхъ дѣлъ цѣлой волости;

мѣры общественнаго призрѣнія; учрежденіе волостныхъ училищъ, распоряженія по волостнымъ запаснымъ магазинамъ, гдѣ они есть;

принесеніе, куда слѣдуетъ, жалобъ и просьбъ по дѣламъ волости, черезъ особыхъ выборныхъ;

назначеніе и раскладка мірскихъ сборовъ и повинностей, относящихся до цѣлой волости;

повѣрка дѣйствій и учетъ должностныхъ лицъ, волостью избираемыхъ;

повѣрка рекрутскихъ списковъ и раскладка рекрутской повинности; **) и

дача довѣренностей на хожденіе по дѣламъ волости.

На сходѣ долженъ непремѣнно присутствовать волостной старшина и не менѣе двухъ третей крестьянъ, имѣющихъ право голоса. Дѣла рѣшаются по большинству голосовъ; но на приговоры волостнаго схода дозволяется приносить жалобы мировому посреднику, который передаетъ эти жалобы на рѣшеніе мироваго съѣзда.

Главное лицо въ волости—*волостной старшина*. Онъ избирается волостнымъ сходомъ на три года и утверждается мировымъ посредникомъ. Съ должностью волостнаго старшины не допускается «ни подъ какимъ предлогомъ» соединеніе въ одномъ лицѣ другихъ должностей. На этомъ основаніи, Сенатъ въ 1870 и 1871 гг. разъяснилъ, что волостные старшины не могутъ быть ни членами земской управы, ни почетными мировыми судьями. Мировой посредникъ имѣетъ надъ старшиною такую же дисциплинарную власть, какъ и надъ сельскимъ старостою; но смѣнить его не можетъ. Онъ можетъ только

*) Въ западныхъ губерніяхъ батраки и бобыли посылаютъ одного выборнаго отъ двадцати рабочихъ.

**) У бывшихъ помѣщичьихъ крестьянъ волостному сходу предоставляется установлять общія основанія раскладки рекрутской повинности.

удалить волостнаго старшину временно и затѣмъ представить дѣло съѣзду. Эти же права относительно волостнаго старшины предоставлено впослѣдствіи (по продолженію Свода Законовъ 1864 г.) и губернатору. Окончательно удалить волостнаго старшину отъ должности и предать его суду можетъ только мировой съѣздъ. Во время службы, старшина пользуется тѣми же правами, какъ сельскій староста и кромѣ того освобождается (во время службы) со всѣмъ семействомъ отъ рекрутской повинности. Прослуживъ два трехлѣтія, онъ освобождается лично отъ рекрутской повинности навсегда, а если прослужитъ три трехлѣтія, то эта льгота распространяется, по его выбору, на одного изъ его сыновей или родственниковъ.

Обязанности волостнаго старшины по дѣламъ общественнымъ изложены въ 84 ст. Положенія слѣдующимъ образомъ:

созывать и распускать волостной сходъ и охранять должный въ ономъ порядокъ;

предлагать на разсмотрѣніе схода всѣ дѣла, касающіяся нуждъ и пользъ волостнаго общества;

приводить въ исполненіе приговоры волостнаго схода, постановленные на основаніи законовъ и правилъ, установленныхъ Положеніемъ;

наблюдать за исправнымъ содержаніемъ въ волости дорогъ, мостовъ, гатей, перевозовъ, и пр.;

наблюдать какъ за сельскими старостами, такъ и за другими должностными лицами, чтобы каждый изъ нихъ исполнялъ въ частности свои обязанности;

наблюдать за исправнымъ отправленіемъ обществомъ всякаго рода казенныхъ и земскихъ повинностей, какъ денежныхъ такъ и натуральныхъ, а равно и рекрутской;

завѣдывать волостными мірскими суммами и имуществами, отвѣтствуя за цѣлость оныхъ и правильное ихъ употребленіе;

крестьянамъ и дворовымъ людямъ, приписаннымъ къ волости, выдавать, по истребованіи надлежащихъ удостовѣреній, съ соблюденіемъ установленнаго порядка, свидѣтельства, какъ для полученія тѣми крестьянами и дворовыми паспортовъ и билетовъ на отлучки, такъ и для перехода ихъ въ другія общества и сословія;

надзирать за порядкомъ въ училищахъ, больницахъ, богадѣльняхъ и всякаго рода общественныхъ заведеніяхъ, если онѣ учреждены волостнымъ обществомъ на свой счетъ, и

вести списки дворовымъ людямъ, приписаннымъ къ волости и получать съ нихъ установленный сборъ, для внесенія куда слѣдуетъ.

Независимо отъ этихъ административныхъ обязанностей, волостной старшина есть въ то-же время полицейская власть: онъ отвѣтствуетъ за сохраненіе общаго порядка, спокойствія и благочинія въ волости, имѣетъ право подвергать подчиненныхъ ему

лицъ (т. е. крестьянъ волости) тѣмъ же взысканіемъ, какъ и сельскій староста, т. е. штрафу до одного рубля и аресту или назначенію на работы до двухъ дней, и несетъ опредѣленныя полицейскія обязанности, исчисленныя въ 83 ст. Положенія, а именно:

объявлять, по предписаніямъ мѣстной полиціи, законы и распоряженія правительства и наблюдать за нераспространеніемъ между крестьянами подложныхъ указовъ и вредныхъ для общественнаго спокойствія слуховъ;

охранять благочиніе въ общественныхъ мѣстахъ и безопасность лицъ и имуществъ отъ преступныхъ дѣйствій, а также принимать первоначальныя мѣры для возстановленія нарушенной тишины, порядка и безопасности, впредь до распоряженія мѣстной полиціи;

задерживать бродягъ, бѣглыхъ и военныхъ дезертировъ и представлять ихъ полицейскому начальству;

доносить мѣстной полиціи о самовольно отлучившихся изъ волости и о преступленіяхъ и безпорядкахъ, случившихся въ волости;

наблюдать за точнымъ исполненіемъ установленныхъ Положеніемъ правилъ о припискѣ, увольненіи и перечисленіи крестьянъ изъ одного общества въ другое и доносить о семъ мѣстной полиціи;

распоряжаться въ чрезвычайныхъ случаяхъ, какъ напримѣръ: при пожарахъ, наводненіяхъ, повальныхъ болѣзняхъ, падежѣ скота и другихъ общественныхъ бѣдствіяхъ, и немедленно доносить полицейскому начальству о чрезвычайныхъ происшествіяхъ въ волости;

предупреждать и пресѣкать преступленія и проступки; принимать полицейскія мѣры для открытія и задержанія виновныхъ и представлять ихъ на дальнѣйшее распоряженіе надлежащаго начальства, и

наблюдать за исполненіемъ приговоровъ мировыхъ (по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ) учрежденій и волостнаго суда.

Кромѣ того, волостной старшина обязанъ, конечно, исполнять всѣ законныя требованія мѣстной полиціи и другихъ властей.

Такимъ образомъ, въ большинствѣ дѣлъ волостной старшина дѣйствуетъ единолично; но есть дѣла, которыя рѣшаются *волостнымъ правленіемъ*. Волостное правленіе состоитъ изъ старшины, сельскихъ старостъ (или помощниковъ старшины) и сборщиковъ податей, гдѣ они есть; кромѣ того, волостной сходъ можетъ выбирать въ правленіе особыхъ засѣдателей. Рѣшенію правленія подлежитъ только: производство изъ волостныхъ суммъ всякаго рода денежныхъ расходовъ, утвержденныхъ волостнымъ сходомъ, продажа частнаго крестьянскаго имущества по взысканіямъ казны, помѣщика или частнаго лица, кромѣ тѣхъ случаевъ, которые по закону возлагаются на общую полицію, и опредѣленіе и увольненіе волостныхъ должностныхъ лицъ, служащихъ по найму. Въ остальныхъ дѣлахъ старшина только совѣтуется съ правленіемъ, но распоряжается по сво-

ему усмотрѣнію. Нѣкоторыя изъ рѣшеній волостнаго правленія записываются въ особую книгу. Письмоводствомъ занимается *волостной писарь*, служащій по найму.

Кромѣ того, въ каждой волости существуетъ *волостной судъ*, о которомъ мы будемъ говорить ниже.

Крестьянскія общества находятся въ вѣденіи *Мировыхъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ учрежденій*. Учрежденія эти образованы собственно для устройства поземельныхъ отношеній между помѣщиками и крестьянами; но въ то же время имъ предоставлено и высшее наблюденіе надъ крестьянскими учрежденіями. Оно возложено, главнымъ образомъ, на *мировыхъ посредниковъ*, которые имѣютъ непосредственное отношеніе къ крестьянскимъ обществамъ. До высшихъ инстанцій дѣла обществъ доходятъ уже черезъ мироваго посредника.

На основаніи Положенія о губернскихъ и уѣздныхъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ учрежденіяхъ, въ мировые посредники избираются мѣстные потомственные дворяне помѣщики, которые, кромѣ общихъ условій, поставленныхъ въ законѣ для службы по выборамъ, владѣютъ, хотя бы въ разныхъ губерніяхъ, 500 десятинъ удобной земли или имѣютъ право избирательнаго голоса въ дворянскихъ собраніяхъ (это право, какъ извѣстно, предоставлено на основаніи прежнихъ законовъ лицамъ, имѣвшимъ 100 душъ крестьянъ). Для лицъ, получившихъ высшее образованіе (окончившихъ курсъ наукъ съ правомъ на чинъ XII класса) поземельный цензъ понижается до 150 десятинъ. Если въ уѣздѣ менѣе 20 лицъ, соединяющихъ указанныя условія, то избираются лица, владѣющія 150 десятинами земли, хотя бы они не получили высшаго образованія. Наконецъ, за недостаткомъ потомственныхъ дворянъ помѣщиковъ, избираются и дворяне личные, если имѣютъ двойное противъ указаннаго для первыхъ количество земли (т. е. 1.000 и 300 десятинъ). Всѣмъ этимъ лицамъ составляются списки и избраніе производится губернаторомъ, по совѣщанію съ губернскимъ и уѣзднымъ предводителями дворянства. Избранныя лица (какъ посредники, такъ и кандидаты къ нимъ, исправляющіе ихъ должность въ случаѣ ихъ отсутствія) утверждаются Сенатомъ. Этотъ порядокъ избранія посредниковъ былъ опредѣленъ первоначально только *на первые три года*, и въ 15-й статьѣ Положенія прямо сказано, что «по истеченіи трехъ лѣтъ онъ будетъ опредѣленъ особыми правилами». Но правилъ этихъ издано не было, и порядокъ назначенія остается

тотъ-же, при чемъ разъ назначенные посредники остались несмѣняемыми. Посредники уравнены въ правахъ съ уѣздными предводителями дворянства, слѣдовательно могутъ быть удалены отъ должности только Сенатомъ и не иначе, какъ съ преданіемъ суду или назначеніемъ слѣдствія. Они получаютъ на расходы 1.500 руб. въ годъ.

Къ обязанностямъ мировыхъ посредниковъ, по 23-й статьѣ Положенія, относятся во первыхъ: разборъ споровъ, жалобъ и недоразумѣній между помѣщиками и временно-обязанными крестьянами и дворовыми людьми, возникающихъ изъ обязательныхъ отношеній, а также и жалобъ крестьянъ и обществъ на волостные сходы и сельскія и волостныя должностныя лица; во вторыхъ, засвидѣтельствованіе разныхъ эктовъ, совершаемыхъ помѣщиками съ крестьянами; въ третьихъ, нѣкоторыя распорядительныя дѣйствія по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ, и въ четвертыхъ, нѣкоторыя дѣла по судебно-полицейскому разбирательству. Изъ этихъ дѣлъ мы перечислимъ только тѣ, которыя имѣютъ отношеніе къ крестьянскому управленію; это именно:

разборъ жалобъ помѣщика на дѣйствія мѣстъ и лицъ общественнаго крестьянскаго управленія, въ случаѣ нарушенія правъ помѣщика или неисполненія его законныхъ требованій, относящихся до цѣлаго общества или отдѣльныхъ лицъ, и на допущеніе старостою или старшиною безпорядковъ въ исполненіи полицейскихъ обязанностей и въ отношеніи неисправнаго отправленія крестьянами установленныхъ повинностей (ст. 24. п. 2-й);

разборъ жалобъ временно-обязанныхъ крестьянъ и дворовыхъ людей, какъ отдѣльныхъ лицъ, такъ и въ составѣ крестьянскихъ обществъ, на дѣйствія помѣщика (п. 4-й);

разборъ жалобъ постороннихъ лицъ—если они обратятся къ посреднику—на крестьянскія общества и общественныя управленія (п. 4-й);

разборъ жалобъ на дѣйствія сельскихъ должностныхъ лицъ (п. 5-й);

дѣла по взысканію съ крестьянъ недоимокъ по повинностямъ ихъ въ пользу помѣщика (ст. 27, § I, п. 7-й);

утвержденіе волостного старшины въ этой должности и вообще дѣла по избранію должностныхъ лицъ сельскаго и волостнаго управленія (ст. 27, § 2, п. 1-й);

дѣла по взысканію съ должностныхъ лицъ сельскаго и волостнаго управленій, вслѣдствіе жалобъ на нихъ, или вообще нарушенія ими служебныхъ обязанностей (п. 2-й);

дѣла по удаленію крестьянъ изъ общества мірскими приговорами (п. 3-й).

Къ дѣламъ судебно-полицейскаго разбирательства, возложеннымъ на посредниковъ, принадлежитъ только разборъ споровъ по найму землевладѣльцами людей въ разныя работы, въ услуженіе и въ хо-

зяйственныя должности, по отдачѣ въ наемъ земель, по потравамъ и порубкамъ во владѣльческихъ земляхъ. Эти дѣла посредникъ рѣшаетъ безъапелляціонно до 30 руб. Само собою разумѣется, что тамъ, гдѣ введены мировые судьи, всѣ эти дѣла уже изъяты теперь изъ вѣденія мировыхъ посредниковъ.

Права мироваго посредника, относительно наложенія взысканій, опредѣлены 30-й и 32 ст. Положенія слѣдующимъ образомъ:

виновныхъ должностныхъ лицъ сельскаго и волостнаго управленія, за маловажные проступки по должностямъ мировой посредникъ присуждаетъ къ замѣчаніямъ, выговорамъ, денежному штрафу до пяти рублей и аресту до семи дней (ст. 30, п. 1-й);

сельскаго старосту и помощниковъ волостнаго старшины, въ случаяхъ болѣе важныхъ нарушеній по ихъ должностямъ, присуждаетъ къ временному удаленію или же окончательному отрѣшенію отъ должности, а волостнаго старшину къ временному удаленію отъ должности, и съ утвержденія начальника губерніи къ окончательному отрѣшенію (п. 2-й);

въ обществахъ, неисправныхъ въ отправленіи повинностей, смѣняетъ, по ходатайству помѣщика, избранныхъ крестьянами должностныхъ лицъ и назначаетъ новыхъ (п. 3-й);

присуждаетъ лицъ всѣхъ сословій къ имущественному вознагражденію за ущербъ или къ денежному взысканію до пяти рублей (ст. 32, п. 1-й);

присуждаетъ лицъ податнаго состоянія къ общественнымъ работамъ до шести дней, или къ аресту до семи дней или къ наказанію розгами до двадцати ударовъ (п. 2-й).

Относительно послѣдней статьи слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что по продолженію Свода 1863 г. «мировые посредники не могутъ присуждать къ тѣлесному наказанію мѣщанъ, а также вообще тѣхъ лицъ податнаго состоянія, которыя отъ сего изъяты въ силу правилъ, въ общемъ законѣ постановленныхъ». Такимъ образомъ тѣлесное наказаніе оставлено только для крестьянъ. Но по смыслу закона оно можетъ быть налагаемо только по дѣламъ судебно-полицейскаго разбирательства, которыя мы перечислили выше. Это нѣсколько разъ было разъяснено частными указами Сената. Въ настоящее время, со введеніемъ мировыхъ судей и съ передачею въ ихъ руки дѣлъ судебно-полицейскаго разбирательства, уничтожается и право сѣченія крестьянъ мировыми посредниками.

Всѣ мировые посредники уѣзда образуютъ *Мировой съѣздъ*, который собирается въ извѣстное время (обыкновенно разъ въ мѣсяцъ) въ уѣздномъ городѣ, *подъ предсѣдательствомъ уѣзднаго предводителя дворянства*; кромѣ того на съѣздѣ присутствуетъ членъ отъ правительства, который назначается губернаторомъ одинъ

для нѣсколькихъ съѣздовъ. Въ мировыхъ съѣздахъ, кромѣ дѣлъ, касающихся экономическихъ отношеній помѣщиковъ съ крестьянами, разрѣшаются окончательно жалобы на рѣшенія мироваго посредника по спорамъ и жалобамъ, возникающимъ изъ поземельныхъ отношеній, и жалобы на волостные сходы и на волостныхъ должностныхъ лицъ. Отъ съѣздовъ, какъ мы уже говорили, зависитъ преданіе суду волостныхъ старшинъ и сельскихъ старостъ. Болѣе непосредственныхъ отношеній къ крестьянскимъ обществамъ съѣзды не имѣютъ.

Высшая въ губерніи инстанція по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ есть Губернское по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствіе. Оно состоитъ подъ предсѣдательствомъ начальника губерніи изъ губернскаго предводителя дворянства, управляющаго палатою государственныхъ имуществъ, губернскаго прокурора и четырехъ членовъ изъ мѣстныхъ дворянъ помѣщиковъ. Изъ этихъ членовъ двое назначаются министерствомъ внутреннихъ дѣлъ съ Высочайшаго соизволенія и двое избираются собраніемъ губернскаго и уѣздныхъ предводителей дворянства. Какъ тѣ, такъ и другіе, получаютъ 2.000 руб. содержанія. Кромѣ того, присутствію предоставлено, при обсужденіи частныхъ мѣстныхъ вопросовъ, приглашать для совѣщаній и нужныхъ объясненій опытныхъ помѣщиковъ.

Губернское присутствіе разсматриваетъ жалобы на мировыхъ посредниковъ и мировые съѣзды въ случаяхъ превышенія власти или несоблюденія порядка. Оно отмѣняетъ рѣшенія посредниковъ и съѣздовъ въ кассаціонномъ порядкѣ и передаетъ дѣло на новое разсмотрѣніе того же или другаго посредника или съѣзда. Въ случаѣ преступленій по должности лицъ уѣздныхъ мировыхъ учрежденій, губернское присутствіе поручаетъ одному изъ своихъ членовъ произвести мѣстное дознаніе и затѣмъ представляетъ о нихъ сенату. Въ послѣднее время губернскія присутствія стали имѣть болѣе непосредственное вліяніе на составъ мировыхъ посредниковъ. Имъ предоставлено сокращать число мировыхъ участковъ въ уѣздѣ и такимъ образомъ они могутъ, по усмотрѣнію, исключить того мироваго посредника, котораго захотятъ, сокративъ только его участокъ. Наконецъ въ 1870 году они получили право временно устранять посредниковъ отъ должности, представляя о нихъ сенату. Далѣе, губернскія присутствія имѣютъ весьма большое значеніе собственно въ устройствѣ экономическихъ отношеній крестьянъ. Такъ, на нихъ

возложено разсмотрѣніе и утвержденіе добровольныхъ соглашеній между помѣщиками и крестьянами объ уменьшеніи крестьянскаго надѣла, разсмотрѣніе и утвержденіе большей части уставныхъ грамотъ, дѣла по возвышенію и пониженію повинностей противъ установленныхъ размѣровъ, по укрѣпленію за крестьянами земель, купленныхъ ими въ прежнее время на имя помѣщиковъ и т. п. Къ крестьянскимъ обществамъ губернскія присутствія не имѣютъ непосредственныхъ отношеній. Значеніе ихъ для крестьянскаго управленія заключается въ томъ вліяніи, какое они могутъ имѣть на мировыхъ посредниковъ. Затѣмъ имъ принадлежитъ только утвержденіе мірскихъ приговоровъ объ удаленіи изъ общества порочныхъ членовъ; но здѣсь они должны ограничиваться формальной стороною дѣла, т е. смотрѣть, соблюденъ-ли при составленіи приговора установленный въ законѣ порядокъ. Въ первые девять лѣтъ со дня обнародованія Положенія отъ нихъ зависѣло также разрѣшеніе просьбъ помѣщика объ удаленіи порочныхъ крестьянъ, и здѣсь они дѣйствовали уже по личному усмотрѣнію.

Губернскія присутствія не суть еще окончательныя инстанціи. Всякое ихъ постановленіе можетъ быть обжаловано высшимъ учрежденіямъ. Порядокъ для этихъ жалобъ установленъ уже въ 1863 году особыми правилами. На основаніи этихъ правилъ жалобы, по дѣламъ объ отвѣтственности мировыхъ посредниковъ и по дѣламъ, касающимся правъ крестьянъ личныхъ, по состоянію, по общественному и волостному устройству и по отбыванію казенныхъ и земскихъ повинностей,—разсматриваются въ 1-мъ департаментѣ Сената; жалобы же по дѣламъ о поземельномъ и хозяйственномъ устройствѣ крестьянъ приносятся министру внутреннихъ дѣлъ, который, по закону, можетъ разсматривать ихъ только въ кассаціонномъ порядкѣ. Если случай, по которому принесена жалоба, не предвиденъ закономъ, то министръ вноситъ дѣло въ Комитетъ объ устройствѣ сельскаго состоянія. Точно также онъ обязанъ внести въ комитетъ жалобы лицъ, недовольныхъ его собственнымъ рѣшеніемъ.

Въ заключеніе мы должны указать, какія вотчинныя права оставлены Положеніемъ за помѣщиками и въ какія отношенія онъ поставленъ къ крестьянскимъ обществамъ.

По 148 статьѣ Положенія помѣщику предоставлена «вотчинная полиція въ сельскомъ обществѣ *временно-обязанныхъ* крестьянъ, на землѣ его водворенныхъ», и съ симъ вмѣстѣ помѣ-

щикъ признанъ попечителемъ этого общества. Впрочемъ, полицейскія права помѣщика опредѣлены Положеніемъ весьма точно; онъ имѣетъ непосредственныя сношенія только съ сельскимъ старостою и послѣдній обязанъ исполнять требованія его только по слѣдующимъ предметамъ:

о прекращеніи всякого буйства или насилія въ сельскомъ обществѣ, а также всякого явнаго нарушенія общественнаго порядка и законовъ;

объ оказаніи помощи и защиты какъ самому владѣльцу, такъ и всѣмъ проживающимъ въ имѣніи лицамъ, въ случаѣ зажигательства, разбоя, грабежа, воровства, насилія, и т. п.;

о предохраненіи владѣльца и его имущества, а также и всѣхъ проживающихъ въ имѣніи его лицъ отъ опасности при всякихъ несчастныхъ случаяхъ, какъ-то пожарахъ (*въ томъ числѣ и лѣсныхъ*), наводненіяхъ, повальныхъ болѣзняхъ и скотскихъ падежахъ и о мѣрахъ для пресеченія сихъ и другихъ подобныхъ несчастій;

о надзорѣ за лицами подозрительнаго поведенія и о задержаніи бѣглыхъ бродягъ и безпаспортныхъ;

объ исправленіи сельскихъ дорогъ на земляхъ, въ пользованіе крестьянъ отведенныхъ, и

въ случаѣ совершенія кѣмъ-либо преступленія, о задержаніи виновныхъ и сохраненіи слѣдовъ преступленія, до прибытія мѣстной полиціи или судебнаго слѣдователя (ст. 150).

Въ случаѣ неисполненія этихъ требованій, а также неисправнаго взысканія оброковъ и т. п. помѣщикъ можетъ требовать отъ посредника смѣны сельскаго старосты. Кромѣ того помѣщикъ, *въ теченіи первыхъ девяти лѣтъ по утвержденіи Положенія*, могъ предложить обществу объ исключеніи и предоставленіи на распоряженіе правительства такихъ крестьянъ, которыхъ онъ находилъ вредными. Если общество не соглашалось на это, помѣщикъ могъ обратиться съ просьбою въ губернское присутствіе. Съ другой стороны, при удаленіи временно-обязанныхъ крестьянъ по приговору общества, также долженъ быть отобранъ отзывъ о согласіи или несогласіи помѣщика (ст. 157 и 158).

Какъ попечитель крестьянскаго общества, помѣщикъ имѣетъ право, въ случаѣ неправильнаго обложенія крестьянъ повинностями и другихъ безпорядковъ, обращать на это вниманіе подлежащихъ лицъ и вѣдомствъ и вообще оказывать крестьянамъ заступничество и ходатайствовать за нихъ. Онъ можетъ даже, по просьбѣ крестьянъ, входить въ разбирательство ихъ тяжбъ и споровъ, если обѣ стороны на это согласны (ст. 155 и 156).

За это крестьяне обязаны не только ограждать его и его до-

машнихъ отъ насильственныхъ дѣйствій, но и оказывать имъ помощь при внезапныхъ общественныхъ несчастіяхъ, для устраненія которыхъ требуется соединеніе большаго количества силъ (т. е. напримѣръ тушить пожаръ въ помѣщичьихъ лѣсахъ), являясь даже безъ призыва помѣщика (ст. 151).

Отношенія помѣщика ко всему обществу состоятъ въ томъ, что ему должны быть сообщаемы, если онъ пожелаетъ, всѣ мірскіе приговоры сельскаго схода, и если онъ найдетъ въ подобномъ приговорѣ распоряженіе, «противное существующимъ постановленіямъ или вредное для благосостоянія сельскаго общества, или же нарушающее права помѣщичьи», то можетъ пріостановить его исполненіе и сообщить мировому посреднику. Но если посредникъ признаетъ требованіе помѣщика неосновательнымъ, то приговоръ вступаетъ въ силу, и тогда, если отъ пріостановленія его крестьяне потерпѣли убытки, помѣщикъ обязанъ вознаграждать ихъ.

III.

Изъ сдѣланнаго нами очерка читатели видятъ, что Положеніе 19-го февраля дало вышедшимъ изъ крѣпостной зависимости крестьянамъ исключительно сословное управленіе; оно выдѣлило ихъ не только въ хозяйственномъ, но также въ административномъ и судебномъ отношеніяхъ. Даже въ чисто полицейскомъ отношеніи, Положеніе, по возможности, охранило крестьянъ отъ вмѣшательства общей полиціи, учредивъ надъ ихъ управленіемъ контроль мировыхъ учрежденій. Сперва, какъ мы уже сказали, это управленіе было создано только для крестьянъ, вышедшихъ изъ крѣпостной зависимости; но впослѣдствіи оно распространено на крестьянъ удѣльныхъ и наконецъ государственныхъ. Такимъ образомъ въ настоящее время все крестьянское сословіе подчинено у насъ особому управленію и имѣетъ свои хозяйственныя и административныя учрежденія, въ которыя лица другихъ сословій не имѣютъ доступа.

Противъ этой системы уже съ самаго начала говорили очень много, и притомъ съ разныхъ точекъ зрѣнія. Одни думали, что свободный доступъ образованныхъ лицъ въ крестьянскія учрежденія будетъ служить самымъ вѣрнымъ ручательствомъ самостоятельности этихъ учрежденій и что поэтому необходимо предоставить крестья-

намъ право избирать въ свои учрежденія лицъ всѣхъ сословій. Это были люди съ самыми хорошими побужденіями; но идеалисты, забывавшіе, что порядокъ, котораго они добивались, есть оружіе обоюдоострое. Другіе были практики, которые хотѣли, путемъ того же допущенія образованныхъ элементовъ, установить полную зависимость крестьянъ отъ помѣщиковъ, поставивъ послѣднихъ во главѣ крестьянскаго управленія даже безъ выбора.

Матеріалы по крестьянскому дѣлу доступны публикѣ далеко не вполнѣ. Трудъ г. Скребицкаго, о которомъ мы упоминали выше, представляетъ обзоръ только предварительныхъ работъ по этому предмету, т. е. мнѣнія губернскихъ комитетовъ и предположенія редакціонныхъ коммиссій. Какъ смотрѣли на это дѣло комитеты, читатели отчасти уже знаютъ, и мы сейчасъ познакомимъ ихъ съ этими взглядами подробнѣе. Но, конечно, сила была не въ комитетахъ. Если бы противники крестьянскаго самоуправленія засѣдали только въ этихъ учрежденіяхъ, то большаго затрудненія не было бы. Мнѣнія пріѣзжавшихъ изъ губерніи представителей дворянства также не могли имѣть большаго вліянія. Они, конечно, не были обязательны для коммиссій, да и не могли быть обязательны, потому что большею частію прямо противорѣчили основнымъ началамъ реформы. Но этимъ, какъ извѣстно, дѣло не оканчивалось. Къ сожалѣнію, мы не имѣемъ оффиціальныхъ данныхъ, которыя бы показывали, какъ обсуждался этотъ вопросъ въ послѣднихъ инстанціяхъ. Это лишаетъ насъ возможности фактически указать, какъ ставился въ то время вопросъ о крестьянскомъ самоуправленіи въ правительственныхъ сферахъ. Но по слухамъ, вполнѣ достовѣрнымъ, мы можемъ сказать, что уже въ то время предлагалось создать «волостныхъ попечителей» изъ лицъ, имѣющихъ не менѣе 500 десятинъ земли, т. е. конечно помѣщиковъ. Эти попечители должны были избираться лицами, имѣющими не менѣе 150 десятинъ земли, т. е. опять-таки помѣщиками и во всякомъ случаѣ никакъ не крестьянами. Въ волости же, состоящей изъ одного имѣнія, право попечительства предполагалось оставить за самимъ владѣльцемъ имѣнія, которому, кромѣ того, предоставлялось еще право передовѣрить исполненіе лежащихъ на немъ обязанностей другому лицу. Эти-то попечители и должны были управлять волостью и разсматривать всѣ постановленія волостнаго схода. Понятно, какой порядокъ ввели бы они въ «своихъ» волостяхъ.

Мы вовсе не сторонники сословной исключительности, и конечно

не враги интеллигенціи. Напротивъ, мы отъ души желаемъ всякаго соединенія сословій въ общихъ дѣлахъ. Но мы точно также отъ души желаемъ, чтобы одно сословіе не преобладало надъ другимъ, особенно въ тѣхъ вопросахъ, гдѣ ихъ имущественные интересы прямо противоположны. Въ настоящее время такихъ вопросовъ возникаетъ конечно значительно меньше, чѣмъ прежде, поэтому мы нисколько не отвергаемъ возможности установить въ извѣстныхъ предѣлахъ всесословное мѣстное управленіе. Ниже мы постараемся указать тѣ основанія, которыя могли бы, по нашему мнѣнію, быть приняты при устройствѣ подобнаго управленія, и тѣ условія, при которыхъ оно могло бы быть введено. Но между настоящимъ временемъ и тѣмъ, когда обсуждалось Положеніе 19-го февраля—есть большая разница. Тогда интересы помѣщичьяго и крестьянскаго сословій были слишкомъ противоположны и преобладаніе помѣщиковъ могло слишкомъ гибельно отразиться на бытѣ крестьянъ. Поэтому составители Положенія, въ виду тѣхъ условій, при которыхъ они дѣйствовали, заслуживаютъ не порицанія, а глубокой благодарности за то, что они не увлеклись доводами тогдашней интеллигенціи и постарались, хотя на первые годы, предохранить крестьянское сословіе отъ господства чуждыхъ ему элементовъ, создавъ для него особыя учрежденія.

Представители губернскихъ комитетовъ всего болѣе нападали на редакціонныя коммиссіи за проэктъ объ устройствѣ волостей; они видѣли въ этомъ учрежденіи одно бюрократическое начало; то же мнѣніе высказалъ и одинъ членъ-экспертъ въ самой коммиссіи (г. Желтухинъ). Дѣйствительно, волость имѣетъ только административное значеніе; въ этомъ отношеніи она рѣзко отличается отъ сельскаго общества, которое представляетъ естественную хозяйственную единицу. Но вопросъ въ томъ, возможно ли было дать сельскому обществу административное значеніе, не установивъ надъ нимъ высшей инстанціи? Врядъ-ли кто нибудь признаетъ, что такое созданіе нѣсколькихъ сотенъ административныхъ единицъ въ уѣздѣ, имѣющихъ непосредственное отношеніе къ уѣздной власти, было особенно удобно. Этого конечно не признавали и тѣ члены комитетовъ, которые дѣлали возраженія на проэктъ редакціонныхъ коммиссій. Они просто видѣли въ учрежденіи волостей подрывъ власти помѣщика, и вполнѣ откровенно заявляли это. *Г. Желтухинъ* прямо говорилъ, что образованіе обществъ главнымъ образомъ направлено

«противъ» помѣщика и «въ пользу» правительственной администраціи» (стр. 343). *Гг. Мироновъ и Лопухинъ* (члены костромскаго комитета) заявили, что въ предоставленіи вотчинной полиціи волостному старшинѣ и сельскому старостѣ «является оскорбительное недовѣріе къ дворянству и столько же обидное предпочтеніе ему сельскихъ начальниковъ». При этомъ гг. Мироновъ и Лопухинъ добавляютъ, что по всей вѣроятности помѣщики отказались бы сами отъ непріятной обязанности чинить расправу въ своихъ имѣніяхъ и передали бы ее старшинамъ и старостамъ (498). *Гг. Офросимовъ и кн. Волконскій* (члены рязанскаго комитета), сожалѣя о томъ, что при устройствѣ волостей «исчезнетъ всякая самостоятельность крестьянъ», въ то же время объяснили, что «помѣстное дворянство, просвѣщенное болѣе всѣхъ сословій, одно можетъ руководствовать и вразумлять народъ въ исполненіи правительственныхъ распоряженій». Поэтому они проэктировали тогда-же всесословную волость, подъ управленіемъ помѣщиковъ (стр. 351 и 352). А между тѣмъ, тѣ же гг. Офросимовъ и кн. Волконскій, когда дѣло шло объ отводѣ крестьянамъ земли, напоминали редакціоннымъ коммиссіямъ, что «рескриптъ не уничтожалъ крѣпостнаго права, а только требовалъ улучшенія быта крестьянъ» (стр. 146).

Управленіе помѣщиковъ было положено въ основаніе проэктовъ всѣхъ комитетовъ; поэтому понятно, что имъ не нравилась самостоятельная волость. Если они и соглашались допустить ее, то съ тѣмъ, чтобы помѣщики утверждали должностныхъ лицъ, разрѣшали созваніе сходокъ, вообще были начальниками. По этому поводу иногда говорились удивительныя вещи. Такъ, представитель воронежскаго комитета, *кн. И. В. Гагаринъ*, объяснялъ, что «дворянство возникло изъ народа, оно живетъ въ народѣ, всегда звалось и всегда было кормильцемъ и отцомъ его и знаетъ не изъ теорій его потребности, его характеръ и обычаи; пользы и нужды у него общія съ народомъ; не правомъ завоеванія, но правомъ поколѣннымъ оно осоюжено съ нимъ и всякій судья, извнѣ и не вратами входящій въ огражденіе того народа, не будетъ ему пастыремъ добрымъ (152).» И это были не исключительныя мнѣнія, а мнѣніе большинства. Изъ сорока членовъ втораго призыва, тридцать заявили, что большая часть обязанностей, назначенныхъ сходамъ и должностнымъ лицамъ, явно не соотвѣтствуетъ степени образованности крестьянъ; «а какъ въ законодательствѣ невозможно допустить никакихъ утопій», то они

пришли къ убѣжденію въ необходимости поручить главный надзоръ за волостною администраціею одному изъ мѣстныхъ землевладѣльцевъ (495). Такимъ образомъ о самоуправленіи тутъ не было и мысли; дѣло шло напротивъ о подчиненіи одного сословія другому. До какихъ размѣровъ доходили въ этомъ отношеніи желанія нѣкоторыхъ комитетовъ, видно изъ замѣчанія, сдѣланнаго тульскимъ губернаторомъ на Положеніе мѣстнаго комитета. «По положенію большинства,—говоритъ г. Дараганъ,—крестьянское общество состоитъ въ томъ, что крестьяне на усадьбахъ своихъ живутъ вмѣстѣ, подъ новою, строгою властью помѣщика. Помѣщикъ распоряжается всѣмъ самоуправно или на основаніи вновь составленнаго положенія, и иногда заставляетъ крестьянъ подумать о чемъ нибудь; но распорядиться всѣмъ властенъ только онъ, помѣщикъ. Словомъ, обществу не дается ни воли, ни силы, ни защиты. Весь этотъ институтъ составленъ какъ бы съ намѣреніемъ не упоминать объ обществѣ, и все, слѣдующее обществу, предоставить помѣщику, какъ начальнику общества, какъ вотчиннику помѣстья....» (402).

Мы видѣли, что Положеніе 19-го февраля не удовлетворило подобныхъ ожиданій. Оно, конечно, вполнѣ обезпечило помѣщика отъ всякихъ неправильныхъ дѣйствій сельскаго общества и должностныхъ лицъ и даже установило тяжкое уголовное наказаніе за оскорбленіе помѣщика или его семейства (ст. 154 Общ. Полож.). Но оно, въ то же время, ограничило вмѣшательство помѣщика въ дѣла общества. Введенное въ Положеніе право помѣщика пріостанавливать мірскіе приговоры нѣсколько противорѣчитъ этому началу; но и оно, благодаря отвѣтственности за неосновательное пріостановленіе такихъ приговоровъ, сдѣлалось мертвою буквою. Точно также мертвою буквою осталось и право помѣщика рѣшать крестьянскіе споры и даже ходатайствовать по ихъ дѣламъ. Какъ много ни говорили нѣкоторые члены комитетовъ о томъ, что «дворянство всегда звалось и было кормильцемъ и отцомъ народа», на практикѣ оказывается, что крестьяне никогда не обращаются къ помѣщикамъ за разрѣшеніемъ ихъ споровъ, а помѣщики никогда не ходатайствуютъ за нихъ. Впрочемъ, это было бы и трудно, потому что дѣла-то у крестьянъ ведутся только съ тѣми же помѣщиками.

Нѣсколько серьезнѣе право помѣщиковъ требовать отъ крестьянъ даровой помощи въ случаѣ особыхъ несчастій, напримѣръ затопленія плотинъ, лѣсныхъ пожаровъ и т. п. Но теперь объ этомъ нечего го-

ворить, потому что съ 1867 года крестьяне, покрайней мѣрѣ въ случаѣ лѣсныхъ пожаровъ, обязаны идти на помощь всѣмъ владѣльцамъ частныхъ лѣсовъ. Для этого ихъ за 15 верстъ гоняютъ даромъ, и только въ томъ случаѣ, когда они идутъ больше 15 верстъ, имъ дается вознагражденіе по таксѣ, установляемой земскими собраніями. Интересно, что въ большей части уѣздовъ петербургской губерніи они получаютъ за такое путешествіе, соединенное съ дневною работою, 30 коп., а въ уѣздахъ петергофскомъ и ямбургскомъ, даже 20 копѣекъ.

Но рядомъ съ этими невинными правами, помѣщикамъ до 1870 года принадлежало тяжкое для крестьянъ право требовать удаленія тѣхъ изъ лицъ крестьянскаго общества, кого они считаютъ вредными. Это право, котораго добивались нѣкоторые члены комитетовъ, не было впрочемъ введено въ предположенія коммиссіи; оно внесено въ Положеніе впослѣдствіи. Въ настоящее время его, слава Богу, уже не существуетъ.

Составителямъ Положенія часто ставятъ въ упрекъ такое отстраненіе помѣщиковъ отъ крестьянскихъ обществъ. Говорятъ, что при маломъ развитіи нашего сельскаго населенія, участіе интеллигенціи въ крестьянскомъ управленіи было бы весьма полезно и даже способствовало бы къ упроченію его самостоятельности. Съ этимъ послѣднимъ положеніемъ мы сами совершенно согласны. Мы думаемъ, что и теперь можно было бы предоставить крестьянамъ избирать волостныхъ старшинъ изъ лицъ всѣхъ сословій. Но въ 1860 году дѣло шло не объ этомъ. Этого требовали только немногія лица, которыя считались болѣе крайними, нежели редакціонныя коммиссіи. Между заявленіями членовъ комитета мы встрѣчаемъ только одно такое, принадлежавшее г. Унковскому. Большинство же требовало, какъ мы видѣли, простаго подчиненія крестьянъ помѣщикамъ, и именно *своимъ помѣщикамъ*—т. е. тѣмъ, у кого эти крестьяне находились въ крѣпостной зависимости. Такимъ образомъ здѣсь рѣчь шла не о политическомъ вліяніи, но о положительномъ преобладаніи, которое должно было отразиться непосредственно на *имущественныхъ* интересахъ обоихъ сословій. Этого конечно допустить было невозможно, потому что такой порядокъ могъ только разжечь страсти и породить антагонизмъ.

Съ другой стороны составителей Положенія нельзя винить и въ излишней регламентаціи крестьянскихъ отношеній. Напротивъ, они

по возможности избѣгали этого. Стоитъ только сравнить «Общее положеніе о крестьянахъ» съ «Уставомъ о благоустройствѣ въ казенныхъ селеніяхъ», чтобы убѣдиться, какъ мало проникнуты были редакціонныя коммиссіи духомъ бюрократизма, въ которомъ ихъ такъ часто обвиняли. Въ этомъ отношеніи замѣчательно, что и та степень подчиненія крестьянскихъ обществъ мировымъ учрежденіямъ, какую мы видимъ въ Положеніи, не входила въ предположенія коммиссій. Утвержденіе волостнаго старшины мировымъ посредникомъ, судъ и расправа надъ должностными лицами крестьянскаго управленія, разсмотрѣніе жалобъ на волостные сходы,—все это плоды окончательнаго обсужденія закона въ высшихъ инстанціяхъ. Для разбора жалобъ на должностныхъ лицъ, редакціонныя коммиссіи проэктировали особый крестьянскій судъ; затѣмъ никакого утвержденія, никакихъ пересмотровъ рѣшеній общества они не допускали.

Еще болѣе существенныя измѣненія противъ проэкта редакціонныхъ коммиссій встрѣчаемъ мы относительно состава мировыхъ учрежденій. Редакціонныя коммиссіи точно также предполагали организовать этотъ составъ изъ дворянъ-помѣщиковъ, но они предлагали предоставить избраніе ихъ крестьянамъ. Точно также они не допускали не только предсѣдательства, но и участія въ мировыхъ съѣздахъ настолько односторонне заинтересованнаго лица, какъ уѣздный предводитель дворянства. Все это введено при окончательномъ обсужденіи закона, и конечно Положеніе отъ этого не выиграло. Редакція статей Положенія, касающихся такъ называемаго «избранія» мировыхъ посредниковъ, показываетъ, что первоначально предполагалось сохранить теперешній порядокъ назначенія ихъ только на первые три года; но онъ, какъ извѣстно, остался до сихъ поръ.

Назначеніе мировыхъ посредниковъ губернаторами придало личному составу мировыхъ учрежденій неустойчивый характеръ. Все зависѣло отъ свойствъ начальниковъ губерній и отъ того направленія, котораго держалось въ данный моментъ ихъ начальство. Съ другой стороны, установленное закономъ «совѣщаніе съ губернскимъ и уѣзднымъ предводителями дворянства» заставляло, повидимому, предполагать, что въ составъ мировыхъ учрежденій войдутъ большею частію люди односторонніе, которые будутъ заботиться болѣе объ интересахъ дворянства, нежели о безпристрастномъ веденіи дѣла. И между тѣмъ въ первое время, за исключеніемъ западныхъ губерній, это было не такъ.

Вспоминая теперь исторію назначенія первыхъ посредниковъ, можно только удивляться, что среди дворянства нашлась масса такихъ людей, которые отнеслись къ дѣлу не только добросовѣстно и безпристрастно, но и съ горячимъ увлеченіемъ. Что эти люди не выражали собою желаній большинства,—это доказала и предшествовавшая дѣятельность дворянскихъ комитетовъ, и послѣдующее отношеніе къ нимъ дворянскихъ собраній. Какимъ же образомъ могли явиться эти люди?

Мы должны объяснить этотъ фактъ тремя причинами: свойствомъ самого дѣла, которому каждый порядочный человѣкъ могъ отдаться съ увлеченіемъ, либеральнымъ направленіемъ правительства, которое при первоначальномъ назначеніи посредниковъ, желало найти въ нихъ людей, преданныхъ основнымъ началамъ реформы, и наконецъ *неумѣлостью* тѣхъ, которые видѣли въ реформѣ посягательство на свои интересы и личное для себя оскорбленіе. Да, мы не можетъ придумать лучшаго выраженія для характеристики дѣйствій этихъ господъ, такъ какъ выраженіе «политическая безтактность» и т. п. были бы слишкомъ для нихъ громки. Дѣло въ томъ, что во всѣхъ великороссійскихъ губерніяхъ большинство дворянства, почувствовавшаго себя оскорбленнымъ, не только не захотѣло войти въ составъ мировыхъ учрежденій, но даже не желало имѣть съ ними ничего общаго. Мировой посредникъ былъ прокаженный, отъ котораго нужно было удаляться; принять на себя его обязанности было бы постыдно, самое названіе его считалось предосудительнымъ. Понятно, что вслѣдствіе этого, большинство мировыхъ посредниковъ оказалось другаго лагеря. Только въ западныхъ губерніяхъ дѣло сразу пошло иначе; тамъ реформа была встрѣчена повидимому радушно; но за то въ мировые посредники посажены свои люди, которые распоряжались по своему. Впослѣдствіи повѣрочныя коммисіи раскрыли, каковы были эти распоряженія.

Къ сожалѣнію, и въ великорусскихъ губерніяхъ первый составъ мировыхъ посредниковъ не остался до конца, хотя законъ и сдѣлалъ ихъ несмѣняемыми. Люди, враждебные реформѣ, скоро поняли свою ошибку и тогда начались интриги, заставившія многихъ честныхъ людей оставить эту дѣятельность.

Мы конечно были бы очень затруднены, еслибы намъ предложили показать фактически, какія именно употреблялись для этого средства; но мы думаемъ, что все дѣло еще слишкомъ живо въ памяти каж-

даго и врядъ-ли нуждается въ комментаріяхъ. Впрочемъ, мы могли бы припомнить, какъ большинство костромскаго губернскаго дворянскаго собранія признало необходимымъ исключить изъ числа дворянъ мировыхъ посредниковъ Грека и Куломзина за ихъ, будто бы, пристрастную дѣятельность, направленную въ ущербъ дворянства, или какъ долженъ былъ по такимъ же причинамъ оставить свою должность предсѣдатель одного изъ мировыхъ съѣздовъ Ярославской губерніи. Мы могли-бы наконецъ указать на такіе случаи, когда по отношенію къ посредникамъ прямо были допущены насилія. Но конечно офиціальныхъ фактовъ мы можемъ собрать не много, потому что въ большинствѣ подобныхъ случаевъ офиціальныхъ слѣдовъ не осталось, а остались только слѣды въ памяти современниковъ и въ ходѣ крестьянскаго дѣла. И можетъ быть пройдутъ десятки лѣтъ прежде чѣмъ явятся матеріалы, которые познакомятъ вполнѣ съ физіологіей тогдашняго общества. Теперь мы замѣтимъ только, что первый выходъ посредниковъ en masse послѣдовалъ въ Смоленской губерніи, куда скоро проникли взгляды и привычки болѣе искусныхъ въ такихъ дѣлахъ сосѣдей. За то теперь эта губернія и разорена въ конецъ *).

Кстати мы должны сказать, что съ тѣхъ поръ нравы усовершенствовались. Когда были открыты земскія учрежденія, люди, не выносившіе прежде мировыхъ посредниковъ, которые говорили крестьянамъ «вы», не только пошли вмѣстѣ съ этими крестьянами въ земскія собранія, но добиваются въ нихъ преобладанія, и когда получаютъ, то весьма умно имъ пользуются, защищая права своего сословія не фразами, а хитро придуманными смѣтами и раскладками.

Возвращаясь къ нашему предмету, мы должны сказать, что законъ, по возможности, предохранилъ мировыхъ посредниковъ отъ вліянія мѣстной администраціи; они до послѣдняго времени даже временно могли быть устранены отъ должности только Сенатомъ, и то не иначе, какъ съ преданіемъ суду или назначеніемъ слѣдствія. Административныя взысканія на нихъ также налагаетъ только Сенатъ. Такимъ образомъ въ губерніи они собственно не имѣютъ начальства. Но если законъ могъ такимъ образомъ оградить дѣятелей новаго института отъ разныхъ административныхъ мѣропріятій,

*) Для изслѣдованія причинъ бѣдственнаго состоянія крестьянъ, туда послана въ прошломъ году особая коммисія, но результатъ ея изслѣдованій еще неизвѣстенъ.

то онъ былъ совершенно безсиленъ оградить ихъ отъ тѣхъ людей, среди которыхъ имъ приходилось дѣйствовать и которые возводили вражду къ нимъ въ политическій принципъ, пользуясь всякимъ случаемъ и всякими средствами для того, чтобы вымѣстить на нихъ свою злобу. Тутъ пускалось въ ходъ все: и жалобы, и доносы, и ругательства, и насилія, и конечно, при этихъ условіяхъ, нѣтъ ничего мудренаго, что уже въ первые два-три года послѣ открытія мировыхъ учрежденій, составъ ихъ значительно измѣнился. Но измѣниться къ лучшему онъ не могъ. Обстоятельства къ тому времени уже были нѣсколько иныя: во главѣ дѣла стояли новые люди, смотрѣвшіе на свои обязанности не такъ, какъ смотрѣли на нихъ люди, составлявшіе Положеніе. Это конечно по осталось безъ вліянія и на составъ мировыхъ учрежденій. Новыя назначенія настолько же отличались отъ прежнихъ, насколько вообще отличалось новое направленіе отъ направленія 1861 года. Такой же характеръ, но еще съ большею легкостью, приняли Губернскія по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствія. Половина изъ ихъ членовъ очевидно всегда стояла за интересы только своего сословія, остальные должны были перейти къ нимъ по первому приказанію. Люди, близко видѣвшіе практику крестьянскаго дѣла, знаютъ, какое огромное различіе было между первоначальною и послѣдующею дѣятельностью губернскихъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствій. Бывали случаи, когда дѣло, уже рѣшенное прежде, перерѣшалоеь подъ вліяніемъ новыхъ соображеній. Результатъ былъ понятенъ. Крестьяне, не могшіе понять этихъ перемѣнъ и частію обнадеженцые ранѣе посредниками, не вѣрили новымъ распорядителямъ и не хотѣли исполнять ихъ распоряженій. Чтобы возстановить порядокъ, потребовались военныя команды, и это давало поводъ еще круче поворачивать дѣло, пугая опасностью тамъ, гдѣ было одно недоразумѣніе.

Когда мы будемъ говорить объ экономическомъ устройствѣ крестьянъ, намъ придется привести примѣры того, какъ рѣшались иногда крестьянскія дѣла и какія происходили отсюда послѣдствія. Но само собою разумѣется, всѣ подобные факты, въ ихъ полномъ объемѣ, могутъ быть оцѣнены только впослѣдствіи, когда изложена будетъ исторія такъ называемыхъ крестьянскихъ бунтовъ, свѣдѣнія о которыхъ доходятъ до насъ теперь только изрѣдка, благодаря печатнымъ судебнымъ процессамъ. Теперь насъ занимаетъ только вопросъ о личномъ составѣ мировыхъ учрежденій, и въ этомъ отно-

шеніи можно принять за фактъ вполнѣ констатированный, что новый составъ далеко уступалъ прежнему не только въ правильности воззрѣній, но и просто въ нравственныхъ качествахъ. Случаи взяточничества, растраты крестьянскихъ денегъ и жестокихъ наказаній обнаруживались все чаще, и въ настоящее время, не смотря на сокращеніе числа посредниковъ, Сенатъ ежегодно предаетъ нѣсколькихъ изъ нихъ суду по обвиненію въ подобныхъ преступленіяхъ. Съ своей стороны администрація постоянно заявляетъ, что она не имѣетъ достаточной власти надъ посредниками, чтобы предупреждать такія дѣйствія, и что безъ подобной власти въ настоящее время ничего невозможно сдѣлать. Для отстраненія этого неудобства и принята мѣра, на которую мы уже указывали. При сокращеніи участковъ губернское присутствіе получило возможность произвольно опредѣлять, кто изъ посредниковъ долженъ уйти. Далѣе, присутствіямъ было дано право устранять собственною властью посредниковъ отъ должности съ представленіемъ сенату. Эти мѣры въ значительной степени подчинили мировыхъ посредниковъ губернскому начальству: но врядъ-ли мы ошибемся, если скажемъ, что такимъ путемъ было извергнуто болѣе порядочныхъ людей, не сходившихся съ начальствомъ въ воззрѣніяхъ, нежели такихъ, устраненіе которыхъ было дѣйствительно необходимо.

Съ другой стороны, открытіе земскихъ и судебно-мировыхъ учрежденій заставило многихъ промѣнять прежнюю свою дѣятельность на новую, представлявшую не только интересъ новизны, но и бо́льшую независимость, такъ какъ данное губернскимъ присутствіямъ право устраненія лишило должность мирового посредника всякой привлекательности въ глазахъ людей, не привыкшихъ видѣть законъ во всякомъ желаніи начальства. Наконецъ въ настоящее время всѣ со дня на день ожидаютъ упраздненія мировыхъ посредниковъ. Объ этомъ постоянно ходатайствуютъ земскія собранія, которыя находятъ расходъ на ихъ содержаніе весьма отяготительнымъ. Объ этомъ хлопочутъ и административныя власти, которыя задумываются только надъ тѣмъ, кому передать власть посредника надъ крестьянами: мировому судьѣ или исправнику. Понятно, что при этомъ и сами мировые посредники смотрятъ на свои обязанности какъ на временныя и остаются только тѣ, кому некуда дѣваться. Впрочемъ и обязанности ихъ представляютъ уже мало интереса. Главная состоитъ въ томъ, чтобъ собирать недоимки съ людей, у которыхъ взять нечего

и которыхъ для успокоенія совѣсти остается только сѣчь, что могутъ съ успѣхомъ исполнять и полицейскіе чиновники.

Мы видѣли, что вопреки проэкту редакціонныхъ коммисій, Положеніе 19 февраля поставило крестьянское общественное управленіе (именно волостное) въ прямую зависимость отъ мировыхъ посредниковъ. Такъ какъ журналы высшихъ государственныхъ учрежденій, разсматривавшихъ проэкты редакціонныхъ коммисій, не обнародованы, то мы не имѣемъ никакихъ указаній, чтобы судить, для чего это было сдѣлано. Можетъ быть просто нужно было создать для крестьянъ начальство по общему правилу; а можетъ быть существовало серьезное убѣжденіе, что безъ руководителя они не сладятъ со своими немногосложными дѣлами. Какъ бы то ни было, начальство и руководители были даны.

Теперь, когда крестьянское управленіе просуществовало уже одиннадцать лѣтъ, мы можемъ по опыту сказать, что это вовсе не было нужно, что зависимость отъ мировыхъ учрежденій принесла крестьянскому управленію не пользу, а вредъ, что въ этой именно зависимость и лежитъ причина темныхъ сторонъ крестьянскаго управленія.

Мы знаемъ, что многіе примутъ слова наши за парадоксъ, многіе сочтутъ насъ идеалистами, или просто назовутъ врагами интеллигенціи и поборниками преобладанія грубыхъ массъ. Но не будучи ни тѣми ни другими, сознавая всѣ права и преимущества интеллигенціи и нисколько не идеализируя нравы нашего крестьянскаго сословія, мы тѣмъ не менѣе самымъ категорическимъ образомъ утверждаемъ, что предоставленное самому себѣ, крестьянское общественное управленіе не представило бы тѣхъ безобразій, какія оно теперь, къ сожалѣнію, представляетъ.

Дѣло въ томъ, что въ волостномъ управленіи посредники представляютъ не интеллигенцію, вліяющую въ силу своего развитія, а начальство, распоряжающееся весьма часто по произволу. Волостное управленіе остается самостоятельнымъ только по имени; вся власть находится въ рукахъ волостного старшины, который долженъ во что бы то ни стало понравиться мировому посреднику. Такимъ образомъ онъ является уже не представителемъ интересовъ крестьянъ, а низшимъ полицейскимъ чиновникомъ. Фактически его не выбираютъ, а назначаютъ. Конечно, еслибы всѣ мировые посредники сознавали свои обязанности, этого бы не было; но мы уже видѣли,

что составъ мировыхъ учрежденій въ послѣднее время далеко не соотвѣтствуетъ своему призванію. Результатомъ этого порядка является то, что волостныя власти, подъ покровительствомъ посредника, которому они съумѣютъ понравиться, дѣлаютъ съ крестьянами все, что угодно. Крестьяне часто не могутъ допроситься позволенія созвать сходъ для учета волостнаго старшины, который, въ то же время, имѣетъ право наказывать этихъ крестьянъ за ослушаніе. Жаловаться на него можно только тому же мировому ему самому, который оставляетъ безъ вниманія всѣ подобныя жалобы, если только старшина ловко собираетъ недоимки и умѣетъ удружить ему самому. Понятно, что сходъ безсиленъ передъ такимъ старшиною. Въ этомъ отношеніи между сельскимъ и волостнымъ управленіемъ большая разница: первое гораздо болѣе самостоятельно, и на него не слышно никакихъ жалобъ; послѣднее поставлено въ прямую зависимость отъ посредника, и нѣтъ человѣка, который бы не указывалъ на бездѣйствіе волостныхъ сходовъ, злоупотребленіе волостныхъ старшинъ, безпечность волостныхъ правленій и т. п.

Намъ случайно попался въ руки одинъ оффиціальный проэктъ, имѣющій отношеніе къ крестьянскому управленію. Люди, составлявшіе этотъ проэктъ, очевидно не заражены особенною любовью къ крестьянскому самоуправленію; они просто проэктировали учредить новое начальствующее лицо изъ мѣстныхъ землевладѣльцевъ. Тѣмъ не менѣе, вотъ что говорится въ этомъ проэктѣ о сельскихъ и волостныхъ должностныхъ лицахъ:

«Въ сельскихъ учрежденіяхъ общественный характеръ, положенный въ основаніи ихъ и самимъ закономъ, сохранился и установился. Рѣшенія сельскихъ сходовъ вообще толковы и практичны и, съ крестьянской точки зрѣнія, вообще справедливы:—дѣло впрочемъ весьма естественное, потому что предметы вѣдомства сходовъ имъ близки и знакомы и что всѣ члены сходовъ связаны близостью и солидарностью интересовъ. Наружная нелѣпость нѣкоторыхъ приговоровъ ничего не значитъ, ибо за этой наружностью, большею частію, скрывается какое нибудь практическое, хотя, конечно, иногда крайне своеобразное основаніе и соображеніе. Общій, замѣченный вездѣ фактъ, что сельскій староста вездѣ человѣкъ, преданный обществу, всегда почти стоитъ за его интересы и что весьма рѣдки случаи злоупотребленія общественнымъ довѣріемъ со стороны старостъ: растраты общественныхъ денегъ, удержанія или утайки вне-

сенныхъ податей или повинностей и т. п. Что касается до волостнаго управленія, то здѣсь замѣтно равнодушіе крестьянъ къ общественнымъ и хозяйственнымъ дѣламъ волости, к, какъ слѣдствіе того, неохотное участіе въ волостныхъ сходахъ; это явленіе не встрѣчается только въ волостяхъ, состоящихъ изъ одного селенія, гдѣ волостные дѣла и интересы сливаются съ сельскими и волостной сходъ съ сельскимъ ... Волостной сходъ (исключая случаевъ, когда волость состоитъ изъ одного селенія) вообще рѣдко собирается въ составѣ болѣе 35-ти человѣкъ, а большею частію 15—20. Эти люди, сошедшіеся изъ разныхъ, часто чуждыхъ одно другому селеній, другъ друга мало знающіе, идущіе на сходъ, какъ на чужую работу, сами часто не зная, о чемъ будутъ разсуждать, дѣйствуютъ большею частію вполнѣ подъ вліяніемъ волостнаго начальства или мироваго посредника. Волостныя старшины, въ руки которыхъ вообще попадаетъ все управленіе, при равнодушіи и неумѣлости волостныхъ сходовъ, по общему признанію, нигдѣ почти не сохраняютъ характера общественныхъ выборныхъ, а дѣлаются начальниками, сельскими чиновниками, со всѣми качествами этого класса. Это тѣмъ болѣе естественно, что уѣздное начальство и мировые посредники преимущественно отличаютъ и поощряютъ тѣхъ изъ старшинъ, которые оказываютъ полицейскую расторопность и усердіе. Почти безусловный произволъ мировыхъ посредниковъ въ удаленіи старшинъ отъ должностей, окончательно уничтожаетъ въ этихъ лицахъ всякое общественное начало. Достаточно взглянуть на журналы губернскихъ присутствій, чтобы убѣдиться въ этомъ. Несомнѣнно, что удаленія эти большею частію дѣлаются по добросовѣстному убѣжденію посредника; но въ этой только добросовѣстности и вся гарантія служебной дѣятельности старшины».

Намъ нечего прибавлять къ этой характеристикѣ современнаго крестьянскаго управленія. Можно только удивляться, какъ лица, писавшія эти въ высшей степени вѣрныя строки, сами не пришли къ убѣжденію въ необходимости устранить отъ крестьянскаго управленія всякое вмѣшательство какихъ бы то ни было властей. Между тѣмъ этого-то именно предположенія мы и не встрѣчаемъ въ проэктахъ правительственныхъ мѣстъ и лицъ, которыя заботятся только о томъ, чтобы усилить власть, а не о томъ, чтобы призвать къ участію въ дѣлѣ лицъ прямо заинтересованныхъ.

IV.

Въ послѣднее время, съ окончаніемъ хозяйственныхъ обязанностей мировыхъ посредниковъ, возникъ вопросъ о совершенномъ ихъ упраздненіи. Вопросъ этотъ обсуждался въ особой коммиссіи и, по слухамъ, будетъ приведенъ къ окончанію въ настоящемъ году. Предполагается оставить лишь столько мировыхъ посредниковъ, сколько необходимо собственно для окончанія хозяйственныхъ дѣлъ, т. е. составленія уставныхъ грамотъ, отвода надѣловъ и т. п. При этомъ всѣ остальныя обязанности, которыя теперь несутъ мировые посредники, должны быть заблаговременно переданы другимъ учрежденіямъ. Но кому именно?—это составляетъ еще вопросъ. Выборъ колеблется между мировымъ судьею и исправникомъ. Нечего говорить, что оба эти исхода представляютъ громадныя неудобства. Административная власть надъ крестьянскими обществами будетъ совершенно несовмѣстна съ положеніемъ мирового судьи и сдѣлаетъ изъ него новаго крестьянскаго начальника, который, пожалуй, будетъ хуже прежняго. О полиціи нечего и говорить; всякій надзоръ перейдетъ здѣсь въ полнѣйшее распоряженіе и сдѣлаетъ крестьянскія общества безправными и безгласными. При такомъ положеніи дѣла, правильный исходъ найти трудно; и по нашему мнѣнію, его вовсе не можетъ быть до тѣхъ поръ, пока вопросъ объ упраздненіи мировыхъ посредниковъ не будетъ сведенъ на вопросъ объ упраздненіи ихъ административныхъ обязанностей. А это не только вполнѣ возможно, но и крайне необходимо. Хозяйственная опека надъ крестьянскими обществами положительно не нужна; въ своихъ хозяйственныхъ дѣлахъ они и теперь обходятся безъ этой опеки. Такимъ образомъ для сельскаго управленія мировой посредникъ вовсе не нуженъ. Жалобы на сельскаго старосту всего лучше было бы предоставить крестьянскому суду, о которомъ впрочемъ мы будемъ говорить особо. Весь вопросъ заключается въ административномъ управленіи, сосредоточенномъ теперь въ волостяхъ. Тутъ, не говоря уже объ общемъ правилѣ, что «мужика безъ начальства оставить не возможно», является дѣйствительно серьезное затрудненіе. Само собою разумѣется, что никакая административная власть не можетъ быть безотвѣтственною. Напротивъ, чѣмъ дѣйствительнѣе

эта отвѣтственность, тѣмъ лучше. Поэтому невозможно создать и безотвѣтственныхъ волостныхъ старшинъ. Съ другой стороны, всякая отвѣтственность передъ лицомъ другого сословія необходимо повлечетъ здѣсь вредныя послѣдствія. Какъ бы ни ограждалъ законъ подвѣдомственныхъ лицъ, при неумѣньи отстаивать свои права, они всегда будутъ находиться въ личномъ подчиненіи. Это мы видимъ не только на волостныхъ старшинахъ, но и на волостныхъ судахъ, которые поставлены по закону вполнѣ самостоятельно и тѣмъ не менѣе являются послушнымъ орудіемъ въ рукахъ посредника и даже исправника, по приказанію котораго они обыкновенно сѣкутъ недоимщиковъ.

Выходъ изъ этой дилеммы мы видимъ единственно въ преобразованіи крестьянскаго волостнаго управленія въ управленіе всесословное, при которомъ мировые посредники не будутъ нужны, такъ какъ крестьяне, сохраняя полную самостоятельность въ хозяйственныхъ дѣлахъ сельскихъ обществъ, будутъ имѣть общее для всѣхъ сословій административное управленіе.

Вопросъ о всесословной волости былъ впервые возбужденъ еще въ 1863 году въ главномъ комитетѣ объ устройствѣ сельскаго состоянія, но дальнѣйшаго движенія не имѣлъ. Правда, въ слѣдующемъ-же году былъ составленъ по этому предмету особый проэктъ, но въ проэктѣ этомъ о преобразованіи крестьянскаго волостнаго управленія не было сказано ни слова; а предлагалось создать еще новую административную единицу, «выть». Но «Вытный сходъ», состоящій изъ выборныхъ всѣхъ сословій, имѣлъ бы, по проэкту, только право опредѣлять расходы на школы, больницы и т. п. Затѣмъ распоряжаться всѣмъ долженъ «Вытный Голова», назначаемый правительствомъ изъ мѣстныхъ землевладѣльцевъ или даже изъ чиновниковъ. Онъ долженъ предсѣдательствовать на вытномъ сходѣ и завѣдывать общественными и хозяйственными дѣлами; онъ долженъ также имѣть значительную полицейскую власть, вслѣдствіе чего волостные старшины и сельскіе старосты обязаны безпрекословно ему повиноваться.

Въ печати защитникомъ всесословной волости явился, какъ извѣстно, кн. А. Васильчиковъ, посвятившій этому предмету нѣсколько страницъ въ своей книгѣ «О самоуправленіи» (т. 1, стр. 276 — 297). Кн. Васильчиковъ предлагаетъ учредить волостные сходы изъ лицъ всѣхъ сословій по общему цензу, причемъ крестьян-

ское общество принималось бы за одно юридическое лицо. Сходы эти, впрочемъ, по мнѣнію кн. Васильчикова, не должны имѣть права сами назначать новыхъ сборовъ и повинностей безъ утвержденія земскихъ собраній и дѣлать раскладку. Главную ихъ обязанность составляютъ выборы членовъ волостнаго управленія, именно волостнаго старшины, церковнаго старосты и отъ 2 до 4 гласныхъ. «Завѣдуя каждый особою частью — старшина исполнительною, староста церковною, а гласные сношеніями съ управою и представительствомъ въ земскомъ собраніи, они въ совокупности составляли бы волостное правленіе, которое вѣдало бы всѣ дѣла, требующія совѣщанія, обсужденія, постановленія....» Назначеніе новыхъ сборовъ, не установленныхъ правительствомъ или земствомъ, допускается, по проэкту кн. Васильчикова, только по большинству двухъ третей всѣхъ лицъ, имѣющихъ право голоса и съ утвержденіемъ земскаго собранія. Раскладка сборовъ и повинностей, установленныхъ законнымъ порядкомъ, производится волостнымъ правленіемъ, по правиламъ и нормамъ, преподаннымъ правительствомъ или земскими управами, причемъ обывателямъ предоставляется право пряносить жалобы на неуравнительность раскладки въ мировые съѣзды.

Вслѣдъ за выходомъ книги кн. Васильчикова, гласный петербургскаго губернскаго собранія, А. П. Платоновъ, возбудилъ тотъ-же вопросъ въ собраніи. Собраніе поручило управѣ выработать проэктъ всесословнаго волостнаго управленія, передать его на заключеніе уѣздныхъ собраній и затѣмъ, въ сессію 1871 года, представить въ губернское собраніе. Проэктъ этотъ выработанъ управою и помѣщенъ въ ея отчетѣ; но управа не успѣла сообщить его уѣзднымъ собраніямъ, вслѣдствіе чего губернское собраніе отложило его обсужденіе до слѣдующей сессіи. По этому проэкту составляются два избирательные схода *общинниковъ* изъ выборныхъ отъ десяти дворовъ и *личныхъ собственниковъ*, владѣющихъ имуществомъ до 2,000 р. Въ послѣднемъ съѣздѣ принимаютъ участіе также уполномоченные отъ мелкихъ собственниковъ и владѣльцы промышленныхъ и торговыхъ заведеній по купеческому свидѣтельству. Сходы избираютъ гласныхъ волостной думы, которая собирается періодически для установленія общихъ правилъ по хозяйственнымъ дѣламъ и утвержденія смѣты и раскладки. Но раскладывать денежныя повинности дума можетъ только на тѣ предметы, которые привлечены къ платежу земскихъ сборовъ и притомъ по оцѣнкѣ земскихъ собраній. Сама она

можетъ установлять только личный сборъ до 3 руб. съ лицъ отъ 18 до 55 лѣтъ; натуральныя повинности она можетъ раскладывать также только по числу мужчинъ отъ 18 до 55 лѣтъ или по числу рабочихъ лошадей. Дума выбираетъ волостнаго голову, въ рукахъ котораго сосредоточивается вся исполнительная власть. Онъ назначаетъ и смѣняетъ волостныхъ врачей, учителей и т. п., участвуетъ во всѣхъ коммиссіяхъ и комитетахъ, распоряжается на пожарахъ, несетъ всѣ полицейскія обязанности, которыя Положеніе 19-го февраля возлагаетъ на волостныхъ старшинъ, свидѣтельствуетъ сдѣлки, запираетъ кабаки и разбираетъ споры и жалобы лицъ, къ нему обращяхся.

Наконецъ, въ московскомъ губернскомъ собраніи былъ заявленъ проэктъ всесословнаго волостнаго управленія гласнымъ М. П. Безобразовымъ. По этому проэкту, сходы составляются изъ всѣхъ жителей села или деревни, платящихъ извѣстную сумму подати (за единицу поземельнаго владѣнія принимается крестьянскій надѣлъ); при этомъ каждый членъ схода имѣетъ столько голосовъ, сколько представляетъ собою платежныхъ единицъ. Выборные отъ каждыхъ 12 голосовъ сельскихъ сходовъ составляютъ окружной сходъ, а этотъ послѣдній избираетъ волостнаго голову и членовъ правленія. Но при этомъ каждый имѣющій 12 голосовъ на сельскомъ или деревенскомъ сходѣ по размѣру поземельнаго владѣнія (т. е. всякій помѣщикъ, имѣющій пространство земли, равное 12 крестьянскимъ надѣламъ) признается по праву членомъ управленія округа. Это управленіе должно вѣдать административныя, судебно-полицейскія и хозяйственныя дѣла волости и, говоря словами проэкта, «замѣнять волостное правленіе, мировыхъ посредниковъ и становыхъ».

Мы не будемъ утомлять читателей подробнымъ разборомъ этихъ проэктовъ и ограничимся немногими замѣчаніями.

Проэктъ правительственный, какъ мы видѣли, не касается волостнаго крестьянскаго устройства; онъ хочетъ только создать новую полицейско-административную власть въ лицѣ вытнаго головы, который притомъ-же не избирается, а назначается. При существующемъ у насъ обиліи полицейскихъ чиновъ, такое лицо представляется намъ по меньшей мѣрѣ не нужнымъ.

По проэкту кн. Васильчикова, волостному управленію предоставляется слишкомъ тѣсный кругъ дѣятельности; такъ, оно не можетъ, безъ утвержденія земскаго собранія, назначать сборовъ и во-

все лишено участія въ ихъ раскладкѣ. Это, по нашему мнѣнію, совершенно несправедливо, такъ какъ мѣстные жители были бы лучшими судьями потребностей и средствъ своей мѣстности. Ихъ указанія могли бы даже съ пользой быть принимаемы въ уѣздныхъ собраніяхъ. Далѣе установленіе одинаковыхъ условій поземельнаго ценза для крестьянскихъ обществъ и личныхъ землевладѣльцевъ не выдерживаетъ критики. Крестьянское общество представляетъ собою не только поземельное владѣніе, но и массу лицъ, до которыхъ преимущественно будутъ касаться всѣ административно-полицейскія обязанности управленія. Кромѣ того, крестьянскія земли, какъ удобныя, всегда облагаются высшимъ сборомъ, нежели помѣщичьи, и натуральныя повинности лежатъ исключительно на крестьянахъ.

Проэктъ петербургской управы страдаетъ тѣмъ-же недостаткомъ, какъ и проэктъ кн. Васильчикова, въ томъ отношеніи, что онъ лишаетъ волостную думу права раскладки сборовъ, дозволяя одинъ личный налогъ, введенію котораго, напротивъ, слѣдовало бы противодѣйствовать. Но главный недостатокъ этого проэкта — отсутствіе коллегіальнаго завѣдыванія дѣлами и предоставленіе волостному головѣ самыхъ несовмѣстныхъ правъ и обязанностей. По проэкту, волостной голова будетъ ловить бѣглыхъ и рѣшать гражданскія дѣла, смѣщать врачей и учителей и закрывать кабаки. Такимъ образомъ это будетъ вмѣстѣ и высшее административное лицо и низшій полицейскій служитель.

О проэктѣ г. Безобразова говорить нечего. Это очевидно старая погудка на новый ладъ. Г. Безобразовъ хочетъ устроить помѣщичье управленіе и передать на его рѣшеніе всѣ дѣла между помѣщиками и крестьянами и всю полицейскую власть.

Читатели видятъ, что во всѣхъ указанныхъ нами проэктахъ, за исключеніемъ проэкта г. Безобразова, написаннаго для особыхъ цѣлей, проглядываетъ нѣкоторое недовѣріе къ проэктируемому учрежденію. Ни министерство внутреннихъ дѣлъ, ни кн. Васильчиковъ, ни петербургская управа не находятъ возможнымъ предоставить волости значительный кругъ дѣятельности, особенно въ дѣлахъ хозяйственныхъ. Они стѣсняютъ и назначеніе расходовъ, и раскладку ихъ, и дѣлаютъ изъ волости чисто исполнительное учрежденіе. Мы думаемъ, что это совершенно напрасно. Назначеніе особыхъ волостныхъ расходовъ во многихъ мѣстностяхъ было бы даже болѣе цѣлесообразно, нежели назначеніе расходовъ уѣздныхъ. У насъ, особенно въ сѣвер-

ной Россіи, есть уѣзды, различныя мѣстности которыхъ имѣютъ совершенно различный экономическій характеръ, такъ что въ одной половинѣ уѣзда жители занимаются лѣстными промыслами или фабричной промышленностью, а изъ другой всѣ уходятъ на заработки. Понятно, что это различіе въ экономическомъ бытѣ обусловливаетъ и различныя потребности. Еще большее вліяніе должно имѣть это различіе на раскладку сборовъ. Уже и теперь во многихъ уѣздныхъ раскладкахъ является необходимость принимать различную цѣнность земли въ различныхъ мѣстностяхъ одного уѣзда. Само собою разумѣется, что участіе здѣсь волостныхъ учрежденій было бы весьма полезно. Они легко могли бы опредѣлять доходность земель по показаніямъ сосѣднихъ владѣльцевъ и такимъ образомъ установили бы прочныя основанія для поземельныхъ раскладокъ. Подобныя попытки были дѣланы и въ земскихъ собраніяхъ, но тамъ этому мѣшаетъ разстояніе уѣзда; для выполненія подобной задачи приходилось прибѣгать къ помощи всѣхъ гласныхъ уѣзда, такъ какъ средства управы для этого недостаточны. Но обязать гласныхъ къ выполненію подобнаго рода распоряженій, невозможно; законъ не только не предписываетъ этого, но строго говоря, даже не допускаетъ. Между тѣмъ, если когда нибудь будетъ допущено привлеченіе къ платежу лицъ всѣхъ сословій, подробное ознакомленіе съ ихъ средствами будетъ еще болѣе необходимо, и выполнить эти требованія будутъ въ состояніи только волостныя учрежденія, такъ какъ уѣздъ окажется слишкомъ крупною единицею для подобныхъ дѣйствій. Что касается мысли кн. Васильчикова о соединеніи въ однихъ и тѣхъ же лицахъ обязанности членовъ волостнаго управленія и гласныхъ собранія, то эта мысль безспорно имѣетъ въ себѣ много вѣрнаго, такъ какъ при подобномъ условіи въ гласные собранія попадутъ только люди, дѣйствительно знающіе свои мѣстные интересы. Но съ другой стороны, это лишитъ участія въ земскомъ собраніи всѣхъ тѣхъ, которые не могутъ, по какимъ либо причинамъ, нести обязанностей по волостному управленію; а это составитъ для земскихъ учрежденій большую потерю. Въ виду этого необходимо допустить избраніе въ гласные и такихъ лицъ, которыя не будутъ членами волостныхъ управленій или просто предоставить нѣкоторымъ членамъ волостныхъ управленій право участія въ земскихъ собраніяхъ, независимо отъ выбора ихъ въ гласные.

Въ административномъ отношеніи территоріальныя волостныя

учрежденія должны, конечно, имѣть бо́льшее значеніе и бо́льшую самостоятельность, нежели теперешнее волостное управленіе, которое *по закону* имѣетъ строго сословный кругъ дѣятельности, а *фактически* представляетъ исполнительную инстанцію всѣхъ властей и всѣхъ вѣдомствъ. Но это значеніе волости совершенно вѣрно указалъ въ своей книгѣ кн. Васильчиковъ. «Силою вещей, говоритъ онъ, волость постепенно превращается въ общую исполнительную инстанцію, гдѣ стекаются всѣ дѣла всѣхъ вѣдомствъ, судебныхъ, земскихъ и административныхъ; всякія распоряженія, откуда бы они ни исходили, пройдя черезъ многосложное письменное и канцелярское производство, сходятся въ волости для приведенія въ дѣйствія, для вызова сторонъ и свидѣтелей, для ареста лицъ и имуществъ, для раскладки повинностей, росписанія дорогъ, взысканія податей, производства работъ и расходовъ. Не смотря на запрещеніе закона, земскія управы во всѣхъ своихъ мѣропріятіяхъ обращаются къ этимъ общественнымъ властямъ, по неимѣнію никакихъ другихъ мѣстныхъ органовъ. Къ нимъ же для облегченія своихъ занятій и сокращенія переѣздовъ обращаются не только общія административныя власти, но и другія сословныя начальства и присутствія, предводители дворянства, дворянскія опеки, посредническія коммиссіи и пр. и пр. Такимъ образомъ учрежденіе, признаваемое по закону общественнымъ, содержаніе коего покрывается однимъ крестьянскимъ сословіемъ, составъ коего зависитъ отъ выбора одного класса мѣстныхъ жителей, становится въ сущности общей, низшей инстанціей, завѣдывающей всѣми дѣлами внутренняго управленія, отъ исправности коей зависитъ и успѣшный ходъ суда, хозяйства и администраціи». (О самоуправленіи, т. I, стр. 277 и 278).

Во всѣхъ указанныхъ случаяхъ, сословное управленіе конечно могло бы съ успѣхомъ замѣнить управленіе крестьянское; кромѣ того оно имѣло бы большій кругъ дѣятельности, такъ какъ принудительная власть его могла бы распространяться на лицъ всѣхъ сословій. Такъ напримѣръ, исполняя распоряженія земскихъ и правительственныхъ учрежденій о взысканіи платежей, починкѣ дорогъ и т. п., оно могло бы обращаться съ своими требованіями не къ однимъ крестьянамъ, а ко всѣмъ плательщикамъ. Но что касается низшихъ полицейскихъ обязанностей, то намъ кажется, что всесословное волостное управленіе могло бы быть отъ нихъ изъято. Обязанность доносить становому приставу о безпорядкахъ или ловить

бѣглыхъ и дезертировъ совершенно не соотвѣтствуетъ значенію этого учрежденія, да оно и совершенно излишне, такъ какъ эти же самыя обязанности законъ возлагаетъ на сельскихъ старостъ и сотскихъ.

Такъ какъ мы не призваны составлять проэктъ волостныхъ учрежденій, то считаемъ излишнимъ входить въ подробности возможной ихъ организаціи. Мы ограничимся только указаніемъ, что волостное управленіе должно быть непремѣнно коллегіальное. Отдать завѣдываніе хозяйственными и административными дѣлами волости въ руки одного лица, какъ это предлагаетъ петербургская управа, было бы весьма рискованно, и врядъ-ли принесло бы много пользы. Что же касается тѣхъ элементовъ, которые должны войти въ волостныя учрежденія, то мы можемъ только выразить желаніе, чтобы законодательство не создавало здѣсь того искусственнаго преобладанія одного сословія, которое оказалось въ учрежденіяхъ земскихъ. Мы конечно не настаиваемъ на томъ, чтобы волостное управленіе было сосредоточено въ рукахъ крестьянъ и вполнѣ сознаемъ преимущество людей образованныхъ передъ людьми, не знающими грамоты, но мы не можемъ не видѣть различія между значеніемъ избирателей и избираемыхъ. Крестьяне сами охотно выберутъ во всякую должность человѣка образованнаго; но пусть его выберутъ они, потому что они составляютъ главную платежную силу государства. Мы знаемъ, что многіе видятъ въ этомъ опасность. Г. Безобразовъ, излагая свой проэктъ, прямо заявляетъ, напримѣръ, что онъ опасается, что «невѣжественная масса подавитъ единицы болѣе образованныя», такъ какъ «грубая масса, слишкомъ часто пьяная, подъ навѣтомъ нѣкотораго рода подстрѣкателей, исказившихъ ея пониманіе, когда она преобладаетъ, бываетъ невыносима своею тупостью и упорствомъ». Но факты не оправдываютъ такихъ опасеній. Напротивъ, они показываютъ, что учрежденія, въ которыхъ допущено искусственное преобладаніе высшихъ сословій, менѣе способны охранять общіе интересы, нежели такія учрежденія, въ которыхъ представительство распредѣлено сообразно фактическому преобладанію. Въ нашихъ земскихъ учрежденіяхъ законъ установилъ въ большинствѣ уѣздовъ преобладаніе помѣщичьяго сословія, и мы видимъ, что эти помѣщичьи собранія тратятъ земскія средства только на жалованье и весьма скупы на производительные расходы. Въ 1870 году вышелъ одинъ томъ «Трудовъ податной коммиссіи», посвященный разсмотрѣнію земскихъ смѣтъ и раскладокъ. Въ немъ приведены число-

выя данныя по всѣмъ губерніямъ, въ которыхъ введены земскія учрежденія, и мы видимъ, что за то время, когда собирались эти данныя, дѣятельность тѣхъ земскихъ собраній, гдѣ преобладали гласные отъ крестьянъ, была гораздо цѣлесообразнѣе и благотворнѣе. Въ примѣръ можно привести дѣло народнаго образованія. По свѣдѣніямъ податной коммиссіи, относящимся къ 1867 и частію 1868 и 1869 годамъ, только *въ восемьнадцати* уѣздахъ было назначено на народное образованіе болѣе 6,000 р. въ годъ; изъ этихъ уѣздовъ, *въ одиннадцати*, гласные изъ крестьянъ преобладаютъ надъ гласными отъ личныхъ землевладѣльцевъ и отъ города, вмѣстѣ взятыми, *въ трехъ* они преобладаютъ только надъ гласными отъ личныхъ землевладѣльцевъ; *въ одномъ*, напротивъ, личные владѣльцы преобладаютъ надъ крестьянами и *въ трехъ* гласные отъ личныхъ владѣльцевъ составляютъ рѣшительное большинство въ собраніи. Затѣмъ *въ восьмидесяти пяти* уѣздахъ на народное образованіе не назначено ничего; изъ этихъ уѣздовъ, *въ шестидесяти пяти* гласные отъ землевладѣльцевъ составляютъ рѣшительное большинство, *въ тринадцати* ихъ больше, нежели гласныхъ отъ крестьянъ, *въ двухъ* — крестьянъ больше, но они не составляютъ рѣшительнаго большинства, которое зависитъ отъ городскихъ гласныхъ, и только *въ пяти*—гласные отъ крестьянъ имѣютъ рѣшительное преобладаніе *). Эти цифры говорятъ лучше всякихъ разсужденій, и зная ихъ, нѣтъ надобности даже припоминать различныхъ несправедливостей, которыя дѣлаются именно тамъ, гдѣ личнымъ землевладѣльцамъ дано искусственное преобладаніе.

Конечно, и въ тѣхъ собраніяхъ, гдѣ личные землевладѣлцы не имѣютъ преобладанія, иниціатива полезныхъ мѣръ принадлежитъ имъ; но въ томъ-то и дѣло, что предложенія лучшихъ личностей здѣсь чаще встрѣчаютъ поддержку, нежели тамъ, гдѣ преобладаетъ сословіе личныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, и гдѣ большинство имѣетъ въ виду только сословные интересы.

Само собою разумѣется, что при образованіи территоріальныхъ волостей, крестьянское самоуправленіе не должно быть нарушено. Но мы уже видѣли, что оно сосредоточено не въ волости, а въ сель-

*) Тѣмъ изъ нашихъ читателей, которые желаютъ познакомиться съ этимъ вопросомъ ближе, мы предложимъ обратиться къ статьѣ «Земскіе итоги», написанной авторомъ настоящаго очерка и помѣщенной въ 1870 году въ «Вѣстникѣ Европы».

скомъ обществѣ. Хотя Положеніе 19-го февраля и предусматриваетъ хозяйственныя дѣла, которыя подлежатъ вѣденію волостнаго схода, но въ дѣйствительности такихъ дѣлъ нѣтъ и не можетъ быть, такъ какъ крестьяне отдѣльныхъ селеній не имѣютъ общихъ хозяйственныхъ интересовъ, отдѣльныхъ отъ лицъ другихъ сословій.

Затѣмъ всякая власть мировыхъ посредниковъ надъ волостными учрежденіями падаетъ сама собою и является полная возможность упразднить ихъ, какъ только хозяйственныя отношенія крестьянъ къ ихъ бывшимъ помѣщикамъ будутъ окончательно опредѣлены. Остается только нерѣшеннымъ вопросъ объ отвѣтственности сельскихъ должностныхъ лицъ, но въ этомъ отношеніи всего лучше было бы обратиться къ первоначальной мысли редакціонныхъ коммиссій объ устройствѣ особыхъ крестьянскихъ судовъ, къ которымъ мы сейчасъ и перейдемъ.

V.

Вопросъ объ устройствѣ крестьянскихъ судовъ былъ однимъ изъ самыхъ трудныхъ вопросовъ, какіе пришлось разрѣшать составителямъ Положенія 19 февраля. Невозможность подчинить возникающіе въ средѣ крестьянъ юридическія отношенія общему гражданскому кодексу и общимъ формамъ тогдашняго судопроизводства, была для редакціонныхъ коммисій совершенно ясна. Они были поставлены въ необходимость установить и новыя начала, и новыя формы, которыя бы соотвѣтствовали потребностямъ крестьянъ и ихъ тогдашнему положенію. Практика указывала въ этомъ отношеніи на сельскія и волостныя расправы и приказы, существовавшія у крестьянъ государственныхъ и удѣльныхъ; но перенести эти учрежденія цѣликомъ въ новое положеніе, значило подчинить выходящихъ изъ крѣпостной зависимости крестьянъ той же административной опекѣ и тѣмъ же бюрократическимъ формамъ, какія существовали въ то время у крестьянъ другихъ наименованій. Этого редакціонныя коммисіи естественно не могли желать. Губернскіе комитеты точно также были противъ такого заимствованія; но они въ свою очередь обнаруживали стремленіе подчинить крестьянскіе суды наблюденію помѣщиковъ, что поставило бы крестьянъ въ прямую зависимость отъ ихъ прежнихъ владѣльцевъ, и слѣдовательно сдѣлало бы невозможными сво-

бодныя экономическія отношенія. А это, какъ извѣстно, всего менѣе согласовалось со взглядами редакціонныхъ коммисій. Они рѣшились избѣжать обоихъ этихъ золъ, предоставивъ крестьянскому сословію полную самостоятельность въ дѣлѣ суда. Но въ тоже время они не считали возможнымъ предоставить право этого суда лицамъ, принадлежащимъ исключительно къ одному сельскому обществу съ тяжущимися, что по ихъ мнѣнію сдѣлало бы судей постоянными чиновниками и могло бы повести къ злоупотребленіямъ. Результатомъ этихъ соображеній былъ проэктъ учрежденія волостныхъ судовъ, который вошелъ въ Положеніе 19 февраля, впрочемъ съ весьма важнымъ измѣненіемъ въ опредѣленіи цѣны исковъ, подлежащихъ разсмотрѣнію этихъ судовъ. Мы считаемъ не лишнимъ напомнить главныя статьи Положенія, относящіяся къ этому предмету:

Для составленія волостнаго суда избирается ежегодно волостнымъ сходомъ (или сельскимъ, если волость состоитъ изъ одного сельскаго общества) отъ четырехъ до двѣнадцати очередныхъ судей. Опредѣленіе числа сихъ выборныхъ и установленіе между ними очереди предоставляется сходу.

Присутствіе суда должно состоять не менѣе какъ изъ трехъ судей. Въ тѣхъ волостяхъ, гдѣ уже существуетъ учрежденный по мѣстнымъ обычаямъ судъ, тамъ онъ сохраняется, но съ тѣмъ, чтобы въ избраніи судей участвовала вся волость. (Общ. Полож. о кр. ст. 93 и прим.).

Волостной судъ собирается черезъ каждыя двѣ недѣли по возможности и удобству по воскресеньямъ; въ случаѣ же нужды, созывается волостнымъ старшиною въ другіе дни и чаще (ст. 94).

Волостной судъ рѣшаетъ окончательно всѣ споры и тяжбы, собственно между крестьянами цѣною до *ста* рублей включительно *), какъ о недвижимомъ и движимомъ имуществахъ въ предѣлахъ крестьянскаго надѣла, такъ и по займамъ, покупкамъ, продажамъ и всякаго рода сдѣлкамъ и обязательствамъ; а равно и дѣла по вознагражденію за убытки и ущербъ, крестьянскому имуществу причиненные (ст. 96).

Независимо отъ сего, окончательному рѣшенію волостнаго суда подлежатъ всѣ, безъ ограниченія цѣною иска, между крестьянами споры и тяжбы, которыя тяжущіяся стороны предоставятъ рѣшеніе волостнаго суда. Споры и тяжбы, въ коихъ, кромѣ крестьянъ, участвуютъ и постороннія лица, могутъ быть также, по желанію тяжущихся сторонъ, представляемы окончательному рѣшенію волостнаго суда (ст. 98).

Волостной судъ разбираетъ и приговариваетъ къ наказанію крестьянъ, принадлежащихъ къ волости, за маловажные проступки, когда оные совершены въ предѣлахъ самой волости противъ лицъ, принадлежащихъ ком у же состоянію, и безъ участія лицъ другихъ состояній, а также, когда означенные проступки не находятся въ связи съ уголовными преступленіями,

*) По проэкту редакціонныхъ коммисій до *трехъ сотъ* рублей.

кои подлежатъ разсмотрѣнію общихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ *). Если въ совершеніи проступка участвуютъ крестьяне, принадлежащіе къ другой волости, то виновныхъ приговариваетъ къ наказанію судъ той волости, въ предѣлахъ коей проступокъ совершенъ. Лица другихъ состояній, противъ коихъ совершены крестьянами проступки, могутъ, буде пожелаютъ, отыскивать слѣдующаго имъ удовлетворенія въ волостномъ судѣ, или въ общихъ учрежденіяхъ (ст. 101 и примѣч.).

Волостной судъ властенъ, по таковымъ проступкамъ, приговаривать виновныхъ: къ общественнымъ работамъ—до *шести* дней, или къ денежному взысканію до *трехъ* рублей, или къ аресту—до *семи* дней, или, наконецъ, лицъ, отъ тѣлеснаго наказанія не изъятыхъ, къ наказанію розгами до *двадцати* ударовъ. Назначеніе мѣры наказанія за каждый проступокъ предоставляется усмотрѣнію самого суда. Впредь до изданія общаго сельскаго судебнаго устава, волостные суды, а также волостные старшины и сельскіе старосты, при опредѣленіи, на точномъ основаніи статей 64, 86 и 102 сего Положенія, мѣры наказаній за маловажныя преступленія и проступки, примѣняются къ правиламъ, по сему предмету установленнымъ въ уставѣ сельскомъ, судебномъ для государственныхъ крестьянъ (уставъ благоустройства въ казенныхъ селеніяхъ статьи 440 и 536, ст. 102 и примѣч.).

При разсмотрѣніи тяжебнаго дѣла въ самомъ волостномъ судѣ судьи, по выслушаніи тяжущихся сторонъ, стараются склонить ихъ къ примиренію. Если стороны примирились, то должны въ тоже время объявить, что одна уступаетъ, или чѣмъ вознаграждаетъ другую, и какимъ образомъ должно послѣдовать удовлетвореніе. Если тяжущіяся стороны не пойдутъ на мировую сдѣлку, то судъ рѣшитъ дѣло, либо на основаніи заявленныхъ въ волостномъ правленіи сдѣлокъ и обязательствъ если таковыя были заключены между спорящими сторонами, либо, при отсутствіи таковыхъ сдѣлокъ, на основаніи мѣстныхъ обычаевъ и правилъ, принятыхъ въ крестьянскомъ быту. Какъ условія мировой сдѣлки, такъ и рѣшеніе волостнаго суда, записываются въ имѣющуюся при волостномъ правленіи книгу, съ означеніемъ именъ истца и отвѣтчика (ст. 107).

Всѣ дѣла въ волостномъ судѣ производятся словесно. Волостной старшина и сельскій староста не должны вмѣшиваться въ производство волостнаго суда и не присутствуютъ при обсужденіи дѣлъ (ст. 104 и 105).

Приговоры волостнаго суда, какъ по спорамъ и тяжбамъ, такъ и по проступкамъ приводятся въ исполненіе сельскими старостами или, если волость состоитъ изъ одного сельскаго общества, помощникомъ волостнаго старшины, подъ наблюденіемъ старшины и за общею ихъ отвѣтственностію (ст. 100).

Положеніе 19 февраля не указало на право обжалованія рѣшеній волостныхъ судовъ; но въ 1866 году изданы правила, установляющія порядокъ отмѣны этихъ рѣшеній мировымъ съѣздомъ какъ по жалобамъ тяжущихся и подсудимыхъ, такъ и по представленіямъ мировыхъ посредниковъ. Но подобная отмѣна допускается только въ

*) На основаніи мѣстныхъ положеній, волостные суды присуждаютъ къ наказанію также за упорство въ неплатежѣ податей.

тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда судъ приметъ къ своему разбирательству дѣло, ему неподсудное, или нарушитъ правила, постановленныя въ 96, 102 и 107 ст. Положенія. Въ первомъ случаѣ съѣздъ передаетъ дѣло въ подлежащее учрежденіе, во второмъ предоставляетъ суду постановить новое рѣшеніе.

Кромѣ волостнаго суда, крестьянамъ предоставляется обращаться, по взаимному согласію, къ третейскому суду. Рѣшеніе третейскаго суда немедленно записываются въ особую книгу и жалобы на нихъ не могутъ быть приносимы.

Въ проэктѣ редакціонныхъ коммисій предположено было также учредить особые участковые суды подъ предсѣдательствомъ мироваго посредника для разбора жалобъ, приносимыхъ крестьянами на сельскихъ и волостныхъ должностныхъ лицъ; но къ сожалѣнію это весьма раціональное предположеніе не нашло поддержки. Извѣстно, что на основаніи Положенія, подобныя жалобы разрѣшаются мировымъ посредникомъ и мировымъ съѣздомъ.

Практика волостныхъ судовъ вызываетъ весьма многочисленныя жалобы, которыя сдѣлались особенно настоятельны со времени введенія судебно-мировыхъ учрежденій, когда выгоды и невыгоды этихъ судовъ пришлось сравнивать не съ прежними уѣздными судами и полицейскими управленіями, а съ судомъ, основаннымъ на здравыхъ юридическихъ началахъ. Нужно признать, что эти жалобы большею частію вполнѣ основательны, ибо волостные суды, какъ по отношенію къ дѣятельности, такъ и по отношенію къ формамъ судопроизводства, представляютъ такія черты, ненормальность которыхъ въ настоящее время совершенно очевидна.

Мы видѣли, что Положеніе 19 февраля подчинило вѣдѣнію волостныхъ судовъ, между прочимъ, разсмотрѣніе «маловажныхъ проступковъ крестьянъ, совершонныхъ въ предѣлахъ волости, противъ лицъ, принадлежащихъ къ тому же состоянію». По соображенію этого правила съ уставомъ о благоустройствѣ въ крестьянскихъ селеніяхъ, на которыя въ Положеніи также сдѣлана ссылка, оказывается, что къ числу упомянутыхъ маловажныхъ поступковъ, надо отнести и кражи до 30 рублей, если онѣ не соединены съ особыми увеличивающими вину обстоятельствами (взломомъ, и т. п.). Установленіе подобной подсудности въ 1861 году было совершенно понятно, такъ какъ для этихъ преступленій существовала тогда особая полицейская расправа, для лицъ всѣхъ податныхъ сословій. Но въ настоящее

время, когда эти дѣла переданы общему суду мироваго судьи, такое исключеніе представляется въ высшей степени ненормальнымъ. Изъ него вытекаютъ напримѣръ слѣдующіе случаи:

Мѣщанинъ и крестьянинъ, остановившись на постояломъ дворѣ у крестьянина, украли у него (каждый отдѣльно) первый 50 копѣекъ, второй 29 рублей. Первый судится у мироваго судьи и можетъ быть заключенъ на годъ въ тюрьму, послѣдній судится въ волостномъ судѣ и подлежитъ наказанію розгами, или, въ случаѣ примѣненія къ нему ареста, не можетъ быть заключенъ болѣе какъ на семь дней.

Одинъ и тотъ же крестьянинъ, если онъ украдетъ 29 рублей у сосѣда крестьянина, — подлежитъ разбору волостнаго суда, если же украдетъ 50 копѣекъ у живущаго въ той же деревнѣ мѣщанина, подлежитъ суду мироваго судьи. Въ первомъ случаѣ, какъ мы уже показали, онъ можетъ быть посаженъ подъ арестъ лишь до семи дней, въ послѣднемъ долженъ просидѣть въ тюрьмѣ не менѣе полугода.

Крестьянинъ, укравшій въ селѣ у крестьянина же 29 р., судится въ волостномъ судѣ; но если онъ у того-же лица украдетъ 50 копѣекъ, пріѣхавши вмѣстѣ съ нимъ въ городъ, онъ уже подлежитъ суду мироваго судьи, т. е. опять таки семидневный арестъ сопоставляется съ полугодовымъ заключеніемъ въ тюрьмѣ.

Ненормальность такого порядка вещей очевидна.

Въ отношеніи наказаній за уголовные проступки, Положеніе 19 февраля не опредѣляетъ никакихъ градацій. Обѣщанный «общій сельскій судебный уставъ» не изданъ до настоящаго времени, а «уставъ о благоустройствѣ въ казенныхъ селеніяхъ» весьма мало примѣнимъ и вовсе не извѣстенъ крестьянамъ. Отсюда обычнымъ наказаніемъ являются постоянно розги. Наказаніе это было оставлено въ проэктѣ редакціонныхъ коммисій впредь до общей отмѣны тѣлесныхъ наказаній. Вскорѣ наказанія эти были отмѣнены, но на волостные суды эта отмѣна не распространена.

Что касается гражданскихъ дѣлъ, то здѣсь встрѣчается полное отсутствіе какихъ бы то ни было указаній на соблюденіе самыхъ необходимыхъ правилъ судопроизводства, т. е. вызова сторонъ, постановленія заочныхъ рѣшеній, и т. п. Поэтому отвѣтчикъ можетъ легко уклониться отъ суда, а судъ не можетъ постановить заочнаго рѣшенія. Кромѣ того, волостной судъ не имѣетъ никакихъ средствъ слѣдить за исполненіемъ своего рѣшенія. Такимъ образомъ исполненіе это зависитъ отъ старосты и старшины, на которыхъ крестьяне очень

часто боятся приносить жалобы, особенно если эти лица находятся подъ покровительствомъ мироваго посредника. Результатомъ этого порядка вещей является то, что крестьяне большею частью избѣгаютъ обращаться съ исками по письменнымъ документамъ въ волостные суды. Чтобы обойти законъ, они объявляютъ намѣренно цѣну иска выше ста рублей, хоть имѣютъ документъ на десять, и такимъ образомъ вынуждаютъ иногда мировыхъ судей дѣлать постановленія по дѣламъ, подлежащимъ вѣдѣнію волостныхъ судовъ. Если же это оказывается невозможно, то они продаютъ свои иски, съ значительною уступкою, лицамъ другихъ состояній.

Кромѣ того, раздаются жалобы на равнодушіе и даже недобросовѣстность самихъ судей. Назначать судьямъ жалованье крестьянскія общества обыкновенно не могутъ по неимѣнію къ тому средствъ. Поэтому обязанность судьи часто возлагаютъ въ видѣ наказанія на недоимщиковъ. При такихъ условіяхъ судьи, обязанные приходить въ праздничный день за десять или пятнадцать верстъ, нерѣдко относятся къ дѣламъ совершенно равнодушно, подчиняясь мнѣнію писаря, а иногда, особенно въ дѣлахъ объ обидахъ, требуютъ съ виновныхъ угощенія.

Наконецъ, волостные суды почти повсемѣстно находятся подъ вліяніемъ волостныхъ старшинъ, мировыхъ посредниковъ и даже полицейскихъ властей. Хотя Положеніе 19 февраля старалось устранить это явленіе, но благодаря зависимости каждаго крестьянина отъ волостнаго старшины, а этого послѣдняго отъ мироваго посредника— зависимости, которая, какъ мы уже говорили, установлена вопреки проэкту редакціонныхъ коммисій — волостной судъ при разборѣ дѣлъ о проступкахъ крестьянъ находится часто въ полномъ подчиненіи у названныхъ лицъ. Особенно это замѣтно въ отношеніи наказаній за неплатежъ податей. Волостной судъ является здѣсь простымъ орудіемъ волостного старшины, посредника и исправника, которые прямо назначаютъ, кого слѣдуетъ сѣчь. Не послушаться ихъ судьи не могутъ потому, что ихъ собственная судьба зависитъ отъ тѣхъ же лицъ. Вслѣдствіе этого, возмутительныя сцены сѣченія за неплатежъ податей сдѣлались обыкновеннымъ явленіемъ, и въ печати нерѣдко разсказываются подробно подвиги того или другого посредника или исправника, которые ѣздятъ по волостямъ съ обычнымъ крикомъ «пори въ мою голову». Что эти разсказы не преувеличены, доказа-

тельствомъ служитъ уже то, что они остаются безъ опроверженія, не смотря на указаніе мѣстностей и фамилій.

VI.

Указанные недостатки волостныхъ судовъ, конечно, должны были вызвать жалобы и порицанія, и дѣйствительно вызвали ихъ. Порицанія эти раздаются и въ печати, и въ земскихъ собраніяхъ, и въ административныхъ сферахъ. При этомъ противники волостныхъ судовъ не довольствуются требованіемъ исправленія замѣченныхъ ими недостатковъ; они желаютъ совершенной отмѣны крестьянскаго суда или, что одно и тоже, подчиненія его, въ аппеляціонномъ порядкѣ, мировымъ судьямъ. Въ этомъ смыслѣ сдѣлано нѣсколько заявленій въ печати и состоялось нѣсколько земскихъ ходатайствъ. Затѣмъ высказывались также мнѣнія, что волостной судъ долженъ быть всесословный; но что слѣдуетъ разумѣть подъ такимъ низшимъ всесословнымъ судомъ, этого высказано не было.

Въ виду этихъ мнѣній, пріобрѣвшихъ, кажется, гражданство въ большинствѣ нашего общества, мы должны прежде всего разсмотрѣть, какое значеніе имѣютъ наши волостные суды и возможна ли ихъ замѣна какими бы то ни было общими судами.

Если мы будемъ видѣть въ волостномъ судѣ только судъ дешевый и удобный по своей близости, то, конечно, должны будемъ склониться къ тому мнѣнію, что дешевизна и удобство не могутъ выкупать недостатковъ, сопряженныхъ съ необходимостью организовать составъ этихъ судовъ изъ людей неразвитыхъ и нетолько незнакомыхъ съ юридическими началами, но и не имѣющихъ возможности съ ними познакомиться. Въ такомъ случаѣ необходимость совершеннаго уничтоженія волостныхъ судовъ будетъ очевидна. Къ тому же результату мы должны будемъ придти, если признаемъ за волостными судами только значеніе сословной привилегіи. Не будучи вообще сторонниками сословныхъ привиллегій и сословнаго разобщенія, мы особенно не желали бы допустить ихъ въ дѣлѣ суда, и конечно охотно высказали бы убѣжденіе въ необходимости замѣны крестьянскихъ судовъ судомъ всесословнымъ.

Но значеніе волостныхъ судовъ заключается вовсе не въ ихъ сословности и не въ ихъ дешевизнѣ и удобствѣ. Суды эти существуютъ

благодаря особымъ условіямъ экономическаго быта крестьянъ, порождающимъ особыя юридическія отношенія, которыя не предусмотрѣны и не могутъ быть предусмотрѣны въ нашемъ гражданскомъ кодексѣ.

При общинномъ землевладѣніи недвижимое имущество крестьянина составляетъ общественную собственность, а при участковомъ— семейную. Точно также семейную собственность составляетъ и большая часть движимаго имущества крестьянъ, т. е. рабочій скотъ, земледѣльческія орудія, и т. п. Самыя семейныя отношенія носятъ печать патріархальности, которая придаетъ особый характеръ нетолько имущественнымъ отношеніямъ членовъ семьи между собою, но и отношеніямъ ихъ къ постороннимъ лицамъ, живущимъ въ семьѣ. Этими основными началами опредѣляется большая часть имущественныхъ отношеній въ крестьянскомъ быту, а между тѣмъ въ общемъ законодательствѣ нормы для подобныхъ отношеній вовсе не установлены. Винить законодательство здѣсь нельзя, потому что воплощеніе этихъ совершенно своеобразныхъ началъ въ правильномъ гражданскомъ кодексѣ представляетъ непреодолимыя трудности. Юридическая наука и юридическая практика вырабатывались вѣками и въ основѣ ихъ положеній всегда стояла личная собственность и формальный договоръ. Чтобы выработать нормы для другого рода отношеній, нужно стать на совершенно другую точку зрѣнія и начать всю работу съ изнова, а для этого нужны не годы и, пожалуй, не десятки лѣтъ.

Съ другой стороны, подчинить возникающія въ крестьянскомъ быту имущественныя отношенія общимъ юридическимъ нормамъ положительно невозможно. Если вы не признаете права отца семейства и *словесно* распорядитесь передъ смертью его имуществомъ, вы сдѣлаете величайшую несправедливость и оскорбите народное чувство; если вы раздѣлите имущество крестьянина между его наслѣдниками по закону, вы уничтожите его хозяйство и разорите всю семью. Въ подобныхъ случаяхъ приходится рѣшать вопросъ не о томъ, кто долженъ быть собственникомъ имущества, а кто долженъ быть хозяиномъ въ домѣ и распорядителемъ въ семьѣ. Такое установленіе правъ наслѣдства нельзя ввести ни въ какой кодексъ, такъ какъ оно опредѣляется иногда не степенью родства, не правомъ на родовое имущество (напримѣръ, дошедшее по матери одному изъ единокровныхъ братьевъ) и даже не лѣтами, а иногда личными качествами и пользованіемъ надѣломъ, предоставленіе котораго зависитъ уже не отъ суда, а отъ сельскаго общества. Тоже самое встрѣчается и при семейныхъ

раздѣлахъ, въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда дѣлится не наслѣдство, а общее имущество. Основаніемъ раздѣла служитъ не поколѣнное представительство, а число душъ, отходящихъ къ каждому изъ раздѣлившихся, и число податей, причитающихся на эти души. Эти разсчеты усложняются иногда счетами по воспитанію малолѣтнихъ, по отбыванію рекрутской повинности, по обработкѣ поземельнаго надѣла и т. п. Обработка поземельнаго надѣла, сдача его въ аренду, соглашеніе относительно уплаты податей и т. п., точно также представляютъ свои особенности, измѣняющіяся по мѣстнымъ условіямъ и не имѣющія ничего сходнаго съ тѣми нормами договоровъ, которыя предусмотрѣны въ законѣ. Даже личный наемъ въ крестьянской семьѣ очень часто имѣетъ совершенно особый характеръ, такъ какъ наемникъ часто является чѣмъ-то среднимъ между батракомъ и пріемышемъ.

Примѣнить къ подобнымъ дѣламъ общій кодексъ положительно невозможно. Не говоря уже о вредѣ такого насильственнаго нарушенія сложившихся вѣками экономическихъ условій, въ общемъ кодексѣ нельзя будетъ подобрать достаточно опредѣленій даже для поверхностнаго разрѣшенія возникающихъ вопросовъ.

Отсюда-то и вытекаетъ необходимость установленія для подобныхъ дѣлъ особыхъ судовъ, рѣшенія которыхъ основывались бы не на формальномъ примѣненіи X тома Свода Законовъ, а на полномъ знаніи мѣстныхъ условій, правилъ и обычаевъ. Составители Положенія 19-го февраля очень хорошо поняли это и прямо указали на такое значеніе волостныхъ судовъ, исключивъ изъ ихъ юрисдикціи дѣла, вытекающія изъ такого поземельнаго имущества крестьянъ, которое не входитъ въ общину и предоставивъ судамъ рѣшать иски и тяжбы «на основаніи мѣстныхъ обычаевъ и правилъ, принятыхъ въ крестьянскомъ быту». Руководствуясь этою необходимостью, редакціонныя коммиссіи и настаивали на организаціи волостныхъ судовъ изъ лицъ крестьянскаго сословія, такъ какъ обычаи и правила крестьянскаго быта извѣстны вполнѣ однимъ крестьянамъ.

Несмотря на всѣ недостатки крестьянскихъ судовъ, мы и теперь скажемъ, что суды эти, конечно, съ соотвѣтственными измѣненіями въ ихъ организаціи, положительно необходимы для тѣхъ дѣлъ, на которыя мы только что указали. Мы даже думаемъ, что эти дѣла должны подлежать ихъ рѣшенію независимо отъ цѣны иска, или покрайней мѣрѣ цѣна эта должна быть возвышена до того размѣра, какой предполагали установить редакціонныя коммиссіи, т. е. до 300

рублей. При этомъ условіи почти всѣ тяжбы и иски, вытекающіе изъ особенныхъ условій крестьянскаго быта, разрѣшались бы на основаніи обычаевъ. Исключеніе составили бы тѣ случаи, гдѣ въ имущество войдутъ денежные капиталы, цѣнныя зданія и т. п., и гдѣ слѣдовательно самое свойство имуществъ обусловливаетъ общія юридическія отношенія.

Суды, которые должны брдутъ разрѣшать споры и иски па основаніи обычнаго права, необходимо будутъ крестьянскіе, т. е. будутъ существовать для однихъ крестьянъ и для тѣхъ лицъ, которые захотятъ къ нимъ обратиться въ случаѣ споровъ съ крестьянами, какъ это установлено и относительно теперешнихъ волостныхъ судовъ. Никакого общесословнаго обычнаго суда быть не можетъ, потому что рѣшать на основаніи обычаевъ дѣла лицъ, воспитавшихся на началахъ формальнаго права, также невозможно, какъ невозможно подчинять общимъ нормамъ закона дѣла, возникающія изъ особыхъ условій крестьянскаго быта. Семьѣ личнаго собственника точно также чуждо установленіе наслѣдства по обычаямъ крестьянъ, какъ семьѣ крестьянина — раздѣлъ по правиламъ, установленнымъ X томомъ Свода Законовъ.

Слить тѣ и другіе суды, т. е. суды общіе и обычные, въ одномъ учрежденіи, напримѣръ въ судебно мировомъ институтѣ, точно также невозможно. Вопервыхъ, это значитъ заставить одного и того же человѣка рѣшать одни дѣла однимъ способомъ, а другія другимъ, что очень неудобно; а вовторыхъ, тогда можно будетъ допускать въ мировые судьи только людей, знающихъ крестьянскіе обычаи, а это знаніе нельзя ни провѣрить экзаменомъ, ни доказать дипломомъ. Единственнымъ доказательствомъ такого знанія могъ бы быть выборъ мировыхъ судей самими крестьянами. Но поставить этотъ выборъ въ зависимость отъ лицъ одного сословія было бы несправедливо, а рисковать назначеніемъ лицъ, незнакомыхъ съ мѣстными обычаями, значитъ рисковать самымъ существованіемъ суда, ибо безъ знанія этихъ обычаевъ существованіе крестьянскаго суда немыслимо. При этомъ слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что знаніе народныхъ обычаевъ далеко не такая легкая вещь, какъ это кажется; до настоящаго времени оно не было вполнѣ доступно даже людямъ, которые нарочно изслѣдовали ихъ. Для того, чтобы усвоить себѣ всѣ стороны крестьянскаго быта, нужно нетолько жить близко отъ крестьянъ, но и имѣть съ ними общіе интересы. Этимъ условіямъ иногда могутъ еще,

пожалуй, удовлетворить сельскій учитель, священникъ, въ послѣднее время волостной писарь и даже мировой посредникъ, если онъ пробылъ въ должности много лѣтъ и вникалъ въ дѣла; но никакъ не всякій помѣщикъ, имѣющій положенное количество десятинъ земли и дипломъ изъ кадетскаго корпуса.

Настаивая такимъ образомъ на необходимости особыхъ обычныхъ судовъ для разрѣшенія большей части гражданскихъ дѣлъ, возникающихъ между крестьянами, мы при этомъ вовсе не признаемъ необходимости сохранить за этими судами всю ту юрисдикцію, какая установлена Положеніемъ 19 февраля для судовъ волостныхъ. Положеніе 19 февраля не дѣлаетъ никакого различія между дѣлами, для разрѣшенія которыхъ необходимо знаніе мѣстныхъ обычаевъ, каковы, напримѣръ, крестьянскіе раздѣлы, и дѣлами, имѣющими общее значеніе, каковы дѣла о займахъ, обезпеченныхъ письменными документами. Кромѣ того, Положеніе относитъ, какъ мы уже видѣли, къ юрисдикціи волостныхъ судовъ и нѣкоторыя уголовныя дѣла, гдѣ рѣшеніе по обычаю никоимъ образомъ не должно имѣть мѣста. Это было сдѣлано очевидно въ виду удобства и дешевизны волостныхъ судовъ, особенно сравнительно съ тѣми общими судами, которые существовали до введенія судебно-мироваго института и которые при дороговизнѣ дѣлопроизводства не отличались и правильностью рѣшеній. Въ настоящее время эти неудобства устранены. Мировой судъ представляетъ теперь достаточную гарантію скораго и правильнаго рѣшенія дѣлъ, имѣющихъ общій характеръ и не требующихъ спеціальнаго знанія бытовыхъ условій; а практика показала, что именно въ этихъ-то дѣлахъ рѣшенія волостныхъ судовъ всего менѣе удовлетворяютъ требованіямъ справедливости. По отзывамъ людей безпристрастныхъ, волостные суды, разсматривая дѣла по семейнымъ раздѣламъ, дѣлежу наслѣдства или по спорамъ, вытекающимъ изъ владѣнія поземельнымъ надѣломъ, постановляютъ рѣшенія, съ крестьянской точки зрѣнія совершенно правильныя и по крайней мѣрѣ не возбуждающія жалобъ; напротивъ, по дѣламъ уголовнымъ и особенно по дѣламъ объ обидахъ, ихъ рѣшенія большею частію крайне безобразны. Въ подобныхъ дѣлахъ волостные судьи видятъ не проступки, подлежащіе обсужденію и наказанію, а поводы къ мировой, сопровождаемой угощеніемъ, т. е. водкой, которую тутъ же распиваютъ и обидчикъ, и обиженный, и судья. Именно этого-то рода дѣла, которыя было бы весьма легко изъять изъ юрисдикціи волостныхъ судовъ, и составили

этимъ судамъ ту печальную репутацію, какой они пользуются. О дѣлахъ, имѣющихъ чисто уголовный характеръ, каковы кражи, нечего и говорить. Мы уже указали выше, что предоставленіе этого рода дѣлъ рѣшенію волостныхъ судовъ представляетъ аномалію, которую давно пора уничтожить.

Вообще мы полагаемъ, что изъ уголовныхъ дѣлъ вѣдѣнію крестьянскихъ судовъ могли бы подлежать только жалобы сельскихъ должностныхъ лицъ на крестьянъ за проступки противъ благочинія и жалобы крестьянъ на дѣйствія сельскихъ должностныхъ лицъ. Приэтомъ правила для опредѣленія наказаній должны быть опредѣлены точнѣе, а тѣлесныя наказанія вовсе уничтожены. Что касается дѣлъ объ обидахъ, то они могутъ быть предоставлены волостнымъ судамъ по желанію истцовъ только въ случаѣ гражданскихъ исковъ. Точно также отъ желанія истцовъ должна зависѣть и подсудность дѣлъ по обыкновеннымъ займамъ. Предоставить эти дѣла вѣдѣнію общихъ судовъ невозможно вслѣдствіе непримѣнимости къ крестьянскимъ сдѣлкамъ общихъ правилъ о доказательствахъ. Всѣмъ извѣстно, что письменныхъ обязательствъ по займамъ, которые одни имѣютъ силу въ общихъ судахъ, въ крестьянскомъ быту вовсе не существуетъ. И заемъ и уплата долга гарантируются здѣсь большею частію свидѣтелями, а между тѣмъ мировой судья принужденъ будетъ отказывать по такимъ искамъ, какъ «бездоказательнымъ».

Съ другой стороны, правила судопроизводства въ волостныхъ судахъ должны быть опредѣлены точнѣе. Мы уже указали выше, что волостные суды не имѣютъ никакого устава, что для нихъ не установлено даже такихъ общихъ правилъ, какъ право привода и право постановки заочнаго рѣшенія. Кромѣ того, въ волостныхъ судахъ не существуетъ правилъ для отвода судей сторонами, вслѣдствіе чего въ одной губерніи возникъ вопросъ, можетъ ли съѣздъ мировыхъ посредниковъ отмѣнить такое рѣшеніе суда, которое состоялось при участіи лица, прямо заинтересованнаго въ дѣлѣ. Всѣ эти неудобства весьма легко устранить, а ихъ устраненіе несомнѣнно будетъ имѣть самое благопріятное вліяніе на рѣшенія крестьянскихъ судовъ.

Безапелляціонность рѣшеній теперешнихъ волостныхъ судовъ также имѣетъ значительныя неудобства и возбуждаетъ неудовольствіе крестьянъ, которые видятъ, что на мирового судью можно жаловаться съѣзду и сенату, а на волостной судъ, какъ бы ни было несправедливо его рѣшеніе, жаловаться некуда. Поэтому было бы

полезно установить двѣ инстанціи обычныхъ судовъ, но конечно на такихъ основаніяхъ, чтобы суды эти не стоили дорого и имѣли удобства близости.

Наконецъ, самый составъ суда долженъ быть по-возможности организованъ изъ людей болѣе надежныхъ и развитыхъ. Для этой цѣли слѣдовало бы установить для судей нѣкоторыя льготы и дозволить крестьянамъ избирать въ эти должности всѣхъ тѣхъ лицъ, которыхъ они захотятъ избрать. До нѣкоторой степени въ дѣйствіяхъ этихъ судовъ могли бы принимать участіе и мировые судьи, но только въ качествѣ руководителей, а никакъ не въ качествѣ инстанціи.

При обсужденіи вопроса о крестьянскихъ судахъ была, между прочимъ, высказана мысль, что суды эти должны быть сельскіе; но редакціонныя коммисіи отклонили эту мысль, такъ какъ слишкомъ тѣсная близость и общность интересовъ между судьями и тяжущимися могла бы повести къ злоупотребленіямъ. При существованіи одной инстанціи для крестьянскихъ судовъ, это безусловно справедливо. Но мы думаемъ, что въ удержаніи этого порядка нѣтъ никакой необходимости. Безапелляціонность чьихъ бы то ни было рѣшеній всегда возбуждаетъ недовольство и, какъ мы уже замѣтили, въ средѣ крестьянъ недовольство безапелляціонными рѣшеніями волостныхъ судовъ увеличивается еще болѣе при сравненіи съ организаціей суда мирового, на рѣшенія котораго можно жаловаться даже Сенату. По-этому мы склоняемся къ той мысли, что необходимо и въ обычныхъ судахъ учредить двѣ инстанціи. Первая должна существовать въ каждомъ сельскомъ обществѣ. Судьи должны выбираться на сельскомъ сходѣ съ условіемъ, чтобы хоть одинъ или два были грамотные. При-этомъ мы считали-бы не только вполнѣ возможнымъ, но и весьма полезнымъ предоставить сельскому сходу избирать въ судьи мѣстныхъ обывателей безъ различія сословій, конечно съ согласія этихъ лицъ. Такъ какъ крестьяне избрали бы только лицъ хорошо имъ извѣстныхъ и живущихъ вмѣстѣ съ ними, то рѣшенія судовъ отъ этого не пострадали бы, а только выиграли. Примѣръ подобнаго избранія лицъ изъ другихъ сословій уже допущенъ при земскихъ выборахъ, гдѣ крестьяне имѣютъ право избирать въ гласные помѣщиковъ и священниковъ. Сельскіе суды могли бы вѣдать всѣ дѣла, требующія примѣненія обычнаго права и дѣла по личнымъ займамъ; послѣднія по желанію истца. Это впрочемъ

необходимо только до тѣхъ поръ, пока въ нашемъ гражданскомъ судопроизводствѣ будетъ существовать требованіе письменныхъ документовъ для доказательства сдѣлокъ между крестьянами, требованіе, совершенно несовмѣстное съ условіями крестьянскаго быта. Уголовныя дѣла, по нашему мнѣнію, должны быть совершенно изъяты изъ вѣдѣнія сельскихъ судовъ, такъ что даже иски объ обидахъ должны имѣть здѣсь мѣсто только въ томъ случаѣ, когда они будутъ имѣть гражданскій характеръ. Особыхъ формъ дѣлопроизводства для этихъ судовъ установлять, конечно, нечего. Единственнымъ условіемъ должно быть присутствіе обѣихъ сторонъ, для чего суду должно быть дано право привода, и постановленіе, по требованію сторонъ, письменнаго рѣшенія съ выдачею копій.

Высшая инстанція могла бы имѣть характеръ съѣзда очередныхъ изъ сельскихъ судей, подъ предсѣдательствомъ мирового судьи. Такихъ съѣздовъ могло бы быть нѣсколько въ каждомъ мировомъ участкѣ. Рѣдкость засѣданій теперешнихъ волостныхъ судовъ (иногда въ двѣ недѣли разъ) даетъ право предполагать, что при уменьшеніи круга дѣлъ, участковые съѣзды судей не должны будутъ собираться слишкомъ часто и слѣдовательно обязанность предсѣдательствованія не утомитъ мирового судью, хотя бы для этого ему и пришлось иногда проѣхать за 20 верстъ отъ своего мѣста жительства. При этомъ нельзя не замѣтить, что выѣзды въ отдаленные пункты участка въ заранѣе опредѣленное время, поставленные въ обязанность мировыхъ посредниковъ, необходимо ввести и въ кругъ обязанностей мировыхъ судей, такъ какъ безъ этого мировой судъ для отдаленныхъ отъ мѣстопребыванія судьи пунктовъ фактически не существуетъ.

Съѣздамъ сельскихъ судей должны подлежать въ качествѣ второй инстанціи всѣ дѣла, требующія примѣненія обычнаго права, и дѣла по наймамъ. Кромѣ того, тѣже съѣзды, уже въ качествѣ первой инстанціи, могли бы разсматривать жалобы сельскихъ начальствъ на крестьянъ за ослушаніе, нарушеніе благочинія и т. п., а также жалобы крестьянъ на неправильныя дѣйствія сельскихъ начальствъ. Во всѣхъ этихъ случаяхъ мировой судья долженъ быть руководителемъ и слѣдить за исполненіемъ формъ судопроизводства; но самое рѣшеніе дѣлъ должно принадлежать сельскимъ судьямъ, которые должны постановлять рѣшеніе въ качествѣ присяжныхъ. Для этой инстанціи должны быть опредѣлены болѣе точныя правила судопроизводства и изданъ кодексъ для опредѣленія наказаній, при чемъ

наказанія тѣлесныя должны быть положительно устранены. За тѣмъ, въ кассаціонной инстанціи, въ строгомъ смыслѣ слова, нѣтъ надобности; но въ такихъ случаяхъ, какъ принятіе къ разбирательству неподлежащаго дѣла, опредѣленіе неуказаннаго въ уставѣ наказанія, участіе въ сужденіи близкихъ родственниковъ тяжущихся и т. п., можно бы было допустить отмѣну рѣшеній обычныхъ судовъ съѣздомъ мировыхъ судей.

Мы думаемъ, что такимъ путемъ можно было бы соединить примѣненіе обычнаго права съ условіями справедливаго суда, и при томъ безъ большихъ денежныхъ пожертвованій со стороны крестьянъ. Предсѣдательство мирового судьи въ съѣздахъ имѣло бы ту выгоду, что пріучило бы сельскихъ судей къ порядку и законности въ разборѣ жалобъ и они могли бы съ теченіемъ времени перенести эти качества въ сельскіе суды. Съ другой стороны, разсмотрѣніе въ подобныхъ судахъ жалобъ на сельское начальство поставило бы сельскихъ старостъ подъ контроль обществъ и уничтожило бы ту личную зависимость отъ мировыхъ посредниковъ, которая теперь служитъ главнымъ источникомъ злоупотребленій. Такимъ путемъ вопросъ о надзорѣ за сельскимъ управленіемъ разрѣшился бы просто и въ сохраненіи обязанности мирового посредника не было бы надобности.

Что касается чисто уголовныхъ дѣлъ и наказаній за неплатежъ податей, то мы уже сказали, что не считаемъ возможнымъ оставить ихъ въ вѣдѣніи крестьянскихъ судовъ. Надѣемся, что читатели согласятся съ нашимъ взглядомъ, особенно если они вспомнятъ, какъ дешево можно отдѣлаться въ волостномъ судѣ за кражу, такъ какъ тамъ часто вора мирятъ съ обокраденнымъ, и какъ дорого приходится платиться за недоимки, такъ какъ волостные суды, исполняя приказанія начальства, запарываютъ иногда людей до смерти. По крайней мѣрѣ подобный случай былъ недавно въ Кіевской губерніи и объ этомъ напечатано во всѣхъ газетахъ (см. № 56 Спб. Вѣд.)

Точно также мы не считаемъ возможнымъ оставить въ вѣдѣніи волостныхъ судовъ и разсмотрѣніе просьбъ объ оставленіи на мѣстѣ жительства женъ крестьянъ, высылаемыхъ въ Сибирь вслѣдствіе исключенія изъ обществъ. Въ началѣ нынѣшняго года подобныя дѣла, возникающія въ мѣщанскомъ сословіи, переданы въ мировые съѣзды; дѣла же, касающіяся крестьянъ, по прежнему оставлены въ волостныхъ судахъ. Мы думаемъ, что эти дѣла должны быть изъяты изъ вѣдѣнія не только волостныхъ, но и всякихъ судовъ. Хорошо или

дурно дѣлаетъ законодательство, что оно высылаетъ въ Сибирь людей, исключаемыхъ изъ общества, это вопросъ, подробное разсмотрѣніе котораго здѣсь было бы неумѣстно. Мы думаемъ, что такая административная высылка не можетъ быть оправдана необходимостью устранять людей, которыхъ общество признало вредными, что этимъ лицамъ слѣдовало бы дать возможность устроиться другимъ путемъ, тѣмъ болѣе, что исключеніе изъ обществъ очень часто бываетъ слѣдствіемъ ссоры съ вліятельными лицами, а еще чаще слѣдствіемъ настояній со стороны начальства, имѣющаго иногда личные счеты. Но какъ бы то ни было, если уже правительство считаетъ людей, исключенныхъ изъ обществъ, такими преступниками, что имъ нигдѣ нѣтъ мѣста, кромѣ Сибири, то нѣтъ основанія отправлять съ ними ни въ чемъ неповинныхъ женъ и дѣтей; а между тѣмъ, по приложенію къ 103-й статьѣ 1-й части X тома (по прод. 1863 г.) жены лицъ, переселяемыхъ по приговорамъ обществъ, должны идти съ мужьями, если онѣ не одержимы тяжкою болѣзнію. Освободить ихъ можетъ только судъ, при условіи жестокаго обращенія мужа или развратнаго его поведенія. Такъ какъ представить фактическія доказательства въ подобныхъ случаяхъ большею частію невозможно, то законодательство какъ бы предполагаетъ, что суды будутъ признавать наличность сказанныхъ условій безъ особыхъ изслѣдованій, тѣмъ болѣе, что признаніе ихъ не ведетъ къ наказанію, указанному въ уложеніи, и не можетъ служить основаніемъ къ разводу. Намъ кажется, что при такой постановкѣ вопроса было бы лучше передать подобныя дѣла, относительно лицъ всѣхъ сословій, въ мировой съѣздъ, который лучше можетъ понять цѣль законодательства; но еще лучше было бы, конечно, вовсе освободить женъ высылаемыхъ отъ обязанности слѣдовать за мужьями, какъ онѣ освобождены въ случаяхъ высылки мужей на житье въ Сибирь по приговорамъ суда, хотя это наказаніе, какъ извѣстно, также не сопровождается потерею семейственныхъ правъ.

Кончая съ вопросомъ о волостныхъ судахъ, мы должны присовокупить, что въ нынѣшнемъ году объявлено Высочайшее повелѣніе о назначеніи для изслѣдованія этого вопроса особой коммисіи. Коммисіи этой предоставлено: «изслѣдовать положеніе волостныхъ судовъ въ различныхъ, гдѣ она признаетъ нужнымъ и полезнымъ, мѣстностяхъ имперіи, истребовать по возникающимъ при исполненіи ея работъ вопросамъ отзывы лицъ, входящихъ въ составъ волостныхъ судовъ, а

также мнѣнія другихъ лицъ, которыя коммисія признаетъ для себя полезными, и разсматривать подлинныя производства какъ волостныхъ судовъ, такъ и съѣздовъ мировыхъ посредниковъ и судей—послѣднихъ по дѣламъ, имѣющимъ какое либо отношеніе къ разсматриваемому вопросу». Предсѣдательство этою коммисіею возложено на сенатора Любощинскаго, бывшаго членомъ редакціонныхъ коммисій и, слѣдовательно, вполнѣ знакомаго съ законодательными вопросами по крестьянскому дѣлу.

Коммисія, учрежденная на такихъ основаніяхъ, имѣетъ, конечно, полную возможность познакомиться съ дѣломъ основательно и собрать всѣ данныя для его разрѣшенія. Но ея дѣйствія затруднены тѣмъ, что она должна принимать за исходную точку нынѣшнее устройство крестьянскаго управленія, которое, какъ мы уже показали, само нуждается въ радикальномъ преобразованіи. Было бы, конечно, гораздо цѣлесообразнѣе поручить однимъ и тѣмъ же людямъ разработку вопроса о преобразованіи волостныхъ судовъ и составленіе проекта реорганизаціи крестьянскаго управленія. Иначе придется пріурочивать крестьянскіе суды къ нынѣшней волости, которая составляетъ совершенно ненужную искусственную единицу.

VII.

Правила для устройства экономическаго быта крестьянъ установлены, какъ извѣстно, отдѣльно для мѣстностей, имѣющихъ особый характеръ: Такимъ образомъ существуютъ «мѣстное положеніе для губерній великороссійскихъ, малороссійскихъ и бѣлорусскихъ», далѣе особыя положенія для губерній малорусскихъ (Черниговской, Полтавской и части Харьковской), юго-западныхъ, сѣверо-западныхъ, для земли войска донскаго, Бессарабской области, Сибири и наконецъ особыя правила для крестьянъ горнозаводскихъ. Желая очертить только общій характеръ крестьянской реформы и ея послѣдствій, мы не будемъ останавливаться на частныхъ правилахъ для отдѣльныхъ мѣстностей и ограничимся только самыми общими чертами, проведенными въ Положеніи великорусскомъ и малорусскомъ. Губерній сѣверо-западнаго и юго-западнаго края мы не будемъ касаться потому, что положеніе, установленное для нихъ 19 февраля 1861 года, впослѣдствіи совершенно измѣнено въ виду политиче-

скихъ событій; остальныя же мѣстности оставимъ въ сторонѣ, какъ совершенно исключительныя.

Точно также мы опустимъ всѣ несущественныя подробности въ устройствѣ экономическихъ отношеній крестьянъ и разсмотримъ только главныя его основанія, именно: опредѣленіе поземельнаго надѣла, условія его отвода и пользованія имъ крестьянъ, опредѣленіе повинностей помѣщику и способы ихъ взысканія.

Выше мы уже указали, какъ недоброжелательно встрѣчена была дворянскими комитетами мысль о надѣлѣ крестьянъ землею, какъ старались они обойти это требованіе и доказать, что рескрипты обязываютъ надѣломъ крестьянъ только на извѣстное число лѣтъ, т. е. на время срочно-обязательнаго періода. Это мнѣніе высказывали и члены комитетовъ, вызванные для совѣщанія по предположеніямъ редакціонныхъ коммисій. Кромѣ того, какъ комитеты, такъ и ихъ представители, старались по возможности уменьшить размѣръ надѣловъ, особенно въ мѣстностяхъ хлѣбородныхъ, гдѣ земля представляетъ значительную цѣнность. Относительно самаго способа опредѣленія надѣла, заключенія комитетовъ можно раздѣлить на двѣ категоріи. Въ большей части черноземныхъ губерній комитеты предполагали установить опредѣленный надѣлъ, въ весьма впрочемъ небольшомъ размѣрѣ; такъ, въ тамбовской губерніи предложено было дать отъ 1 до $1^1/_2$ десятины на душу, въ курской—отъ 1 до 2 десят. *). и т. п. Другіе комитеты соглашались оставить существующій надѣлъ, но весьма сильно ограничивали его. Во всякомъ случаѣ и тѣ и другіе уменьшали болѣе или менѣе настоящій размѣръ крестьянскихъ земель. Уменьшеніе это менѣе замѣтно въ нечерноземныхъ губерніяхъ (хотя и здѣсь московскій комитетъ опредѣлилъ надѣлъ отъ $1^1/_2$ до 4 десятинъ *на тягло*); въ мѣстахъ же хлѣбородныхъ комитеты предлагали весьма небольшіе надѣлы. При этомъ нѣкоторые комитеты установили нормы, не объясняя, соотвѣтствуютъ-ли онѣ характеру мѣстности; такъ напримѣръ, астраханскій комитетъ перенесъ въ свою губернію нормы, установленныя петербургскимъ комитетомъ. Вообще нормы, установленныя комитетами, были выраженіемъ большей или меньшей ихъ добросовѣстности, а никакъ не результатомъ фактическаго опредѣленія того количества земли, которое нахо-

*) По Положенію, высшій размѣръ надѣла въ тамбовской губерніи принятъ въ 3 десятины, въ курской—въ 2 десятины 2800 саженъ. Редакціонныя коммисіи предполагали установить его нѣсколько выше.

дилось въ то время въ пользованіи крестьянъ. Отъ этого не только въ однородныхъ мѣстностяхъ, но даже въ одной и той же рекомендовался нормальный надѣлъ совершенно различный. Общій характеръ былъ только тотъ, что надѣлъ предполагался весьма небольшой, такъ что большинство начальниковъ губерній признавали его недостаточнымъ (Кр. дѣло, Т. II, ч. 1, стр. 7, 8, 12, 13).

Разсмотрѣвъ всѣ эти предположенія, коммисіи пришли къ заключенію, что «размѣръ крестьянскаго надѣла не можетъ быть опредѣленъ посредствомъ какой бы то ни было искуственной нормы, но что за крестьянскимъ сословіемъ должно быть по возможности сохранено право пользованія, за опредѣленныя повинности, тѣмъ же самымъ надѣломъ, которымъ существованіе его обезпечивалось до этихъ поръ, т. е. въ размѣрѣ, въ которомъ онъ находился въ 1859 году». Къ сожалѣнію, коммисіи, уступая требованіямъ комитетовъ, не остановились на этомъ въ высшей степени вѣрномъ принципѣ и допустили въ извѣстныхъ случаяхъ отрѣзку крестьянской земли, именно, когда земля эта превышаетъ высшую, установленную на основаніи собранныхъ данныхъ, норму, или когда она составляетъ болѣе двухъ третей всей помѣщичьей земли. Съ другой стороны, онѣ установили норму низшаго надѣла, менѣе котораго крестьянамъ не могло быть дано.

Предположенія коммисій вызвали со стороны представителей дворянства самыя яростныя нападки. Въ книгѣ г. Скребицкаго болѣе пятидесяти страницъ мелкой печати наполнены выдержками изъ отзывовъ этихъ представителей, и страницы эти представляютъ лучшую характеристику тогдашнихъ нравовъ помѣщичьяго сословія. Только двое изъ членовъ комитетовъ (Ланской и Гавриловъ) согласились съ предположеніями коммисій; затѣмъ около десяти человѣкъ (за исключеніемъ г. Уньковскаго) предлагали различныя измѣненія въ виду охраненія помѣщичьихъ интересовъ; остальные же прямо нападали на принципъ достаточнаго надѣленія крестьянъ землею и требовали сколь возможнаго его уменьшенія. Аргументы приводились самые поразительные. Одни говорили, что большіе надѣлы неудобны для самихъ крестьянъ. Къ этому заключенію пришли господа Хрущевъ, Шретеръ, Марковичъ, Мелеховъ, Калиновскій, Иваненко и Ревеліотти. «Не объемъ земли, данный крестьянину, дѣлаетъ его богатымъ,—говорятъ гг. Хрущевъ и Шретеръ,—это можно доказать тысячами примѣровъ и тѣмъ неоспоримымъ фактомъ, что

чѣмъ имѣніе менѣе земельно, тѣмъ благосостояніе крестьянъ выше» (стр. 91). «Для крестьянъ вообще (съ небольшими исключеніями) назначеніе въ пользованіе земли въ слишкомъ большомъ размѣрѣ не полезно», объясняетъ г. Марковичъ. «Чрезмѣрный надѣлъ затруднилъ бы крестьянъ», замѣчаютъ гг. Мелеховъ и Калиновскій; а гг. Иваненко и Ревеліотти стали даже утверждать, что «существующій надѣлъ по величинѣ своей отнимаетъ у крестьянъ побужденіе къ усовершенствованіямъ». Другіе были откровеннѣе и просто указывали, что отводъ крестьянамъ существующаго надѣла будетъ, по ихъ мнѣнію, несправедливостью; такой отзывъ дали между прочимъ *тридцать четыре* члена втораго приглашенія, которые при этомъ присовокупили, что вообще недобровольный надѣлъ нуженъ «до тѣхъ только поръ, пока сохраняются взаимно обязательныя отношенія, которыя должны прекратиться по совершенной отмѣнѣ обоюдныхъ обязанностей» (стр. 109). Нѣкоторые объясняли, что достаточный надѣлъ лишитъ помѣщиковъ крестьянской работы. «Крестьянинъ, по полученіи отведеннаго ему участка, говоритъ г. Кишенскій, не будетъ болѣе имѣть надобности въ помѣщикѣ, отчего этотъ послѣдній лишится возможности къ обработыванію оставшейся у него во владѣніи земли» (стр. 91). Члены западныхъ губерній (Оскерко и Платеръ Зиберъ) пугали уже тогда правительство «нарушеніемъ общественнаго спокойствія» и объясняли, что «признаніе за крестьянами права потомственнаго пользованія землею въ витебской и минской губерніяхъ въ настоящее время невозможно безъ всеобщаго разстройства, разоренія и безпорядковъ».

Наконецъ, нѣкоторые изъ представителей комитетовъ, вѣроятно сознавая свое безсиліе бороться противъ доводовъ редакціонныхъ коммисій на почвѣ экономическихъ и юридическихъ началъ и воззрѣній, прямо переходили къ инсинуаціямъ. Этимъ способомъ съ особенною охотою дѣйствовали представители рязанскаго комитета г. *Офросимовъ* и кн. *Волконскій*, воронежскаго кн. *Гагаринъ* и симбирскаго г. *Шидловскій*. По мнѣнію г. Офросимова и кн. Волконскаго, «рескриптъ не уничтожалъ крѣпостнаго состоянія, а удерживалъ его на весь срочно-обязанный періодъ», поэтому отведеніе крестьянамъ надѣла есть «принужденіе помѣщиковъ къ пожертвованію, а слѣдовательно вымогательство» и «произвольное, ничѣмъ неоправдываемое посягательство на собственность помѣщиковъ» (стр. 84, 87, 88). Г. Гагаринъ объясняетъ, что редакціонныя коммисіи «основали

свои выводы на невѣрномъ пониманіи путей, указанныхъ волею Государя...» что Его цѣлію никогда не было «создать благосостояніе одного сословія на счетъ не только разоренія, но и обѣдненія другаго. Если же для улучшенія положенія крестьянъ дворянское сословіе принесло уже столь значительныя жертвы (?), что идти далѣе значило бы вести его къ разоренію, то всякое предположеніе, къ тому направленное, конечно не могло бы быть включено въ число государственныхъ заслугъ». По поводу замѣчанія коммисій, что земельныя угодья, цѣнность которыхъ возвышена трудомъ и работой крестьянъ, не должны отходить отъ нихъ, князь Гагаринъ говоритъ, что онъ «съ невольнымъ изумленіемъ останавливается предъ такимъ неслыханнымъ доселѣ провозглашеніемъ права и невольно спрашиваетъ, неужели въ самомъ дѣлѣ послѣ тысячелѣтняго существованія, царство Русское дожило до такого нескрываемаго и офиціально объявленнаго принципа». Далѣе онъ «сознается въ своемъ безсиліи отвѣчать на предложенія коммисіи и только съ благоговѣніемъ взираетъ на торжественные акты, содержащіе въ себѣ изображеніе высочайшей воли о неприкосновенности правъ помѣщиковъ и указываетъ на конечные выводы провозглашаемыхъ принциповъ для правосудной оцѣнки оныхъ». Но особенно откровенно дѣйствовалъ г. *Шидловскій*. Останавливаясь на выраженіи редакціонныхъ коммисій, что они не желаютъ приносить въ жертву ни законныя выгоды дворянства, ни высшія нравственныя начала, онъ находилъ, что эти выраженія «служатъ къ обозначенію духа и направленія писавшихъ», что коммисіи нарочно говорятъ о выгодахъ, а не о правахъ, чтобы вмѣстѣ съ понятіемъ права «удалить безпокойныя понятія о справедливости и законности», что выраженіе «высшая нравственность употребляется для затемнѣнія нарушенія закона и дѣйствій произвола», что «въ новѣйшее время выраженіе «высшія начала» часто встрѣчается въ сочиненіяхъ съ направленіемъ коммунизма и соціализма, а потому ему странно встрѣтить такое выраженіе въ соображеніяхъ новѣйшихъ законосоставителей». Разсужденія объ оставленіи нынѣ существующаго надѣла служатъ, по мнѣнію г. Шидловскаго, лишь къ тому, чтобы «развивать опасныя теоріи и тревожить умы»; но въ то же время онъ не видитъ никакихъ затрудненій въ отрѣзкѣ крестьянской земли. «Чего они боятся?» спрашиваетъ онъ, «смутъ и сопротивленій народа?... Пусть въ этомъ разувѣрятся и не предаются безосновальной лицемѣр-

ной тревогѣ: много еще нужно будетъ хлопотъ и стараній, чтобы взволновать народъ»!..

Къ счастію, всѣ эти возгласы не имѣли парализующаго вліянія на дѣятельность коммисій, и онѣ остались при убѣжденіи въ необходимости сохранить за крестьянами въ большинствѣ мѣстностей существовавшій надѣлъ, ограничивъ его максимумъ и минимумъ. Съ этой цѣлію коммисіи опредѣлили высшій и низшій размѣръ надѣла для каждой мѣстности. Если количество крестьянской земли превышало высшій размѣръ, соотвѣтственная часть подлежала отрѣзкѣ, если же недоставало до низшаго, то помѣщикъ долженъ былъ прирѣзать недостающее количество изъ угодій, состоявшихъ въ его непосредственномъ пользованіи; это допускалось впрочемъ въ томъ только случаѣ, когда остававшаяся у помѣщика земля превышала $^1/_3$ всей усадебной земли. Оставить за собою $^1/_3$ всѣхъ усадебныхъ земель помѣщикъ имѣлъ право во всякомъ случаѣ, если только отходившее къ крестьянамъ количество земли не было менѣе низшаго размѣра надѣла. Высшій размѣръ надѣла по предположеніямъ коммисій назначался, *въ черноземной полосѣ*, отъ 2 дес. 800 саж. до 4 дес. во внутреннихъ губерніяхъ и отъ 4 дес. 600 саж. до 6 дес. въ губерніяхъ восточныхъ; *въ нечерноземной*: отъ 3 дес. 600 саж. до 6 дес. въ мѣстностяхъ среднихъ и въ 7 и 8 дес. въ сѣверныхъ; *въ губерніяхъ малороссійскихъ* отъ $2^3/_4$ до $4^1/_2$ дес.; надѣлъ составляетъ въ великороссійскихъ и бѣлорусскихъ губерніяхъ *одну треть*, въ губерніяхъ малороссійскихъ *половину* высшаго. Исключеніе изъ этого способа опредѣленія крестьянскаго надѣла сдѣлано для степной полосы, гдѣ предполагалась установить указный надѣлъ, размѣръ котораго, смотря по мѣстностямъ, опредѣлялся отъ $6^1/_2$ до $12^1/_2$ дес. на душу.

Какъ извѣстно, этотъ порядокъ удержанъ и въ Положеніи 19 февраля, но съ тѣмъ важнымъ измѣненіемъ, что помѣщикъ освобожденъ отъ обязанности прирѣзывать крестьянамъ землю, въ случаѣ если ее недостаетъ до низшаго надѣла. Кромѣ того, размѣръ высшаго и указнаго надѣла въ большей части мѣстностей пониженъ. Сравнивая по уѣздамъ въ этомъ отношеніи нормы, предположенныя коммисіями съ тѣми, которыя вошли въ Положеніе, мы получили слѣдующіе результаты. Изъ 417 уѣздовъ и отдѣльныхъ мѣстностей уѣзда, по которымъ высшій или указный размѣръ надѣла былъ опредѣленъ особо, только *въ семи* этотъ размѣръ былъ *возвышенъ*, именно въ

четырехъ на $^1/_2$ десятины на душу и въ трехъ на $^1/_4$ десятины. Затѣмъ *въ ста-девяноста-четырехъ оставленъ прежній* и *въ двухстахъ-шестнадцати пониженъ*, а именно въ 46-ти на $^1/_4$ десят., въ сто семнадцати на $^1/_2$ дес., въ шести на 2 десят. и въ трехъ на $2^1/_2$ десят. Ниже мы увидимъ, что это уменьшеніе надѣла не повлекло за собою пониженія предположенныхъ редакціонными коммисіями повинностей.

Опредѣленіе высшаго и низшаго размѣра надѣла уже само по себѣ дало широкій просторъ дѣятельности мѣстныхъ учрежденій, а тѣ условія, съ которыми сопряженъ отводъ этого надѣла, положительно поставили крестьянъ въ большинствѣ случаевъ въ полную зависимость отъ лицъ, входившихъ въ составъ этихъ учрежденій. Такъ, по буквальному смыслу Положенія, въ крестьянскій надѣлъ могли входить только удобныя для воздѣлыванія земли, но опредѣленіе свойства земли въ каждомъ данномъ случаѣ зависѣло отъ мѣстныхъ учрежденій. При необходимости отрѣзки крестьянской земли (когда ея количество превышаетъ размѣръ высшаго надѣла) установлено правило, чтобы отрѣзка производилась прежде всего изъ неунавоженныхъ пашень, непоемныхъ луговъ, кустарныхъ зарослей и пр., чтобы отъ поемныхъ луговъ отрѣзывалась только часть, соразмѣрная общей долѣ подлежащихъ отрѣзкѣ угодій и т. п. Но очевидно, что практическое примѣненіе этого полезнаго правила было въ рукахъ мировыхъ учрежденій. Лѣса, за исключеніемъ немногихъ мѣстностей, гдѣ они не имѣютъ цѣнности, исключались изъ крестьянскаго надѣла, хотя бы крестьяне ими и владѣли; помѣщикъ не обязывался даже отпускать имъ лѣсъ на ихъ постройки; только топливо предписано отпускать въ теченіе девяти лѣтъ и то за опредѣленную плату и притомъ «ежели по состоянію лѣсныхъ дачъ и безъ разстройства лѣснаго хозяйства это окажется возможнымъ». Рѣшеніе вопроса и опредѣленіе платы опять зависѣло отъ мировыхъ учрежденій. При отводѣ надѣла, срокъ для котораго полагался два года, помѣщику дозволено замѣнять однѣ земли другими равноцѣнными, въ черноземной полосѣ дозволено даже замѣнять пашни покосами; тоже самое, и еще въ большемъ размѣрѣ, допускалось при разверстаніи угодій, котораго помѣщикъ могъ требовать въ теченіи шести лѣтъ послѣ отвода угодій. При этомъ разверстаніи помѣщикъ имѣлъ право даже требовать переноса крестьянскихъ усадебъ. Хотя это перенесеніе дѣлалось въ такомъ случаѣ на счетъ помѣщика, но кре-

стьяне обязаны были сами перевозить матеріалы и содѣйствовать постройкѣ; конечно, принятіе подобныхъ, въ высшей степени тяжкихъ для крестьянскаго хозяйства мѣръ, зависѣло весьма много отъ мировыхъ учрежденій. При перенесеніи крестьянскихъ усадьбъ, помѣщикъ могъ даже, вмѣсто заготовленія новыхъ строеній, дать крестьянамъ извѣстную сумму денегъ, и эта сумма, въ случаѣ спора крестьянъ, опредѣлялась опять-таки мировыми учрежденіями. Наконецъ, помѣщику предоставлено право *въ нѣкоторыхъ случаяхъ* требовать отъ крестьянъ «во всякое время» обмѣна «необходимыхъ ему участковъ земли (ими не выкупленныхъ) *для приведенія* въ исполненіе его хозяйственныхъ предпріятій». Статья 94-я великорусскаго положенія и 88-я малорусскаго указываютъ слѣдующіе случаи, при которыхъ допускается такая экспропріація крестьянскаго имущества:

1) Открытіе въ земляхъ крестьянскаго надѣла источниковъ минеральныхъ водъ и *цѣнныхъ ископаемыхъ, въ томъ числѣ и торфа*.

2) *Предполагаемое* помѣщикомъ устройство дѣйствующихъ водою: мельницы, фабрики или иного промышленнаго заведенія, когда *одинъ* или оба берега рѣки состоятъ въ пользованіи крестьянъ.

3) Неизбѣжность подтопа крестьянскихъ угодій вслѣдствіе устройства на господской землѣ дѣйствующихъ водою заведеній.

4) Необходимость провести *по крестьянскимъ угодьямъ* канавы для осушенія или орошенія господскихъ угодій для устройства дренажа или для употребленія воды, какъ движущей силы.

5) Необходимость провести *по крестьянскимъ угодьямъ* дорогу или прогонъ.

6) Предпринимаемое помѣщикомъ устройство *на крестьянскихъ угодьяхъ* пристани или *перевоза*.

Нѣтъ никакого сомнѣнія, что «*хозяйственныя предпріятія*», въ родѣ проведенія канавы или устройства перевоза, можно «предполагать» и «предпринимать» безъ большихъ затратъ во всякое время, слѣдовательно, помѣщикъ можетъ періодически отбирать у крестьянъ ихъ угодья, если только они ему нравятся. Въ случахъ, указанныхъ въ первыхъ трехъ пунктахъ приведенной статьи, у крестьянъ можно отобрать даже усадебную землю, состоящую въ подворномъ владѣніи. Но и здѣсь рѣшеніе дѣла зависитъ отъ мировыхъ учрежденій.

Всѣ эти правила вошли въ мѣстныя положенія согласно предположеніямъ редакціонныхъ коммисій; только въ вопросѣ о снабженіи крестьянъ топливомъ допущены значительныя измѣненія,

такъ какъ коммисіи предполагали установить обязательный отпускъ топлива въ большемъ районѣ. Не смотря на то, что правила эти въ значительной степени отдавали устройство крестьянскаго быта въ руки помѣщиковъ, представители дворянскихъ комитетовъ все-таки были ими недовольны. Одни не допускали отдачи крестьянамъ поемныхъ луговъ, другіе требовали, чтобы въ составъ крестьянскаго надѣла входили болота *), третьи (какъ члены тамбовскаго комитета, Стремоуховъ, Никифоровъ и Петрово-Соловово) желали допустить со стороны помѣщика совершенно произвольное распоряженіе крестьянскими землями въ томъ случаѣ, когда онѣ чрезполосны съ господскими, и совершенно безконтрольное замѣненіе ихъ по одному произволу владѣльца другими, хотя бы и худшими, или, говоря словами тамбовскихъ членовъ, «дозволить ему дѣлать, какъ лучше и выгоднѣе». Вообще только трое изъ представителей комитетовъ (Безобразовъ, Гавриловъ и Кошелевъ) указали на несправедливость постановленія, допускающаго разверстаніе угодій единственно по требованію помѣщика, не давая того же права крестьянамъ. Для всѣхъ остальныхъ всякое ограниченіе произвола помѣщика представлялось здѣсь нарушеніемъ его правъ, и князь Гагаринъ заявилъ даже о предложенныхъ коммисіями правилахъ, что они «*вводятъ административнымъ путемъ начала коммунизма*» (Крест. дѣло, Т. II, ч. I, стр. 397).

Такъ же недоброжелательно встрѣчены были и предложенія коммисій объ отпускѣ крестьянамъ топлива. Эти предложенія не раздѣлялись положительно никѣмъ. Даже членъ владимірскаго комитета, Гавриловъ, постоянно защищавшій справедливые интересы крестьянъ и нерѣдко шедшій далѣе редакціонныхъ коммисій **), въ этомъ вопросѣ выразилъ противоположное мнѣніе. Объ остальныхъ нечего и говорить; 34 члена второго приглашенія объявили, что одно предположеніе коммисіи уже заставило помѣщиковъ рубить свои лѣса и продавать ихъ. «Страна безвозвратно лишилась, говорится въ ихъ мнѣніи, огромныхъ капиталовъ, собиравшихся вѣковыми трудами и заботами. И все это произведено проэктомъ узаконенія, нарушающаго неприкосновенность собственности. Это дѣло уже сдѣлано и неисправимо. Да послу-

*) Это требованіе было заявлено въ новгородскомъ губернскомъ комитетѣ.

**) Онъ, между прочимъ, не признавалъ справедливымъ допускать обмѣнъ крестьянскихъ земель по требованію помѣщиковъ.

житъ оно намъ въ пользу, какъ предостереженіе на будущее время, и да спасетъ оно наше общество отъ всѣхъ коммунистическихъ увлеченій». Вообще пуганіе коммунизмомъ было въ большомъ ходу у гг. представителей дворянскихъ комитетовъ и одинъ изъ нихъ (членъ владимірскаго комитета, Паркачевъ) указалъ даже и того коммуниста, отъ котораго, яко бы, позаимствовались редакціонныя коммисіи; онъ завѣрилъ, что они увлекались «ученіями Прудона, которыя, какъ негодныя къ дѣлу, отвергнуты всею просвѣщенною Европою».

Но если изступленіе, выказанное гг. представителями дворянскихъ комитетовъ при обсужденіи вопроса объ отпускѣ крестьянамъ топлива, можно до нѣкоторой степени объяснить сознаніемъ ихъ правъ на лѣсныя пространства, не входящія въ составъ крестьянскаго надѣла, то это объясненіе очень трудно приложить къ тѣмъ притязаніямъ, какія они предъявили относительно земель, отводимыхъ крестьянамъ. А между тѣмъ, эти притязанія были весьма существенны. Мы уже видѣли, что Положеніе даетъ помѣщику право обмѣна крестьянскихъ земель, если въ нихъ будутъ открыты цѣнныя ископаемыя. По требованію представителей комитетовъ, къ этимъ цѣннымъ ископаемымъ отнесенъ и торфъ; но это была только незначительная уступка ихъ требованіямъ, ибо они желали, чтобы къ нимъ были отнесены также песокъ, камень и глина. И это было мнѣніе огромнаго большинства. Очевидно, что при этомъ условіи можно было отобрать у крестьянъ во всякое время всякій участокъ земли, ибо гдѣ же нѣтъ камня, песку или глины! При этомъ большинство требовало, чтобы помѣщикъ при подобныхъ обмѣнахъ не былъ стѣсняемъ рѣшеніемъ мировыхъ учрежденій, т. е. чтобы эти учрежденія были подчинены его произволу. Мало этого, тридцать два члена втораго приглашенія *) требовали безусловнаго запрещенія для крестьянъ добывать для продажи глину, песокъ, камень и торфъ, даже на землѣ, отведенной имъ въ надѣлъ, хотя бы помѣщикъ и не желалъ ее вымѣнять. При этомъ члены комитетовъ объяснили, что нельзя дозволить крестьянамъ продавать то, что имъ не принадлежитъ, и что если доз-

*) Ихъ предложеніе такъ замѣчательно, что мы считаемъ не лишнимъ привести ихъ фамиліи; это именно гг. Миклашевскій, Скарятинъ, Всеволожскій, Дягилевъ, Ревеліотти, Ивановъ, Пузыревскій, Пенскій, Мининъ, Земмеръ, Скирмундъ, Оржешко, Хвостовъ, Изъѣздиновъ, Пузыревскій, Эндоуровъ, Умовъ, Обуховъ, Горсткинъ, Поль, Блударовъ, Хлюстинъ, Пушкинъ, Сокольскій, Иваненко, Литвиновъ, Карташевскій, Жуковскій, Соколовъ-Бородкинъ, кн. Любомирскій, Цѣхановецкій и Чертковъ.

волить имъ продажу торфа, то нѣтъ причины запрещать и продажу помѣщичьихъ лѣсовъ (Крест. дѣло, Т. II, ч. 1, стр. 438). Въ настоящее время даже трудно повѣрить, чтобъ подобныя требованія могли высказываться большинствомъ представителей дворянства, а между тѣмъ, очевидно, что это было такъ, и что только твердость редакціонныхъ коммисій спасла крестьянское сословіе отъ такого освобожденія, которое было бы для нихъ хуже крѣпостнаго состоянія. Но, конечно, нельзя не признать, что это настроеніе все-таки отразилось и на работахъ редакціонныхъ коммисій, что они допустили много такого, что впослѣдствіи очень дурно отразилось на крестьянскомъ благосостояніи. Однимъ изъ такихъ важныхъ промаховъ мы считаемъ именно допущеніе обмѣна земель и неопредѣленность правилъ замѣна при разверстаніи угодій, послѣ котораго крестьяне вездѣ получили земли еще худшаго качества, нежели тѣ, какія были введены имъ въ надѣлъ.

Вліяніе дворянскихъ комитетовъ всего болѣе видно въ вопросѣ о пользованіи крестьянъ отведенною имъ землею. Поставленные въ необходимость примириться съ надѣленіемъ крестьянъ землею, которое они называли коммунизмомъ, губернскіе комитеты и ихъ представители, вызванные въ Петербургъ, требовали по крайней мѣрѣ, чтобы пользованіе крестьянъ отведенною землею было срочное и чтобы земля эта, по истеченіи извѣстнаго времени, была возвращена помѣщикамъ. Выходя изъ этого начала, они предлагали всевозможныя ограниченія права пользованія крестьянъ отводимою имъ землею; такъ, они желали установленія правилъ для обработки этой земли, оставленія за помѣщикомъ права рыбныхъ ловель, запрещенія крестьянамъ отдавать ихъ земли въ наймы, и т. п. Редакціонныя коммисіи отстранили начало срочности въ пользованіи землею; но въ тоже время ввели много ограниченій въ это пользованіе. Такъ, рыбныя ловли, кромѣ исключительныхъ случаевъ, оставлены за помѣщиками, крестьянамъ воспрещено въ случаяхъ чрезполосности отступать, безъ согласія помѣщика, отъ принятаго сѣвооборота до разверстанія угодій, которое, какъ мы уже указали, можетъ быть произведено только по требованію самого помѣщика; въ степной полосѣ имъ воспрещено даже, при залежномъ хозяйствѣ, увеличивать безъ согласія помѣщика свою запашку. При обсужденіи проэкта коммисій въ государственномъ совѣтѣ къ этому прибавлено еще «право помѣщика на охоту въ предѣлахъ всего имѣнія», а крестьянамъ только «не возбранено на мірской

землѣ истреблять хищныхъ или вредныхъ для хозяйства птицъ и звѣрей» (104 ст. великор. полож.).

Эти уступки, весьма невыгодныя въ отношеніи крестьянъ, не могли, впрочемъ, удовлетворить представителей дворянскихъ комитетовъ, которые громко продолжали кричать о дворянскомъ раззореніи и предсказывали, какъ «настанетъ холодная дѣйствительность и роковой стукъ аукціоннаго молотка возвѣститъ, что не стало родоваго завѣтнаго имѣнія у одного, другаго, третьяго дворянина», какъ вслѣдствіе этого помѣщики лишатся средствъ для воспитанія дѣтей, какъ отъ этого будутъ гибнуть съ горя матери, и т. п. (мнѣнія членовъ харьковскаго комитета Хрупцова и Шретера, стр. 564).

Гораздо справедливѣе разрѣшенъ Положеніемъ вопросъ о внутреннемъ устройствѣ крестьянскаго землевладѣнія. Редакціонныя коммисіи не увлеклись здѣсь ни возгласами экономистовъ, требовавшихъ уничтоженія общины, ни заявленіями представителей нѣкоторыхъ губернскихъ комитетовъ, желавшихъ, чтобъ выборъ общиннаго или участковаго землевладѣнія зависѣлъ отъ помѣщика. Не посягая на народныя формы быта, редакціонныя коммисіи оставили statu quo, установивъ общинное владѣніе тамъ, гдѣ оно существовало фактически. При этомъ передѣлы крестьянской земли коммисіи обусловили рѣшеніемъ двухъ третей крестьянъ, имѣющихъ голосъ на сходѣ. Этому же большинству коммисіи предоставили право замѣнить общинное владѣніе участковымъ, поставивъ это рѣшеніе на первыя девять лѣтъ въ зависимость отъ помѣщика. Но и это согласіе, по проекту коммисій, было не обязательно, если крестьяне внесутъ капиталъ, проценты котораго составляли бы $^1/_{10}$ часть оброка. Въ этомъ отношеніи проектъ коммисіи былъ измѣненъ и Положеніе требуетъ согласія помѣщика на замѣну общиннаго владѣнія безусловно и на все время обязательныхъ отношеній. Затѣмъ выходъ отдѣльныхъ крестьянъ изъ общины, само собою разумѣется, поставленъ въ зависимость отъ общества, такъ какъ оно должно нести за него повинности; но и здѣсь взносъ капитала, 6% съ котораго равняется оброку, освобождаетъ каждое отдѣльное лицо отъ всякихъ обязательныхъ отношеній къ обществу.

Размѣръ и цѣль нашей статьи не позволяетъ намъ останавливаться на вопросѣ объ общинномъ владѣніи. Ниже мы коснемся еще его значенія, а теперь перейдемъ къ разсмотрѣнію тѣхъ повинностей, которыя несутъ крестьяне за отведенныя имъ земли.

Вопросъ объ опредѣленіи крестьянскихъ платежей въ пользу помѣщиковъ, какъ при самой его постановкѣ, такъ и при дальнѣйшемъ развитіи, возбуждалъ также постоянныя пререканія между членами комитетовъ и редакціонными коммисіями. Первыя предложенія, исходившія изъ большинства комитетовъ, заключались въ томъ, чтобы оцѣнить отходящія къ крестьянамъ земли по купчимъ крѣпостямъ, или вывести эту оцѣнку изъ отношенія земли къ рабочей силѣ; только меньшинство комитетовъ приняло за исходную точку существующія повинности, да и то признавая эти повинности за фактъ, подлежащій измѣненію. Противъ оцѣнки земли по купчимъ крѣпостямъ редакціонныя коммисіи совершенно основательно замѣтили, что цѣны населенныхъ земель опредѣлялись не ихъ достоинствомъ, а отношеніемъ къ населенію, и притомъ въ купчихъ крѣпостяхъ то несоотвѣтственно возвышались во избѣжаніе выкупа, то понижались для уменьшенія пошлинъ. Затѣмъ, для опредѣленія стоимости земли по доходу или по отношенію ея къ рабочей силѣ, не было никакихъ данныхъ. Оставалось принять за исходную точку существующій фактъ, что и сдѣлали коммисіи, принявъ слѣдующія основанія:

«Принять за исходную точку всѣхъ дальнѣйшихъ предположеній нынѣ отбываемыя крестьянами повинности, какъ существующій фактъ, отнюдь не придавая ему при настоящемъ опредѣленіи этихъ повинностей значенія обязательной нормы.

«Основываясь на Высочайше утвержденномъ журналѣ главнаго комитета, 26-го октября 1868 г., облегчить лежащіе на крестьянахъ платежи въ той мѣрѣ, въ какой это необходимо для существеннаго улучшенія ихъ быта, съ наименьшимъ, по-возможности, ущербомъ для помѣщичьяго хозяйства.

«Для этого, соображаясь съ проектами губернскихъ комитетовъ, установить высшій размѣръ повинностей, соотвѣтствующій высшему надѣлу, принятому для каждой мѣстности и опредѣлить правило постепеннаго уменьшенія крестьянскихъ угодій до низшаго ихъ предѣла» (Кр. д. Т. III, стр. 24).

Этотъ высшій размѣръ опредѣленъ какъ для оброчной, такъ и для издѣльной повинности. Для первой онъ, смотря по мѣстностямъ, измѣняется отъ 12 до 8 рублей, для второй опредѣленъ въ 40 мужскихъ и 30 женскихъ рабочихъ дней. Въ тѣхъ имѣніяхъ, гдѣ была смѣшанная повинность, она оставлена; но вообще крестьянамъ предоставлено право перейти съ издѣльной или смѣшанной повинности

на чисто оброчную. При опредѣленіи высшаго размѣра повинностей постановлено правило, что крестьяне ни въ какомъ случаѣ не могутъ платить больше того, что они платили, и кромѣ того отмѣнены такъ-называемыя добавочныя повинности (собираніе ягодъ, грибовъ, сборъ нѣкоторыми произведеніями, и т. д.). Отмѣнены также нѣкоторыя натуральныя повинности, и именно караулы помѣщичьихъ полей, лѣсовъ, т. п., что вызвало сильную бурю со стороны представителей комитетовъ, которые и въ этой отмѣнѣ видѣли коммунизмъ и соціализмъ. Мы не будемъ утруждать читателей выписками изъ многочисленныхъ заявленій, сдѣланныхъ въ этомъ направленіи гг. представителями дворянства; мы и такъ приводили ихъ достаточно много. Гораздо важнѣе въ настоящемъ случаѣ сравнить тѣ *цифры*, которыя приняли редакціонныя коммисіи, съ тѣми, которыя мы встрѣчаемъ въ проектахъ губернскихъ комитетовъ и съ тѣми, которыя вошли въ Положеніе. На редакціонныя коммисіи дѣлались нападки, съ одной стороны, за то, что они не остановились на добровольныхъ соглашеніяхъ, а съ другой—за то, что они не взяли за основаніе цифръ, рекомендованныхъ имъ комитетами. На первый упрекъ они отвѣчали, что «вполнѣ сочувствуютъ добровольнымъ соглашеніямъ и считаютъ ихъ весьма желательнымъ рѣшеніемъ вопроса, но не иначе какъ при двухъ условіяхъ, безъ которыхъ они перестаютъ быть добровольными, а именно: 1) чтобъ была обезпечена обоюдная матеріальная независимость двухъ сторонъ, заключающихъ между собою условія и 2) чтобы допущеніе добровольныхъ соглашеній не было принимаемо въ смыслѣ отрицанія правъ одной стороны, и чтобы законъ обязательный ограждалъ эти права на случай если рѣшенія не послѣдуетъ». Что касается комитетскихъ цифръ, то коммисіи привели на выдержку четыре проекта и показали тѣ несообразности, какія въ нихъ заключаются. Соображенія, приведенныя коммисіями, такъ интересны, что мы позволяемъ себѣ передать ихъ буквально. Въ примѣръ взяты двѣ губерніи черноземной полосы — одна малоземельная, другая многоземельная, и двѣ нечерноземной: одна богатая, другая бѣдная промыслами, именно губерніи: Рязанская, Воронежская, Ярославская и Калужская.

Оброки, назначаемые рязанскимъ положеніемъ, въ примѣненіи къ лучшему, по отзыву членовъ комитета, уѣзду губерніи (михайловскому), выходятъ (включая и плату за усадьбу), среднимъ числомъ за десятину (полевой, луговой и паровой земли):

по положенію большинства рязанск. комит. 6 р. 85 к. съ десят.
меньшинства того же комитета . . . . . 5 р.
по предложенію членовъ отъ большинства и меньшинства . . . . . 4 —
по примѣненію системы, принятой редакціонными коммисіями, оброка на десятину, также со включеніемъ усадьбы, приходится. . . . . 3 — 27 к.
нынѣ существующіе оброки, разсчитанныя по всѣмъ оброчнымъ имѣніямъ (всего 46, въ нихъ около 6,400 душъ, т. е. $^1/_2$ крѣпостнаго населенія всего уѣзда) составляютъ около 10 р. сер. съ души, при среднемъ надѣлѣ въ 3,18 дес., а на десятину . . . . . 3 — 14 —

Михайловскій уѣздъ стоитъ выше всѣхъ черноземныхъ уѣздовъ рязанской губерніи по цѣнности земли.

Примѣняя проектъ Положенія воронежскаго комитета къ многоземельному бобровскому уѣзду, приходится на десятину 6 р. 46 к., т. е. на 60% болѣе повинности, предлагаемой членами рязанскаго комитета за земли михайловскаго уѣзда, тогда какъ, наоборотъ, михайловскія земли на 50% цѣннѣе земель бобровскаго уѣзда.

Между тѣмъ, нынѣ существующіе въ послѣднемъ уѣздѣ оброки (на оброкѣ состоитъ въ немъ 7,860 душъ) составляютъ 8 р. 54 к. съ души, при надѣлѣ въ 3,75 дес., а на дес. 2 р. 28 к.

По Положенію Редакціонныхъ Коммисій, въ бобровскомъ уѣздѣ, придется оброка за десятину, среднимъ числомъ, со включеніемъ усадьбы, 2 р. 57 к.

Такимъ образомъ предлагаемыя большинствомъ рязанскаго комитета и воронежскимъ комитетомъ повинности превосходятъ нынѣ существующія въ 2 и $2^1/_2$ раза.

Примѣненіе оброковъ, предположенныхъ ярославскимъ комитетомъ къ ростовскому уѣзду, одному изъ самыхъ лучшихъ въ губерніи, даетъ слѣдующіе результаты:

1) Изъ состоящихъ въ немъ на чистомъ оброкѣ 49 имѣній свыше 100 душъ, только въ трехъ имѣніяхъ произошло бы уменьшеніе оброка: въ одномъ, при уменьшеніи надѣла—на половину, въ другомъ—на 3 дес., въ третьемъ—на $1^1/_2$ дес. на душу.

Во всѣхъ остальныхъ имѣніяхъ оброкъ былъ бы увеличенъ, не рѣдко при отрѣзкѣ земли, а именно: изъ 44 имѣній

болѣе чѣмъ на 100%	въ 5	имѣніяхъ.
отъ 50% до 100%	— 13	—
отъ 20% до 50%	— 11	—

2) Въ имѣніяхъ ниже 100 душъ, изъ 73 имѣній, уменьшеніе повинностей произошло бы только въ 7, и то при значительномъ уменьшеніи надѣловъ, а въ остальныхъ оброки увеличились бы, иногда болѣе чѣмъ на 100%.

Примѣняя оброки, опредѣленные Положеніемъ калужскаго большинства къ оброчнымъ имѣніямъ медынскаго уѣзда, оказывается, что изъ 30 состоящихъ тамъ на оброкѣ имѣній свыше 100 душъ, повинность была бы возвышена во всѣхъ безъ исключенія, а именно:

болѣе чѣмъ на 100%	. . . . .	въ 9 имѣніяхъ.
— — 75%	. . . . .	— 5 —
— — 50%	. . . . .	— 4 —
— — 20%	. . . . .	— 8 —
— — 10%	. . . . .	— 1 —
менѣе чѣмъ на 10%	. . . . .	— 3 —

При этомъ, въ 29 имѣніяхъ, количество земли, состоявшей въ пользованіи у крестьянъ, уменьшилось бы, и при томъ весьма значительно, а именно: въ 12 имѣніяхъ болѣе чѣмъ на 50% а въ 26 - болѣе чѣмъ на 25% За основаніе исчисленія повинности большинство калужскаго комитета принимаетъ разсчетъ дохода съ земли. Повинность *съ души* составляетъ по этому проекту отъ 11 до 17 р., со включеніемъ усадьбы, при 2-хъ десятинахъ 300 саж. надѣла на душу.

Редакціонныя Коммисіи, ограничиваясь исчисленіемъ результатовъ примѣненія четырехъ проектовъ Положенія губернскихъ комитетовъ, замѣтили, что проекты эти, взятые только для примѣра, отнюдь не составляютъ исключенія изъ общаго правила, и что значительная часть остальныхъ проектовъ приведетъ къ подобнымъ же результатамъ, т. е. ухудшенію быта крестьянъ.

При сравненіи предположеній редакціонныхъ коммисій съ тѣми правилами, которыя вошли въ Положеніе, оказывается, что хотя общія нормы оброка оставлены тѣ же, но нѣкоторыя мѣстности изъ низшихъ категорій переведены въ высшія; особенно выдѣляется здѣсь Московская губернія, гдѣ во многихъ уѣздахъ оброкъ повышенъ, противъ предполагавшагося редакціонными коммисіями, одновременно съ уменьшеніемъ предполагавшагося высшаго размѣра надѣла. Кромѣ того, самая система опредѣленія оброка измѣнена весьма невыгоднымъ для крестьянъ образомъ. Редакціонныя коммисіи предлагали опредѣленіе оброка въ каждомъ частномъ случаѣ поставить въ зависимость отъ средняго оброка, который долженъ быть выведенъ для каждой мѣстности губернскимъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствіемъ. Для этого, по проекту коммисій, годовые оброки, платимые до 1860 года оброчными крестьянами (въ тѣхъ имѣніяхъ, гдѣ болѣе 20 душъ), должны быть сложены въ одинъ общій итогъ, который дѣлится на число всѣхъ душъ, принятыхъ въ разсчетъ. и чрезъ такое дѣленіе получается средній для губерніи или мѣстности душевой оброкъ. Этотъ средній оброкъ коммисіи и предлагали принять за высшую душевую повинность, соотвѣтствующую высшему душевому надѣлу, установленному для каждой изъ этихъ мѣстностей, но съ тѣмъ, чтобы выведенный оброкъ не превышалъ крайній предѣлъ оброчной повинности, установленный коммисіями. Такимъ образомъ, высшій размѣръ оброка не могъ переходить за предѣлы, указанные коммисіями, но

могъ быть и значительно меньше. Это представлялось совершено раціональнымъ, такъ какъ часть крестьянскихъ земель почти вездѣ подлежала отрѣзкѣ. Но Положеніе не приняло этой системы и сдѣлало крайній предѣлъ оброка нормальнымъ оброкомъ при высшемъ надѣлѣ, если только крестьяне платили его прежде, не обращая вниманія на тѣ частые случаи, когда при оставленіи прежняго оброка, крестьяне лишаются значительной части тѣхъ земель, изъ которыхъ они извлекали средства для платежа этого оброка.

При этомъ слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что когда крестьяне получаютъ меньшее количество земли противъ высшаго надѣла, то ихъ повинности понижаются не пропорціонально пониженію надѣла, а въ гораздо меньшемъ размѣрѣ. Такъ, по 169 ст. Великорусскаго Положенія исчисленіе слѣдующаго съ крестьянъ оброка, при уменьшенномъ надѣлѣ, производится слѣдующимъ образомъ. Въ *нечерноземной полосѣ* на первую десятину высшаго душеваго надѣла (со включеніемъ сюда и причитающейся доли крестьянской усадебной осѣдлости) относится одна половина высшаго душеваго оброка (напр., при 12 рубляхъ—6 руб. и т. д.); на слѣдующую десятину относится четверть высшаго душеваго оброка, затѣмъ остальная четверть раскладывается равномѣрно на всю остальную часть надѣла. Въ полосахъ же *черноземной* и *степной* на первую десятину (также со включеніемъ усадебной осѣдлости) относится 4 рубля, а остальныя 5 рублей разлагаются равномѣрно на остальную часть надѣла. По этому разсчету, напримѣръ въ Ветлужскомъ уѣздѣ Костромской губерніи, крестьянское общество изъ 100 душъ, получившее полный надѣлъ (т. е. 600 десятинъ), будетъ платить 900 рублей въ годъ, а получившее только половину надѣла, т. е. 300 десятинъ, заплатитъ не 450, а 731 р. 25 коп.

Опредѣляя крестьянскія повинности, Положеніе установило въ то же время и мѣры ихъ взысканія, согласно съ тѣми заключеніями, какія были сдѣланы редакціонными коммисіями. Мѣры эти указаны въ мѣстныхъ Положеніяхъ какъ относительно исполненія издѣльной повинности, такъ и относительно взысканія оброковъ. «Если работникъ или работница—говорится въ Положеніяхъ—не кончитъ установленнаго урока или худо выполнитъ работу, то сельскій староста обязанъ, по требованію помѣщика или его повѣреннаго, заставить неисправнаго крестьянина или крестьянку въ свои дни и не въ счетъ слѣдующихъ съ общества въ пользу помѣщика дней, окончить установленный урокъ или пере-

дѣлать негодную работу. Если же дурно исполненная, по нерадѣнію или винѣ крестьянина, работа не можетъ быть передѣлана, то виновные, работникъ или работница, обязываются отработать на помѣщика лишній день, не въ счетъ слѣдующихъ съ общества рабочихъ дней. Крестьяне, неправильно подвергнутые такому взысканію, имѣютъ право приносить жалобы мировому посреднику». «Оставшіеся въ недоимкѣ за крестьянами рабочіе дни должны быть отработаны, по требованію и указанію помѣщика или его повѣреннаго, немедленно. Неотработанные въ трехдневный срокъ прогульные дни переводятся въ денежную недоимку, по оцѣнкѣ рабочаго дня, установленной губернскимъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствіемъ, или отработываются крестьянами по обоюдному ихъ съ помѣщиками соглашенію» (Великор. Полож. ст. 252 и 253). При взысканіи оброковъ предоставляется сперва принимать мѣры самому крестьянскому обществу, которое можетъ: обратить на возмѣщеніе недоимки доходъ съ имущества, принадлежащаго недоимщику, въ собственность; отдать недоимщика или кого-либо изъ членовъ его семейства въ заработки; опредѣлить къ недоимщику опекуна; подвергнуть продажѣ личное его недвижимое имущество, за исключеніемъ выкупленной усадьбы; продать часть движимаго его имущества и строеній, которая не составляетъ необходимости въ хозяйствѣ и, наконецъ, отобрать у недоимщика часть отведенныхъ ему угодій или даже весь его полевой надѣлъ (ст. 261). Если само общество не внесетъ недоимокъ къ назначенному сроку, то взысканіе оброковъ возлагается на мирового посредника, который, по требованію помѣщика, можетъ принять слѣдующія мѣры:

«1) Предписать сельскому начальству несостоятельнаго общества никого не увольнять по паспортамъ изъ селенія, безъ письменнаго на то согласія помѣщика, и не возобновлять паспортовъ находящимся въ отлучкѣ крестьянамъ, если помѣщикъ того потребуетъ.

«2) Вмѣсто избранныхъ обществомъ должностныхъ лицъ назначить другихъ, по своему усмотрѣнію.

«3) Распоряжаться, чтобы общество ставило неисправныхъ крестьянъ на заработки по контрактамъ.

«4) Произвести, черезъ земскую полицію, опись всего крестьянскаго движимаго имущества и исключить изъ онаго то, что составляетъ необходимость въ крестьянскомъ хозяйствѣ и не можетъ быть продано безъ раззоренія крестьянъ, распорядиться, черезъ земскую же полицію, продажею остальной части означеннаго имущества.

«5) Отобрать у крестьянъ на три года часть земель, состоящихъ въ постоянномъ ихъ пользованіи» (ст. 262).

Эта земля отдается съ торговъ въ арендное содержаніе; а если торги не состоятся, то обращается въ общественную запашку, доходы идутъ на уплату недоимки. Въ случаѣ невозможности привести въ исполненіе и ту и другую мѣру, земля отдается на три года во временное распоряженіе помѣщика, а съ крестьянъ слагается соотвѣтствующая часть недоимки.

Такія же приблизительно мѣры указаны закономъ и при наслѣдственномъ (участковомъ) владѣніи землею, съ тою разницею, что у неисправнаго домохозяина отбирается вся его полевая земля, которая и предоставляется въ полномъ составѣ или по частямъ другимъ членамъ того же общества за тѣ же повинности съ уплатою недоимки, и если желающихъ не найдется, то поступаетъ въ распоряженіе помѣщика.

Участки, отобранные у крестьянъ на основаніи этихъ правилъ, находятся, какъ мы уже сказали, только во временномъ пользованіи помѣщика. Если они отобраны ранѣе девяти лѣтъ со времени изданія Положенія, то до истеченія этого срока каждые три года, по снятіи хлѣбовъ, само общество, если на немъ нѣтъ недоимки, а при наслѣдственномъ пользованіи каждый крестьянинъ, на которомъ не числится недоимокъ, имѣетъ право получить отобранные участки въ свое пользованіе за установленныя повинности. Въ случаѣ отобранія у крестьянъ участковъ по прошествіи девяти лѣтъ, общество, а тамъ, гдѣ существуетъ наслѣдственное владѣніе, каждый крестьянинъ, если на немъ нѣтъ недоимки, точно также имѣютъ право требовать передачи имъ такой свободной земли въ полное пользованіе за установленныя повинности; но если, по истеченіи трехъ лѣтъ, крестьяне вторично откажутся отъ состоявшаго во временномъ распоряженіи помѣщика участка или принявъ его въ пользованіе, вновь лишатся его за недоимку, тогда участокъ этотъ вновь окончательно возвращается помѣщику (ст. 133 и 135 Великор. Полож. и ст. 133 и 136 Малор.).

Надѣленіемъ крестьянъ землею и опредѣленіемъ ихъ повинностей не прекращается еще участіе государства въ устройствѣ быта крестьянъ. Конечная цѣль, которую поставили себѣ въ этомъ отношеніи составители Положенія, это—выкупъ крестьянскихъ угодій, который влечетъ за собою совершенное прекращеніе обязательныхъ отношеній между помѣщиками и крестьянами. Противъ этого исхода

было много возраженій. Одни указывали на финансовыя затрудненія, другіе прямо возставали противъ самаго принципа выкупа, желая безконечнаго продолженія «помѣстныхъ отношеній», защиту которыхъ, еще долго послѣ изданія Положенія, брали на себя лица, органомъ которыхъ была покойная «Вѣсть». Но редакціонныя коммисіи остались при своемъ мѣніи и прямо заявляли, что «по глубокому ихъ убѣжденію, почерпнутому изъ внимательнаго изученія всѣхъ разнородныхъ мнѣній и требованій, нельзя разсчитывать на мирное разрѣшеніе крестьянскаго дѣла, если не будутъ, одновременно со введеніемъ новаго Положенія, открыты всѣ возможныя средства къ заключенію добровольныхъ выкупныхъ сдѣлокъ между помѣщиками и крестьянами».

Въ вопросѣ о выкупѣ, слѣдуетъ различать выкупъ крестьянскихъ усадебъ отъ выкупа полевыхъ угодій. По отношенію къ усадьбамъ, редакціонныя коммисіи пришли къ тому убѣжденію, что необходимо право выкупа предоставить крестьянамъ; конечно, губернскіе комитеты и ихъ представители были противъ этого и когда зашла рѣчь объ оцѣнкѣ усадебной земли, то предлагали такія цифры, которыя поражаютъ своею громадностью. Такъ, большинство орловскаго комитета оцѣняло десятину усадебной земли по нѣкоторымъ уѣздамъ въ 520 р.; воронежскій комитетъ въ 600 р., большинство черниговскаго въ 720 и 840 рублей, большинство московскаго въ 720, 960 и 1,200 р. за десятину, большинство владимірскаго въ 1,080 руб. Сверхъ того, эти комитеты предоставляли помѣщику право еще увеличить оцѣнку, съ указаніемъ въ уставной грамотѣ особыхъ выгодъ, которыхъ онъ лишается черезъ отчужденіе усадьбы, или же соотвѣтственно мѣстнымъ выгодамъ, не ограничивая такого возвышенія оцѣнки никакою высшею нормою. До какой степени произвольны были предлагаемыя комитетами цифры, это можно видѣть изъ сравненія смежныхъ губерній. Въ Черниговской и Саратовской губерніяхъ цѣна за десятину назначена въ 480 рублей, а въ смежныхъ съ ними губерніяхъ, въ Полтавской 216 рублей, а въ Симбирской 240 (Кр. дѣло. Т. II, ч. 2, стр. 802, 803 и 819). Къ счастію, эти предположенія, дѣлавшія выкупъ невозможнымъ, были отстранены. Редакціонныя коммисіи высказали убѣжденіе, что десятина усадебной земли должна быть оцѣнена по капитализаціи оброка, принимая за норму оброка тотъ, который крестьяне платятъ за первую десятину надѣла. Въ Положеніи о крестьянахъ, на усадебную осѣдлость прямо отнесена извѣстная часть оброка, независимо отъ того количества земли, кото-

рое занято этою осѣдлостью Высшій размѣръ этого оброка опредѣленъ для различныхъ мѣстностей въ 1 р. 50 к., 2 р. 50 коп. и 3 р. 50 коп., но въ нѣкоторыхъ имѣніяхъ дана возможность еще его увеличить. Затѣмъ, какъ цѣлому обществу, такъ и каждому домохозяину, дана возможность выкупать свою осѣдлость, внеся сумму, опредѣляющуюся по капитализаціи оброка изъ 6% (въ 25, 40 и 60 р.).

. . . . . .

От Издателей. Къ сожалѣнію, внезапная смерть прервала на этомъ мѣстѣ работу автора настоящей статьи, которая должна была занять и слѣдующій листъ. Издатели однакоже рѣшились оставить эту статью въ «Сборникѣ»,— во первыхъ потому, что замѣна ее другою потребовала бы не мало времени; во вторыхъ потому, что предыдущія шесть главъ представляютъ, сами по себѣ, вполнѣ законченное цѣлое. Впрочемъ, и настоящая глава, хотя и неоконченная, не лишена интереса, благодаря сопоставленнымъ въ ней даннымъ.

НУЖДЫ РУССКАГО СѢВЕРА.

I.

Въ послѣднее время со всѣхъ сторонъ слышатся жалобы на неудовлетворительность положенія русскаго крестьянина, на то, что онъ постоянно бѣдствуетъ и не въ силахъ выносить бремя лежащихъ на немъ налоговъ. Онъ впадаетъ въ долги, становится несостоятельнымъ плательщикомъ, недоимки за нимъ съ каждымъ годомъ возрастаютъ, онъ подпадаетъ подъ эксплуатацію кулаковъ и окончательно раззоряется. Вмѣсто того, чтобы быть полезнымъ членомъ общества, крестьянинъ становится все большимъ и большимъ для него бременемъ; вмѣсто того, чтобы составлять его силу, крестьянинъ дѣлается одной изъ причинъ его слабости.

Дѣйствительно, чтобы убѣдиться въ бѣдственномъ положеніи нашего крестьянина, стоитъ только проѣхаться по нѣкоторымъ мѣстностямъ и ближе познакомиться съ бытомъ сельскаго населенія. Если наблюдатель не крайній оптимистъ, то бѣдность крестьянина предстанетъ передъ нимъ во всей своей поражающей наготѣ. Къ сожалѣнію, оптимистовъ у насъ много. Они большею частію или не желаютъ или не могутъ вникнуть въ истинное положеніе дѣлъ. Всѣмъ напр. извѣстно, какъ на сѣверѣ во время страшнаго голода въ 1867 году, когда люди умирали какъ мухи, многіе отрицали самое существованіе голода. Нашлись господа, которые утверждали, что хлѣбъ изъ мха, древесной коры и мякины прекрасенъ и что нечего особенно безпокоиться, такъ какъ и этимъ хлѣбомъ можно пи-

таться. Однакожъ, дѣйствительность не оправдала подобныхъ надеждъ и правительство нашло нужнымъ принять энергичныя мѣры для оказанія населенію необходимой помощи. Впрочемъ, не малое число людей успѣло погибнуть, прежде чѣмъ къ голодающимъ подоспѣла помощь.

Что голодъ постоянный гость на сѣверѣ, можно видѣть изъ того, что и въ прошломъ, урожайномъ году, тамошнее населеніе питалось хлѣбомъ, состоящимъ на половину изъ овсяной мякины. Въ мартѣ мѣсяцѣ, во время моего пребыванія въ Шенкурскѣ (Архангельской губ.), мнѣ были представлены образчики хлѣба, которымъ питаются жители ближайшихъ къ Шенкурску деревень. Хлѣбъ этотъ былъ похожъ на скотскій пометъ, черный, съ цѣлыми зернами и твердый. Въ Шенкурскѣ, самомъ плодородномъ уѣздѣ во всей Архангельской губерніи, къ мѣстному доктору явился однажды крестьянинъ со своими дѣтьми и жаловался, что дѣти на дворъ не ходятъ. Докторъ сдѣлалъ дѣтямъ операцію и вынулъ у нихъ изъ задняго прохода комки мякины, съ фунтъ вѣсомъ каждый. Вотъ каковъ хваленый оптимистами хлѣбъ. Крестьяне ѣдятъ сосновую кору и считаютъ это еще за лакомство.

Дѣйствительно, жители сѣвера, можетъ быть болѣе, чѣмъ обитатели остальныхъ мѣстностей Россіи, поражаютъ путешественника своимъ видомъ, своею худобою, своею бѣдностью. Да и какъ имъ благоденствовать, если почва, климатъ и природа такъ бѣдны, если всѣ промыслы находятся въ такомъ жалкомъ состояніи. Къ тому же, сѣверный работникъ еще обремененъ разными налогами и повинностями; всюду, куда онъ ни кинется и за что ни возьмется, онъ прежде всего долженъ платить громадныя пошлины. Такъ напр., если онъ себѣ сдѣлаетъ въ лѣсу вѣникъ, который въ Петербургѣ можно готовый купить за 1 к., онъ долженъ внести 1 коп. пошлины. Лѣсъ составляетъ главный его сырой матеріалъ, но и за лѣсъ ему приходится платить такія пошлины, что у него почти ничего не остается за его тяжелый трудъ. Отъ занятій напр. смолокуреніемъ онъ заработываетъ въ сутки всего 6 — 8 коп. Ко всему этому надо еще прибавить тотъ гнетъ, который лежитъ на рабочемъ, вслѣдствіе его зависимости отъ мѣстныхъ кулаковъ и монополіи архангельскихъ купцовъ. Нигдѣ кулачество такъ не развито и такъ не гнететъ мѣстныхъ крестьянъ, какъ на сѣверѣ. Это происходитъ вслѣдствіе того, что населеніе тамъ рѣдкое, пути сообщенія крайне

плохи, рынки сбыта находятся въ отдаленныхъ отъ производства мѣстахъ. Крестьянинъ, не имѣя средствъ свезти свой товаръ на мѣсто сбыта, принужденъ отдавать его мѣстному кулаку за безцѣнокъ. Кромѣ того, не сбывая своего продукта во́-время и, слѣдовательно, не выручивъ за свой трудъ во́-время денегъ, онъ впадаетъ въ нужду, обращается къ кулаку за займами, а этотъ послѣдній безсовѣстнѣйшимъ образомъ пользуется всякимъ положеніемъ бѣдняка. Большею частію бѣднякъ, не имѣя средствъ приступить къ своему производству или нуждаясь въ деньгахъ для уплаты податей, продаетъ кулаку товаръ, котораго у него еще нѣтъ; иногда цѣна опредѣляется при самой сдѣлкѣ, но часто о ней не бываетъ и рѣчи, такъ что бѣднякъ получаетъ за свой товаръ впослѣдствіи столько, сколько назначитъ кулакъ.

Не послѣднюю роль въ этомъ случаѣ играетъ и невѣжество крестьянина. Всѣ производства его находятся въ жалкомъ состояніи, потому что способы производства самые первобытные, которые требуютъ много труда и матеріала и очень плохо вознаграждаютъ рабочаго за его трудъ. Онъ не знаетъ самыхъ элементарныхъ требованій даннаго производства, вслѣдствіе чего получаетъ гораздо меньше продуктовъ, чѣмъ могъ бы получать, и притомъ гораздо худшаго качества.

Напримѣръ, въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ Вологодской губерніи хорошо произрастаетъ ленъ, который даетъ крестьянамъ порядочный доходъ. Но они могли бы получать гораздо больше, еслибы умѣли надлежащимъ образомъ ростить ленъ и какъ слѣдуетъ его обработывать. Они его теперь разстилаютъ на полѣ и оставляютъ долго лежать на воздухѣ. Ленъ отъ этого портится, гніетъ, желтѣетъ и становится менѣе прочнымъ. Крестьяне сознаютъ, что они отъ этого теряютъ много, но не могутъ поправить дѣло, такъ какъ не имѣютъ свѣдѣній о томъ, какъ слѣдуетъ мочить ленъ. «Я знаю, сказалъ мнѣ одинъ крестьянинъ, что если мочить ленъ, то онъ получается болѣе крѣпкимъ и гораздо бѣлѣе, и такой ленъ гораздо дороже, но что-жъ мнѣ дѣлать, я не умѣю его мочить и не знаю, гдѣ этому научиться». Между тѣмъ льна изъ Вологодской губерніи черезъ Архангельскъ вывозится значительное количество. Именно, въ прошломъ году изъ Архангельска льна, доставленнаго Вологодской губерніей, вывезено болѣе, чѣмъ на 1 мил. руб. сер., несмотря на то, что въ прошломъ году, напр. въ Верховожьѣ, ленъ продавался всего по 3—4½ руб. за пудъ. Такихъ производствъ, которыя требуютъ раціональнаго

по положенію большинства рязанск. комит. 6 р. 85 к. съ десят.
меньшинства того же комитета . . . . . 5 р.
по предложенію членовъ отъ большинства и меньшинства . . . . . 4 —
по примѣненію системы, принятой редакціонными коммисіями, оброка на десятину, также со включеніемъ усадьбы, приходится. . . . . 3 — 27 к.
нынѣ существующіе оброки, разсчитанныя по всѣмъ оброчнымъ имѣніямъ (всего 46, въ нихъ около 6,400 душъ, т. е. $^1/_3$ крѣпостнаго населенія всего уѣзда) составляютъ около 10 р. сер. съ души, при среднемъ надѣлѣ въ 3,18 дес., а на десятину . . . . . 3 — 14 —

Михайловскій уѣздъ стоитъ выше всѣхъ черноземныхъ уѣздовъ рязанской губерніи по цѣнности земли.

Примѣняя проектъ Положенія воронежскаго комитета къ многоземельному бобровскому уѣзду, приходится на десятиву 6 р. 46 к., т. е. на 60% болѣе повинности, предлагаемой членами рязанскаго комитета за земли михайловскаго уѣзда, тогда какъ, наоборотъ, михайловскія земли на 50% цѣннѣе земель бобровскаго уѣзда.

Между тѣмъ, нынѣ существующіе въ послѣднемъ уѣздѣ оброки (на оброкѣ состоитъ въ немъ 7,860 душъ) составляютъ 8 р. 54 к. съ души, при надѣлѣ въ 3,75 дес., а на дес. 2 р. 28 к.

По Положенію Редакціонныхъ Коммисій, въ бобровскомъ уѣздѣ, придется оброка за десятину, среднимъ числомъ, со включеніемъ усадьбы, 2 р. 57 к.

Такимъ образомъ предлагаемыя большинствомъ рязанскаго комитета и воронежскимъ комитетомъ повинности превосходятъ нынѣ существующія въ 2 и $2^1/_2$ раза.

Примѣненіе оброковъ, предположенныхъ ярославскимъ комитетомъ къ ростовскому уѣзду, одному изъ самыхъ лучшихъ въ губерніи, даетъ слѣдующіе результаты:

1) Изъ состоящихъ въ немъ на чистомъ оброкѣ 49 имѣній свыше 100 душъ, только въ трехъ имѣніяхъ произошло бы уменьшеніе оброка: въ одномъ, при уменьшеніи надѣла—на половину, въ другомъ—на 3 дес., въ третьемъ—на $1^1/_2$ дес. на душу.

Во всѣхъ остальныхъ имѣніяхъ оброкъ былъ бы увеличенъ, не рѣдко при отрѣзкѣ земли, а именно: изъ 44 имѣній

болѣе чѣмъ на 100%	въ 5	имѣніяхъ.
отъ 50% до 100%	— 13	—
отъ 20% до 50%	— 11	—

2) Въ имѣніяхъ ниже 100 душъ, изъ 73 имѣній, уменьшеніе повинностей произошло бы только въ 7, и то при значительномъ уменьшеніи надѣловъ, а въ остальныхъ оброки увеличились бы, иногда болѣе чѣмъ на 100%.

Примѣняя оброки, опредѣленные Положеніемъ калужскаго большинства къ оброчнымъ имѣніямъ медынскаго уѣзда, оказывается, что изъ 30 состоящихъ тамъ на оброкѣ имѣній свыше 100 душъ, повинность была бы возвышена во всѣхъ безъ исключенія, а именно:

болѣе чѣмъ на 100%	. . . . .	въ 9 имѣніяхъ.
— — 75%	. . . . .	— 5 —
— — 50%	. . . . .	— 4 —
— — 20%	. . . . .	— 8 —
— — 10%	. . . . .	— 1 —
менѣе чѣмъ на 10%	. . . . .	— 3 —

При этомъ, въ 29 имѣніяхъ, количество земли, состоявшей въ пользованіи у крестьянъ, уменьшилось бы, и при томъ весьма значительно, а именно: въ 12 имѣніяхъ болѣе чѣмъ на 50% а въ 26 - болѣе чѣмъ на 25% За основаніе исчисленія повинности большинство калужскаго комитета принимаетъ разсчетъ дохода съ земли. Повинность *съ души* составляетъ по этому проекту отъ 11 до 17 р., со включеніемъ усадьбы, при 2-хъ десятинахъ 300 саж. надѣла на душу.

Редакціонныя Коммисіи, ограничиваясь исчисленіемъ результатовъ примѣненія четырехъ проектовъ Положенія губернскихъ комитетовъ, замѣтили. что проекты эти, взятые только для примѣра, отнюдь не составляютъ исключенія изъ общаго правила, и что значительная часть остальныхъ проектовъ приведетъ къ подобнымъ же результатамъ, т. е. ухудшенію быта крестьянъ.

При сравненіи предположеній редакціонныхъ коммисій съ тѣми правилами, которыя вошли въ Положеніе, оказывается, что хотя общія нормы оброка оставлены тѣ же, но нѣкоторыя мѣстности изъ низшихъ категорій переведены въ высшія; особенно выдѣляется здѣсь Московская губернія, гдѣ во многихъ уѣздахъ оброкъ повышенъ, противъ предполагавшагося редакціонными коммисіями, одновременно съ уменьшеніемъ предполагавшагося высшаго размѣра надѣла. Кромѣ того, самая система опредѣленія оброка измѣнена весьма невыгоднымъ для крестьянъ образомъ. Редакціонныя коммисіи предлагали опредѣленіе оброка въ каждомъ частномъ случаѣ поставить въ зависимость отъ средняго оброка, который долженъ быть выведенъ для каждой мѣстности губернскимъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствіемъ. Для этого, по проекту коммисій, годовые оброки, платимые до 1860 года оброчными крестьянами (въ тѣхъ имѣніяхъ, гдѣ болѣе 20 душъ), должны быть сложены въ одинъ общій итогъ, который дѣлится на число всѣхъ душъ, принятыхъ въ разсчетъ и чрезъ такое дѣленіе получается средній для губерніи или мѣстности душевой оброкъ. Этотъ средній оброкъ коммисіи и предлагали принять за высшую душевую повинность, соотвѣтствующую высшему душевому надѣлу, установленному для каждой изъ этихъ мѣстностей, но съ тѣмъ, чтобы выведенный оброкъ не превышалъ крайній предѣлъ оброчной повинности, установленный коммисіями. Такимъ образомъ, высшій размѣръ оброка не могъ переходить за предѣлы, указанные коммисіями, но

могъ быть и значительно меньше. Это представлялось совершено раціональнымъ, такъ какъ часть крестьянскихъ земель почти вездѣ подлежала отрѣзкѣ. Но Положеніе не приняло этой системы и сдѣлало крайній предѣлъ оброка нормальнымъ оброкомъ при высшемъ надѣлѣ, если только крестьяне платили его прежде, не обращая вниманія на тѣ частые случаи, когда при оставленіи прежняго оброка, крестьяне лишаются значительной части тѣхъ земель, изъ которыхъ они извлекали средства для платежа этого оброка.

При этомъ слѣдуетъ замѣтить, что когда крестьяне получаютъ меньшее количество земли противъ высшаго надѣла, то ихъ повинности понижаются не пропорціонально пониженію надѣла, а въ гораздо меньшемъ размѣрѣ. Такъ, по 169 ст. Великорусскаго Положенія исчисленіе слѣдующаго съ крестьянъ оброка, при уменьшенномъ надѣлѣ, производится слѣдующимъ образомъ. Въ *нечерноземной полосѣ* на первую десятину высшаго душеваго надѣла (со включеніемъ сюда и причитающейся доли крестьянской усадебной осѣдлости) относится одна половина высшаго душеваго оброка (напр., при 12 рубляхъ—6 руб. и т. д.); на слѣдующую десятину относится четверть высшаго душеваго оброка, затѣмъ остальная четверть раскладывается равномѣрно на всю остальную часть надѣла. Въ полосахъ же *черноземной* и *степной* на первую десятину (также со включеніемъ усадебной осѣдлости) относится 4 рубля, а остальныя 5 рублей разлагаются равномѣрно на остальную часть надѣла. По этому разсчету, напримѣръ въ Ветлужскомъ уѣздѣ Костромской губерніи, крестьянское общество изъ 100 душъ, получившее полный надѣлъ (т. е. 600 десятинъ), будетъ платить 900 рублей въ годъ, а получившее только половину надѣла, т. е. 300 десятинъ, заплатитъ не 450, а 731 р. 25 коп.

Опредѣляя крестьянскія повинности, Положеніе установило въ то же время и мѣры ихъ взысканія, согласно съ тѣми заключеніями, какія были сдѣланы редакціонными коммисіями. Мѣры эти указаны въ мѣстныхъ Положеніяхъ какъ относительно исполненія издѣльной повинности, такъ и относительно взысканія оброковъ. «Если работникъ или работница—говорится въ Положеніяхъ—не кончитъ установленнаго урока или худо выполнитъ работу, то сельскій староста обязанъ, по требованію помѣщика или его повѣреннаго, заставить неисправнаго крестьянина или крестьянку въ свои дни и не въ счетъ слѣдующихъ съ общества въ пользу помѣщика дней, окончить установленный урокъ или пере-

дѣлать негодную работу. Если же дурно исполненная, по нерадѣнію или винѣ крестьянина, работа не можетъ быть передѣлана, то виновные, работникъ или работница, обязываются отработать на помѣщика лишній день, не въ счетъ слѣдующихъ съ общества рабочихъ дней. Крестьяне, неправильно подвергнутые такому взысканію, имѣютъ право приносить жалобы мировому посреднику». «Оставшіеся въ недоимкѣ за крестьянами рабочіе дни должны быть отработаны, по требованію и указанію помѣщика или его повѣреннаго, немедленно. Неотработанные въ трехдневный срокъ прогульные дни переводятся въ денежную недоимку, по оцѣнкѣ рабочаго дня, установленной губернскимъ по крестьянскимъ дѣламъ присутствіемъ, или отработываются крестьянами по обоюдному ихъ съ помѣщиками соглашенію» (Великор. Полож. ст. 252 и 253). При взысканіи оброковъ предоставляется сперва принимать мѣры самому крестьянскому обществу, которое можетъ: обратить на возмѣщеніе недоимки доходъ съ имущества, принадлежащаго недоимщику, въ собственность; отдать недоимщика или кого-либо изъ членовъ его семейства въ заработки; опредѣлить къ недоимщику опекуна; подвергнуть продажѣ личное его недвижимое имущество, за исключеніемъ выкупленной усадьбы; продать часть движимаго его имущества и строеній, которая не составляетъ необходимости въ хозяйствѣ и, наконецъ, отобрать у недоимщика часть отведенныхъ ему угодій или даже весь его полевой надѣлъ (ст. 261). Если само общество не внесетъ недоимокъ къ назначенному сроку, то взысканіе оброковъ возлагается на мирового посредника, который, по требованію помѣщика, можетъ принять слѣдующія мѣры:

«1) Предписать сельскому начальству несостоятельнаго общества никого не увольнять по паспортамъ изъ селенія, безъ письменнаго на то согласія помѣщика, и не возобновлять паспортовъ находящимся въ отлучкѣ крестьянамъ, если помѣщикъ того потребуетъ.

«2) Вмѣсто избранныхъ обществомъ должностныхъ лицъ назначить другихъ, по своему усмотрѣнію.

«3) Распоряжаться, чтобы общество ставило неисправныхъ крестьянъ на заработки по контрактамъ.

«4) Произвести, черезъ земскую полицію, опись всего крестьянскаго движимаго имущества и исключить изъ онаго то, что составляетъ необходимость въ крестьянскомъ хозяйствѣ и не можетъ быть продано безъ раззоренія крестьянъ, распорядиться, черезъ земскую же полицію, продажею остальной части означеннаго имущества.

«5) Отобрать у крестьянъ на три года часть земель, состоящихъ въ постоянномъ ихъ пользованіи» (ст. 262).

Эта земля отдается съ торговъ въ арендное содержаніе; а если торги не состоятся, то обращается въ общественную запашку, доходы идутъ на уплату недоимки. Въ случаѣ невозможности привести въ исполненіе и ту и другую мѣру, земля отдается на три года во временное распоряженіе помѣщика, а съ крестьянъ слагается соотвѣтствующая часть недоимки.

Такія же приблизительно мѣры указаны закономъ и при наслѣдственномъ (участковомъ) владѣніи землею, съ тою разницею, что у неисправнаго домохозяина отбирается вся его полевая земля, которая и предоставляется въ полномъ составѣ или по частямъ другимъ членамъ того же общества за тѣ же повинности съ уплатою недоимки, и если желающихъ не найдется, то поступаетъ въ распоряженіе помѣщика.

Участки, отобранные у крестьянъ на основаніи этихъ правилъ, находятся, какъ мы уже сказали, только во временномъ пользованіи помѣщика. Если они отобраны ранѣе девяти лѣтъ со времени изданія Положенія, то до истеченія этого срока каждые три года, по снятіи хлѣбовъ, само общество, если на немъ нѣтъ недоимки, а при наслѣдственномъ пользованіи каждый крестьянинъ, на которомъ не числится недоимокъ, имѣетъ право получить отобранные участки въ свое пользованіе за установленныя повинности. Въ случаѣ отобранія у крестьянъ участковъ по прошествіи девяти лѣтъ, общество, а тамъ, гдѣ существуетъ наслѣдственное владѣніе, каждый крестьянинъ, если на немъ нѣтъ недоимки, точно также имѣютъ право требовать передачи имъ такой свободной земли въ полное пользованіе за установленныя повинности; но если, по истеченіи трехъ лѣтъ, крестьяне вторично откажутся отъ состоявшаго во временномъ распоряженіи помѣщика участка или принявъ его въ пользованіе, вновь лишатся его за недоимку, тогда участокъ этотъ вновь окончательно возвращается помѣщику (ст. 133 и 135 Великор. Полож. и ст. 133 и 136 Малор.).

Надѣленіемъ крестьянъ землею и опредѣленіемъ ихъ повинностей не прекращается еще участіе государства въ устройствѣ быта крестьянъ. Конечная цѣль, которую поставили себѣ въ этомъ отношеніи составители Положенія, это—выкупъ крестьянскихъ угодій, который влечетъ за собою совершенное прекращеніе обязательныхъ отношеній между помѣщиками и крестьянами. Противъ этого исхода

было много возраженій. Одни указывали на финансовыя затрудненія, другіе прямо возставали противъ самаго принципа выкупа, желая безконечнаго продолженія «помѣстныхъ отношеній», защиту которыхъ, еще долго послѣ изданія Положенія, брали на себя лица, органомъ которыхъ была покойная «Вѣсть». Но редакціонныя коммисіи остались при своемъ мѣніи и прямо заявляли, что «по глубокому ихъ убѣжденію, почерпнутому изъ внимательнаго изученія всѣхъ разнородныхъ мнѣній и требованій, нельзя разсчитывать на мирное разрѣшеніе крестьянскаго дѣла, если не будутъ, одновременно со введеніемъ новаго Положенія, открыты всѣ возможныя средства къ заключенію добровольныхъ выкупныхъ сдѣлокъ между помѣщиками и крестьянами».

Въ вопросѣ о выкупѣ, слѣдуетъ различать выкупъ крестьянскихъ усадебъ отъ выкупа полевыхъ угодій. По отношенію къ усадьбамъ, редакціонныя коммисіи пришли къ тому убѣжденію, что необходимо право выкупа предоставить крестьянамъ; конечно, губернскіе комитеты и ихъ представители были противъ этого и когда зашла рѣчь объ оцѣнкѣ усадебной земли, то предлагали такія цифры, которыя поражаютъ своею громадностью. Такъ, большинство орловскаго комитета оцѣняло десятину усадебной земли по нѣкоторымъ уѣздамъ въ 520 р.; воронежскій комитетъ въ 600 р., большинство черниговскаго въ 720 и 840 рублей, большинство московскаго въ 720, 960 и 1,200 р. за десятину, большинство владимірскаго въ 1,080 руб. Сверхъ того, эти комитеты предоставляли помѣщику право еще увеличить оцѣнку, съ указаніемъ въ уставной грамотѣ особыхъ выгодъ, которыхъ онъ лишается черезъ отчужденіе усадьбы, или же соотвѣтственно мѣстнымъ выгодамъ, не ограничивая такого возвышенія оцѣнки никакою высшею нормою. До какой степени произвольны были предлагаемыя комитетами цифры, это можно видѣть изъ сравненія смежныхъ губерній. Въ Черниговской и Саратовской губерніяхъ цѣна за десятину назначена въ 480 рублей, а въ смежныхъ съ ними губерніяхъ, въ Полтавской 216 рублей, а въ Симбирской 240 (Кр. дѣло. Т. II, ч. 2, стр. 802, 803 и 819). Къ счастію, эти предположенія, дѣлавшія выкупъ невозможнымъ, были отстранены. Редакціонныя коммисіи высказали убѣжденіе, что десятина усадебной земли должна быть оцѣнена по капитализаціи оброка, принимая за норму оброка тотъ, который крестьяне платятъ за первую десятину надѣла. Въ Положеніи о крестьянахъ, на усадебную осѣдлость прямо отнесена извѣстная часть оброка, независимо отъ того количества земли, кото-

рое занято этою осѣдлостью Высшій размѣръ этого оброка опредѣленъ для различныхъ мѣстностей въ 1 р. 50 к., 2 р. 50 коп. и 3 р. 50 коп., но въ нѣкоторыхъ имѣніяхъ дана возможность еще его увеличить. Затѣмъ, какъ цѣлому обществу, такъ и каждому домохозяину, дана возможность выкупать свою осѣдлость, внеся сумму, опредѣляющуюся по капитализаціи оброка изъ 6% (въ 25, 40 и 60 р.).

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От Издателей. Къ сожалѣнію, внезапная смерть прервала на этомъ мѣстѣ работу автора настоящей статьи, которая должна была занять и слѣдующій листъ. Издатели однакоже рѣшились оставить эту статью въ «Сборникѣ»,— во первыхъ потому, что замѣна ее другою потребовала бы не мало времени; во вторыхъ потому, что предыдущія шесть главъ представляютъ, сами по себѣ, вполнѣ законченное цѣлое. Впрочемъ, и настоящая глава, хотя и неоконченная, не лишена интереса, благодаря сопоставленнымъ въ ней даннымъ.

НУЖДЫ РУССКАГО СѢВЕРА.

I.

Въ послѣднее время со всѣхъ сторонъ слышатся жалобы на неудовлетворительность положенія русскаго крестьянина, на то, что онъ постоянно бѣдствуетъ и не въ силахъ выносить бремя лежащихъ на немъ налоговъ. Онъ впадаетъ въ долги, становится несостоятельнымъ плательщикомъ, недоимки за нимъ съ каждымъ годомъ возрастаютъ, онъ подпадаетъ подъ эксплуатацію кулаковъ и окончательно раззоряется. Вмѣсто того, чтобы быть полезнымъ членомъ общества, крестьянинъ становится все большимъ и большимъ для него бременемъ; вмѣсто того, чтобы составлять его силу, крестьянинъ дѣлается одной изъ причинъ его слабости.

Дѣйствительно, чтобы убѣдиться въ бѣдственномъ положеніи нашего крестьянина, стоитъ только проѣхаться по нѣкоторымъ мѣстностямъ и ближе познакомиться съ бытомъ сельскаго населенія. Если наблюдатель не крайній оптимистъ, то бѣдность крестьянина предстанетъ передъ нимъ во всей своей поражающей наготѣ. Къ сожалѣнію, оптимистовъ у насъ много. Они большею частію или не желаютъ или не могутъ вникнуть въ истинное положеніе дѣлъ. Всѣмъ напр. извѣстно, какъ на сѣверѣ во время страшнаго голода въ 1867 году, когда люди умирали какъ мухи, многіе отрицали самое существованіе голода. Нашлись господа, которые утверждали, что хлѣбъ изъ мха, древесной коры и мякины прекрасенъ и что нечего особенно безпокоиться, такъ какъ и этимъ хлѣбомъ можно пи-

таться. Однакожъ, дѣйствительность не оправдала подобныхъ надеждъ и правительство нашло нужнымъ принять энергичныя мѣры для оказанія населенію необходимой помощи. Впрочемъ, не малое число людей успѣло погибнуть, прежде чѣмъ къ голодающимъ подоспѣла помощь.

Что голодъ постоянный гость на сѣверѣ, можно видѣть изъ того, что и въ прошломъ, урожайномъ году, тамошнее населеніе питалось хлѣбомъ, состоящимъ на половину изъ овсяной мякины. Въ мартѣ мѣсяцѣ, во время моего пребыванія въ Шенкурскѣ (Архангельской губ.), мнѣ были представлены образчики хлѣба, которымъ питаются жители ближайшихъ къ Шенкурску деревень. Хлѣбъ этотъ былъ похожъ на скотскій пометъ, черный, съ цѣлыми зернами и твердый. Въ Шенкурскѣ, самомъ плодородномъ уѣздѣ во всей Архангельской губерніи, къ мѣстному доктору явился однажды крестьянинъ со своими дѣтьми и жаловался, что дѣти на дворъ не ходятъ. Докторъ сдѣлалъ дѣтямъ операцію и вынулъ у нихъ изъ задняго прохода комки мякины, съ фунтъ вѣсомъ каждый. Вотъ каковъ хваленый оптимистами хлѣбъ. Крестьяне ѣдятъ сосновую кору и считаютъ это еще за лакомство.

Дѣйствительно, жители сѣвера, можетъ быть болѣе, чѣмъ обитатели остальныхъ мѣстностей Россіи, поражаютъ путешественника своимъ видомъ, своею худобою, своею бѣдностью. Да и какъ имъ благоденствовать, если почва, климатъ и природа такъ бѣдны, если всѣ промыслы находятся въ такомъ жалкомъ состояніи. Къ тому же, сѣверный работникъ еще обремененъ разными налогами и повинностями; всюду, куда онъ ни кинется и за что ни возьмется, онъ прежде всего долженъ платить громадныя пошлины. Такъ напр., если онъ себѣ сдѣлаетъ въ лѣсу вѣникъ, который въ Петербургѣ можно готовый купить за 1 к., онъ долженъ внести 1 коп. пошлины. Лѣсъ составляетъ главный его сырой матеріалъ, но и за лѣсъ ему приходится платить такія пошлины, что у него почти ничего не остается за его тяжелый трудъ. Отъ занятій напр. смолокуреніемъ онъ заработываетъ въ сутки всего 6 — 8 коп. Ко всему этому надо еще прибавить тотъ гнетъ, который лежитъ на рабочемъ, вслѣдствіе его зависимости отъ мѣстныхъ кулаковъ и монополіи архангельскихъ купцовъ. Нигдѣ кулачество такъ не развито и такъ не гнететъ мѣстныхъ крестьянъ, какъ на сѣверѣ. Это происходитъ вслѣдствіе того, что населеніе тамъ рѣдкое, пути сообщенія крайне

плохи, рынки сбыта находятся въ отдаленныхъ отъ производства мѣстахъ. Крестьянинъ, не имѣя средствъ свезти свой товаръ на мѣсто сбыта, принужденъ отдавать его мѣстному кулаку за безцѣнокъ. Кромѣ того, не сбывая своего продукта во́-время и, слѣдовательно, не выручивъ за свой трудъ во́-время денегъ, онъ впадаетъ въ нужду, обращается къ кулаку за займами, а этотъ послѣдній безсовѣстнѣйшимъ образомъ пользуется всякимъ положеніемъ бѣдняка. Большею частію бѣднякъ, не имѣя средствъ приступить къ своему производству или нуждаясь въ деньгахъ для уплаты податей, продаетъ кулаку товаръ, котораго у него еще нѣтъ; иногда цѣна опредѣляется при самой сдѣлкѣ, но часто о ней не бываетъ и рѣчи, такъ что бѣднякъ получаетъ за свой товаръ впослѣдствіи столько, сколько назначитъ кулакъ.

Не послѣднюю роль въ этомъ случаѣ играетъ и невѣжество крестьянина. Всѣ производства его находятся въ жалкомъ состояніи, потому что способы производства самые первобытные, которые требуютъ много труда и матеріала и очень плохо вознаграждаютъ рабочаго за его трудъ. Онъ не знаетъ самыхъ элементарныхъ требованій даннаго производства, вслѣдствіе чего получаетъ гораздо меньше продуктовъ, чѣмъ могъ бы получать, и притомъ гораздо худшаго качества.

Напримѣръ, въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ Вологодской губерніи хорошо произрастаетъ ленъ, который даетъ крестьянамъ порядочный доходъ. Но они могли бы получать гораздо больше, еслибы умѣли надлежащимъ образомъ ростить ленъ и какъ слѣдуетъ его обработывать. Они его теперь разстилаютъ на полѣ и оставляютъ долго лежать на воздухѣ. Ленъ отъ этого портится, гніетъ, желтѣетъ и становится менѣе прочнымъ. Крестьяне сознаютъ, что они отъ этого теряютъ много, но не могутъ поправить дѣло, такъ какъ не имѣютъ свѣдѣній о томъ, какъ слѣдуетъ мочить ленъ. «Я знаю, сказалъ мнѣ одинъ крестьянинъ, что если мочить ленъ, то онъ получается болѣе крѣпкимъ и гораздо бѣлѣе, и такой ленъ гораздо дороже, но что-жъ мнѣ дѣлать, я не умѣю его мочить и не знаю, гдѣ этому научиться». Между тѣмъ льна изъ Вологодской губерніи черезъ Архангельскъ вывозится значительное количество. Именно, въ прошломъ году изъ Архангельска льна, доставленнаго Вологодской губерніей, вывезено болѣе, чѣмъ на 1 мил. руб. сер., несмотря на то, что въ прошломъ году, напр. въ Верховожьѣ, ленъ продавался всего по 3—4$^1/_2$ руб. за пудъ. Такихъ производствъ, которыя требуютъ раціональнаго

преобразованія, много. Но для ихъ реорганизаціи и усовершенствованія нужны средства и свѣдущіе люди, которые бы взялись ихъ вести и совершенствовать. Впрочемъ, еслибы земство и правительство обратили на это надлежащее вниманіе, то въ свѣдущихъ лицахъ недостатка бы не было.

Ленъ, равно какъ смолу, такъ и другіе продукты, закупаютъ всего три архангельскія конторы черезъ посредство своихъ агентовъ, приказчиковъ и мѣстныхъ кулаковъ. Понятно, что эти послѣднія лица, ближе знакомыя съ нуждами крестьянства, не упускаютъ случаевъ пользоваться его бѣдственнымъ положеніемъ, такъ что значительная часть изъ заработковъ крестьянъ выпадаютъ на ихъ долю.

Между тѣмъ такихъ промысловъ, которые могутъ дать сѣверному населенію обезпеченное существованіе, не много; поэтому необходимо поддержать и развить тѣ, какіе уже существуютъ. Только промыслы и возможны и необходимы на сѣверѣ. Почва и климатъ тамъ такъ бѣдны, что заниматься исключительно земледѣліемъ нельзя, оно одно не можетъ обезпечивать сѣверное населеніе. Правда, въ урожайный годъ оно можетъ дать крестьянину достаточно хлѣба для прокормленія; но если у крестьянина не будетъ денегъ для удовлетворенія другихъ нуждъ, для уплаты податей и прочихъ повинностей, то онъ принужденъ будетъ продать часть изъ своего хлѣба, а самъ будетъ питаться суррогатами. Притомъ земледѣліе можетъ вознаграждать трудъ рабочаго только въ южной части Архангельской губерніи, въ Шенкурскомъ уѣздѣ, и то не всегда, такъ какъ въ теченіе 10-ти лѣтъ на сѣверѣ, какъ видно изъ оффиціальнаго отчета г. Данилевскаго, бываютъ три неурожайные года. Въ Вологодской губерніи хлѣбъ часто истребляется червемъ. Въ теченіе уже нѣсколькихъ лѣтъ сряду червь уничтожаетъ озимые посѣвы. Осенью, когда хлѣбъ начинаетъ пускать ростки, является червь. Когда наступаютъ морозы, онъ углубляется въ землю, доѣдаетъ остатки и окончательно погибаетъ только тогда, когда наступятъ сильные морозы и земля хорошо промерзнетъ. Крестьянамъ послѣ червя остается весьма мало, и то, что они собираютъ, называется шамшою. Мука изъ нея чрезвычайно плоха и похожа на песокъ. Выпеченный изъ этой муки хлѣбъ нельзя рѣзать ножемъ, онъ разсыпается, питательныхъ веществъ въ немъ весьма мало. Въ Кадниковскомъ уѣздѣ (одинъ изъ южныхъ уѣздовъ Вологодской губерніи), крестьяне чрезвычайно жалуются на этотъ хлѣбъ. Въ одномъ многочисленномъ и бѣдномъ се-

мействѣ мнѣ разсказали, что во время великаго поста у семьи не было денегъ, чтобы прикупать къ шамшѣ немного лучшаго хлѣба, она питалась однимъ только этимъ хлѣбомъ и всѣ члены этой семьи перехворали. И это въ Кадниковскомъ уѣздѣ, гдѣ хлѣбъ можетъ еще кое-какъ произростать. Между тѣмъ находятся люди, которые утверждаютъ, что выгодно заниматься земледѣліемъ на крайнемъ сѣверѣ. Кто-нибудь сдѣлаетъ опытъ, засѣетъ четверть хлѣба, ухаживаетъ за нимъ какъ нельзя лучше, прикрываетъ поле соломою, чтобы предохранить его отъ замерзанія и т. д., и получивъ послѣ всѣхъ этихъ трудовъ незначительный урожай, утверждаетъ на основаніи этого опыта, что на сѣверѣ выгодно заниматься хлѣбопашествомъ. Спрашивается, хватитъ-ли у крестьянъ средствъ и физическихъ силъ, чтобы такъ ухаживать за своимъ полемъ? Понятно, что онъ не можетъ этого выполнить и его труда не хватитъ для подобной работы. Хорошо удобрять свою землю могутъ только болѣе состоятельные крестьяне, у которыхъ достаточно скота и, слѣдовательно, навоза. Крестьяне знаютъ цѣну удобрительнымъ веществамъ. Навозъ у нихъ не пропадаетъ и нѣкоторые даромъ пускаютъ къ себѣ проѣзжающихъ, чтобы пользоваться получаемымъ при этомъ навозомъ. Къ сожалѣнію, скотъ у нихъ самый незавидный. Въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ коровы поражаютъ своимъ малымъ ростомъ, онѣ скорѣе похожи на телятъ, чѣмъ на коровъ. Кормъ имъ дается плохой и о травосѣяніи тамъ не имѣютъ и понятія. Чѣмъ дальше къ сѣверу, тѣмъ бѣднѣе становится растительность. Природа такъ-сказать все болѣе и болѣе мельчаетъ. Лѣсъ мелкій, жалкій, почва все болотистая, пашенъ мало и то все малогодныя. 20 числа іюля прошлаго года хлѣбъ былъ еще совершенно зеленый, въ иныхъ мѣстахъ онъ побитъ градомъ. Хлѣбъ не высокій, большею частью довольно рѣдкій, а наливъ зерна плохой. Въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ люди поражаютъ своею блѣдностью, исхудалостью и своею уродливостью. Вообще они чрезвычайно болѣзнены, а костюмъ ихъ самый незавидный. Такою же уродливостью и исхудалостью поражаетъ васъ и мѣстный скотъ. Въ Устьважскомъ селѣ, которое тянется на 2 версты въ длину, нельзя было найти ни одной порядочной лошади, все какія-то калѣки, изнуренныя, съ многочисленными ранами на тѣлѣ. И не мудрено, кормятъ ихъ весьма плохо, плохонькихъ сѣнокосовъ мало, а хорошихъ почти нѣтъ. Въ этомъ же селѣ, въ которомъ до 300 домовъ, нельзя было найти сливокъ. Между тѣмъ село это находится, сравнительно, въ доволь-

но хорошихъ условіяхъ: оно лежитъ при устьѣ рѣки Ваги, впадающей въ Сѣверную Двину. Слѣдовательно, мѣстность болѣе или менѣе оживленная и недалеко отъ Архангельска.

Одна изъ главныхъ причинъ этой поразительной бѣдности здѣшняго крестьянства состоитъ въ томъ, что оно обременено большими налогами, а платить ихъ нечѣмъ. Ему приходится выбирать одно изъ двухъ: или прикупать недостающій ему хлѣбъ или уплатить лежащія на немъ повинности. Поэтому неудивительно, что крестьяне такъ плохо питаются, что имъ приходится питаться хлѣбомъ, наполовину состоящимъ изъ овсяной мякины. Эта-то обстановка и порождаетъ тотъ болѣзненный видъ, исхудалость и уродливость, какимъ поражаютъ всякаго наблюдателя жители нѣкоторыхъ мѣстъ Архангельской губерніи. Надобно удивляться, какъ они еще могутъ существовать при такой обстановкѣ. Единственно, что ихъ поддерживаетъ—это вино. Питаясь такою неудовлетворительною пищею, они по необходимости должны прибѣгать къ помощи вина. Но то вино, которое они пьютъ, еще болѣе вредитъ ихъ здоровью. Имъ приходится пить больше сивуху, чѣмъ вино, а сивуха чистѣйшій ядъ для человѣческаго организма. Они отъ нея слабѣютъ, дѣлаются вялыми, впадаютъ въ разныя болѣзни и т. д. Здѣсь мы остановимся нѣсколько подробнѣе на вопросѣ о значеніи вина и хорошей пищи для рабочаго населенія.

II.

У насъ обыкновенно кричатъ, что крестьяне лѣнтяи и пьяницы. Чтобы видѣть, насколько это обвиненіе справедливо, стоитъ только сравнить количество потребляемаго вина у насъ и заграницей. Заграницею, напр. въ Швеціи, крестьяне выпиваютъ въ день гораздо больше, чѣмъ нашъ крестьянинъ выпиваетъ въ мѣсяцъ или даже въ два. Шведскій крестьянинъ утромъ, когда только откроетъ глаза, пьетъ рюмку водки, потомъ кофе съ водкою же, за завтракомъ опять водку и пиво; точно также онъ не сядетъ обѣдать или ужинать безъ водки и пива. До ужина онъ еще иногда тянетъ пуншъ и другіе напитки. Шведскій крестьянинъ пьетъ много, но онъ не бываетъ пьянъ. Вино не дѣлаетъ его вялымъ, а напротивъ, придаетъ ему еще бо́льшую бодрость. Но зато вино, которое онъ пьетъ, доброкачественно и совершенно безъ сивухи. Нашъ-же крестьянинъ обыкновенно пьетъ

только разъ въ недѣлю, но воскресеньямъ и то, сравнительно, немного. У него нѣтъ средствъ, чтобы пить столько, сколько пьетъ шведскій крестьянинъ. Между тѣмъ нашъ крестьянинъ отъ двухъ-трехъ рюмокъ уже пьянъ, потому что ему предлагается сивуха, а не водка. Слѣдовало бы положительно запретить продажу такой водки, потому что сивуха-то и составляетъ главное зло въ экономическомъ быту нашего крестьянства. Необходимо принимать всѣ возможныя мѣры къ тому, чтобы сивушная водка не была допускаема въ продажу.

Отъ плохой водки рабочій скоро пьянѣетъ и слѣдствіемъ этого бываетъ то, что онъ, пьяный, не помня себя, начинаетъ требовать еще и еще, спуская всѣ имѣющіяся при немъ деньги. Когда онъ опьянѣетъ, ему вмѣсто водки даютъ уже больше воды, къ которой, какъ говорятъ, прибавляется иногда сѣрная кислота. Казна отъ этого положительно теряетъ: во первыхъ, за воду, которая отпускается крестьянину взамѣнъ водки, она, конечно, акциза не получаетъ. Если бы водка была такъ чиста, какъ напр. въ Швеціи *), то рабочій, не пьянѣя такъ скоро, могъ бы и больше пить, и пилъ бы не воду, а водку, за которую получится акцизъ, притомъ все-таки не раззорялся бы такъ, какъ теперь, и здоровье его не страдало бы такъ, какъ оно страдаетъ отъ сивухи. Во вторыхъ, если крестьянинъ раззоряется, то онъ не въ состояніи внести всѣ тѣ повинности, какія отъ него требуются. Образуются недоимки, и казна, слѣдовательно, опять теряетъ; а эти потери бываютъ для нея довольно чувствительны. Государство, во первыхъ, лишается значительной доли своихъ доходовъ; во вторыхъ, оно иногда бываетъ принуждено дѣлать значительные расходы, выдавая въ случаѣ голода и другихъ нуждъ разныя субсидіи обѣднѣвшему населенію. Между тѣмъ правительству легко было бы установить продажу безсивушной и, слѣдовательно, безвредной водки, устраивая для этой цѣли контроль на водочныхъ заводахъ, за которыми и теперь, кажется, существуетъ достаточный надзоръ, такъ что особой затраты для этого не потребуется.

Рядомъ съ обвиненіемъ крестьянъ въ пьянствѣ, идетъ обвиненіе въ лѣности. Но это обвиненіе уже просто ни съ чѣмъ не сообразно. Кто же у насъ работаетъ, если не крестьяне? Напротивъ, надо еще удивляться тому, какъ они могутъ такъ много работать, питаясь

*) Въ Бельгіи открытъ способъ полученія безвредной водки. Способъ этотъ пока держится секретно. Онъ состоитъ вѣроятно въ томъ, что водка освобождается отъ сивухи.

Изъ этого можно видѣть, что для заводчиковъ и фабрикантовъ прямая выгода заботиться о доброкачественности пищи своихъ рабочихъ. Но отъ нихъ не требуется, чтобы они даромъ кормили своихъ рабочихъ. Достаточно будетъ, если фабриканты будутъ взимать за столъ столько, во сколько онъ имъ самимъ обходится, заботясь только о томъ, чтобы имѣть его по возможности лучшаго качества. При оптовой покупкѣ, провизія, какъ извѣстно, обходится гораздо дешевле и бываетъ гораздо лучшаго качества. Кромѣ того и расходы на содержаніе кухни и проч. будутъ значительно меньше при общемъ столѣ, чѣмъ тогда, когда каждый рабочій самъ готовитъ себѣ пищу.

Но наши фабриканты и заводчики этого не понимаютъ и не хотятъ понять. Напротивъ, для бо́льшей части изъ нихъ, какъ извѣстно, пища рабочихъ составляетъ статью дохода. Многіе изъ нихъ открываютъ при заводахъ и фабрикахъ на свое или чужое имя разныя лавочки, кабачки и т. п., продаютъ своимъ рабочимъ всѣ нужные жизненные припасы, водку и прочіе продукты, которые отличаются своею недоброкачественостью и притомъ продаются въ три дорога. Покупка нужныхъ продуктовъ въ этихъ лавкахъ бываетъ для рабочихъ иногда еще обязательною. Вообще фабриканты держатъ ихъ въ кабалѣ. Но подобные господа плохіе экономисты: они гоняются за копѣйками, а теряютъ рубли.

Вообще надо замѣтить, что вопросъ о продовольствіи рабочихъ представляется вопросомъ весьма важнымъ и насущнымъ для нашей промышленности. Безъ удовлетворительнаго его разрѣшенія не можетъ быть надлежащимъ образомъ развита наша промышленность, успѣхъ которой въ значительной степени зависитъ отъ хорошаго качества рабочихъ, которые придаютъ ей то или другое направленіе.

Всѣ такъ-называемые «бунты» рабочихъ, нанимающихся на полевыя, на желѣзно-дорожныя и т. п. работы, происходятъ главнымъ образомъ отъ неудовлетворительности пищи. Обыкновенно артель рабочихъ выбираетъ изъ своей среды одного или двухъ старшихъ, которымъ довѣряетъ вести дѣла ея, быть представителями ея интересовъ и на которыхъ возлагаются также обязанности по продовольствію артели. Но эти старшіе большею частью злоупотребляютъ даннымъ имъ довѣріемъ, пропиваютъ или утаиваютъ деньги рабочихъ и кормятъ ихъ крайне плохо. Кромѣ того, пища бываетъ крайне плоха и вслѣдствіе неумѣнья ее готовить. Хлѣбъ печется плохой,

тяжелый, приварки самые скудные. Дѣло доходитъ иногда до того, что рабочимъ приходится довольствоваться однимъ только трудноваримымъ и дурно испеченнымъ хлѣбомъ, вслѣдствіе чего они становятся ворчливыми, угрюмыми, сердитыми и крайне раздражительными. Малѣйшая замѣченная ими несправедливость выводитъ ихъ изъ терпѣнія и дѣлаетъ ихъ недовольными. Отсюда одинъ шагъ къ неповиновенію, къ отказу отъ работы, т. е. къ такъ-называемому бунту. Если еще взять во вниманіе то обстоятельство, что рабочему, вслѣдствіе дурной пищи, приходится прибѣгать къ употребленію горячихъ напитковъ, что́ раззоряетъ его и физически и матеріально, то причина этихъ бунтовъ станетъ еще болѣе ясною.

Рабочій, нанимаясь гдѣ-нибудь вдали отъ своего дома, семейства, дѣтей, на совершенно чужой ему сторонѣ, имѣетъ въ виду зашибить себѣ кое-какую деньгу, воротиться потомъ домой, уплатить подати и прожить зиму. Вмѣсто того, онъ тутъ-же спускаетъ весь свой заработокъ и остается ни съ чѣмъ. Ему иногда не только ничего не удается сберечь и свезти домой, но случается, что вслѣдствіе разныхъ штрафовъ за нимъ накопляются еще значительные начеты. Боясь именно этого послѣдняго обтоятельства, онъ и стремится уйти скорѣе домой, нарушая такимъ образомъ заключенное съ нимъ условіе, что въ свою очередь ведетъ къ болѣе или менѣе значительной неустойкѣ.

Такой «бунтъ» случился недавно въ одномъ изъ имѣній Петербургской губерніи и уѣзда. Крестьяне нанялись по 45 руб. за лѣто (6 или 7 мѣсяцевъ), проработали съ послѣднихъ чиселъ, кажется, апрѣля до 30-го іюля, а ушли безъ ничего, за исключеніемъ заранѣе полученныхъ ими задатковъ; напротивъ того, за каждымъ изъ нихъ числится разныхъ начетовъ по 100 руб. Между тѣмъ нанявшіе ихъ желали имъ всего лучшаго, начиная съ платы въ 45 руб., которая обыкновенно бываетъ гораздо ниже (25—30 руб.) и кончая обхожденіемъ и пр. Единственная ошибка состороны нанимателя, которая, надо замѣтить, встрѣчается сплошь и рядомъ, состояла въ томъ, что онъ плохо распорядился насчетъ продовольствія рабочихъ. Имъ полагалась, кажется, по $1^1/_2$ пуда на человѣка, если не больше, чистой, просѣянной и хорошей муки въ мѣсяцъ и по 7 к. въ сутки на приварку на человѣка. Распорядитель, старшина артели, началъ съ того, что пропилъ 75 руб. артельныхъ денегъ, закупалъ безъ толку провизію, хлѣбъ пекли плохо, приварки были недоброкачественны и т. д. Вотъ тутъ-то и начинается броженіе умовъ, которое кончилось аре-

стами, удаленіемъ зачинщиковъ и вообще всѣми послѣдствіями «бунта»; а рабочіе все-таки ушли раньше срока съ начетомъ по 100 руб. на каждаго. Между тѣмъ будь пища удовлетворительнѣе, ничего подобнаго не могло бы случиться, потому что рабочіе не имѣли никакого другаго повода быть недовольными. Хозяева, которые въ нихъ очень нуждались, всячески старались ихъ удовлетворять, давали имъ разныя льготы, обѣщали уничтожить всѣ имѣвшіеся за ними начеты; но ничто не помогло, рабочихъ нельзя было удержать, и они тайкомъ ушли.

Если просмотрѣть исторіи другихъ подобныхъ бунтовъ, то всѣ онѣ окажутся совершенно другъ на друга похожими, какъ двѣ капли воды. Вездѣ одна и та же причина производитъ одни и тѣ же послѣдствія. Но у насъ еще не всѣ понимаютъ важность этого вопроса.

Совсѣмъ иначе относятся къ нему за-границей — въ Америкѣ, Англіи, Швеціи и другихъ странахъ Европы. Такъ напр., еще недавно въ одномъ изъ американскихъ изданій, именно въ журналѣ «Technologiste», я встрѣтилъ статью, подъ заглавіемъ: «Publie Health is Publie Wealthe *), посвященную этому вопросу. Названный журналъ счелъ даже нужнымъ открыть у себя особый отдѣлъ по вопросу о народномъ здравіи, гдѣ разсматриваются всѣ условія положенія рабочаго класса, указывается на недостатки теперешнихъ ихъ жилищъ, пищи и вообще всего того, что касается быта этого класса. Рядомъ съ этимъ имѣются указанія, какъ слѣдуетъ строить жилища рабочихъ и какъ ихъ вентилировать, чтобы они удовлетворяли всѣмъ требованіямъ гигіены и проч. Въ первой статьѣ, которою открывается этотъ отдѣлъ, редакція формулируетъ его необходимость въ слѣдующихъ весьма замѣчательныхъ словахъ: «Быть можетъ, говоритъ она, нѣтъ другаго вопроса такой значительной важности и такъ дурно понятаго, какъ вопросъ о народномъ здравіи и народной силѣ. Расточительность въ употребленіи и разрушеніи человѣческой жизни является неизбѣжною чертою при быстромъ развитіи и ростѣ молодой націи; но теперь, когда наше населеніе достигло численности въ 30 или 40 милліоновъ, конечно, вполнѣ пора, чтобы мы обратили серьезное вниманіе на уничтоженіе этой неправильной траты. Мы по всему пространству нашего обширнаго отечества строимъ съ замѣчательною быстротою желѣзныя дороги, телеграфы, плавильни (литейные заводы), машинныя мастерскія, факторіи и товарные магазины, но ни-

*) Народное здравіе есть народное богатство.

какая сумма теперешняго благоденствія не въ состояніи будетъ вознаградить насъ за продолжительное пренебреженіе къ законамъ человѣческаго здравія. Англія уже сильно встревожилась громадною потерею, которую она терпитъ отъ напрасныхъ болѣзней и значительной траты времени и силы ея рабочаго населенія, и выказываетъ много усердія въ улучшеніи его положенія. Нью-Іоркъ, равно какъ и многія другія части Соединенныхъ Штатовъ, не можетъ допустить того, чтобы такъ много отстать отъ Англіи въ этомъ дѣлѣ. Въ нарушеніе простѣйшихъ законовъ, мы поспѣшно настроили огромную груду такихъ зданій, которыя только немногимъ лучше большихъ могилъ, назначенныхъ для преждевременнаго погребенія живущихъ. Почти половина населенія этого города спитъ въ темныхъ чуланахъ, совершенно лишенныхъ солнечнаго свѣта и едвали когда-нибудь освѣжаемыхъ чистымъ воздухомъ. Ни въ одномъ городѣ въ мірѣ, вѣроятно, такая значительная часть изъ жилищъ рабочаго класса не выстроена съ такимъ поражающимъ пренебреженіемъ къ двумъ основнымъ требованіямъ человѣческаго существованія—свѣта и чистаго воздуха. И не въ однихъ только нашихъ жилыхъ помѣщеніяхъ чувствуется потребность въ этихъ великихъ санитарныхъ агентахъ. Во многихъ изъ нашихъ факторій, училищъ, церквей и другихъ строеніяхъ существуетъ тотъ же недостатокъ.

«Будучи вполнѣ убѣждены въ той истинѣ, что никакая нація не можетъ прогрессировать съ тою силою и могуществомъ, какіе ей необходимы, чтобы быть въ состояніи поддержать подобающее мѣсто среди другихъ народовъ земнаго шара, если не обратитъ строгаго вниманія на сохраненіе силы и здоровья ея индивидуальныхъ членовъ, мы намѣреваемся дать надлежащее мѣсто на страницахъ «Technologist'a» вопросу о народномъ здравіи, насколько оно касается жилищъ, занятій и состоянія (быта) рабочаго класса, въ чемъ ему слишкомъ долго было отказываемо промышленными журналами нашей страны» *).

Вотъ какъ относятся къ вопросу о народномъ здравіи въ Америкѣ, то есть въ странѣ, гдѣ рабочая плата доходитъ до 10 долларовъ (15 р.) и не бываетъ менѣе $1^1/_2$—2 долларовъ (2—3 р.) въ день, и гдѣ слѣдовательно рабочій имѣетъ шансы жить гораздо лучше, чѣмъ напримѣръ у насъ. Онъ и дѣйствительно живетъ несравненно

*) Technologist, February. 1870, 10 page. New-Iork.

лучше нашего рабочаго; но это все-таки не удовлетворяетъ разсчетливыхъ американцевъ, видящихъ въ плохомъ положеніи рабочаго класса величайшее зло для своего отечества. Просматривая въ «Technologist'ѣ» статьи, касающіяся этого вопроса, можно легко видѣть, какъ горячо американцы принимаются за его рѣшеніе, причемъ они ни чуть не стѣсняются выставлять на судъ общества всѣ свои слабыя стороны. Они хорошо понимаютъ, что вся промышленность страны страдаетъ отъ неудовлетворительнаго положенія рабочаго класса— единственнаго производителя всѣхъ тѣхъ цѣнностей, какими располагаетъ страна.

То, что въ Америкѣ и въ Западной Европѣ называется неудовлетворительнымъ или даже скверным, у насъ было бы превосходно. Тамъ рабочій питается и пьетъ хорошо. Онъ ни одинъ день не обойдется безъ мяса, вина, пива и проч., живетъ себѣ болѣе или менѣе комфортабельно, однимъ словомъ знаетъ во всякомъ случаѣ, что́ значитъ пожить хорошо. Несмотря на это, американцы не удовлетворяются теперешнимъ положеніемъ рабочаго класса, а желаютъ его улучшить. Притомъ они и не думаютъ объяснять бѣдность рабочихъ ихъ лѣностью, пьянствомъ и т. д., а сознаютъ себя въ этомъ виновными. У насъ же, напротивъ, причину бѣдственнаго положенія рабочихъ постоянно сваливаютъ на нихъ же самихъ.

III.

Въ Западной Европѣ пришли къ тому убѣжденію, что́ лучшимъ средствомъ къ улучшенію быта рабочихъ можетъ служить производительная ассоціація, т. е. артельная форма труда, которая у насъ искони существуетъ. Нашему народу эта форма производства вполнѣ сродственна. Всякое дѣло ведется у него артелью. Сама семья нашего крестьянина есть ничто иное, какъ артель. У всѣхъ членовъ семьи общій столъ, общее помѣщеніе и все, что каждый членъ ея заработаетъ, принадлежитъ всей артели, т. е. семьѣ. Они сообща вносятъ подати, сообща исполняютъ лежащія на всѣхъ членахъ повинности и проч. Далѣе, и общинное владѣніе землею точно также есть ничто иное, какъ артельное владѣніе, по крайней мѣрѣ таковымъ оно было въ началѣ. Теперь общинное владѣніе утратило нѣсколько свой прежній характеръ и каждый общинникъ самъ долженъ стараться объ обработкѣ своего участка. Осталась только общая повинность съ кру-

говою порукою, одинаково тягостною, какъ для исправныхъ, такъ и неисправныхъ плательщиковъ.

Въ западной Европѣ стараются какъ можно болѣе распространять производительныя ассоціаціи. Тамъ находятъ, что положеніе рабочаго класса можетъ только тогда существенно улучшиться, когда всѣ продукты труда будутъ принадлежать рабочему, а это возможно только тогда, когда рабочій будетъ хозяиномъ своего дѣла, т. е. когда капиталъ и трудъ будутъ соединены въ одномъ лицѣ. Къ такому результату пришли на Западѣ.

У насъ же артельное производство, напротивъ, все болѣе и болѣе искажается и утрачиваетъ свое полезное значеніе. По мѣрѣ того, какъ рабочій классъ бѣднѣетъ и богатство скопляется въ немногихъ рукахъ, артельная кооперація теряетъ для рабочихъ всякое значеніе, а всѣми выгодами пользуются кулаки-капиталисты. Тамъ, гдѣ производство не требуетъ затраты большаго капитала, тамъ артельная форма труда еще практикуется довольно успѣшно. Тамъ же, гдѣ данное производство или данный промыселъ требуетъ участія значительнаго капитала, рабочіе подпадаютъ подъ вліяніе капиталиста даже тогда, когда они соединяются въ артель. Особенно часто это явленіе встрѣчается на сѣверѣ, гдѣ кулачество пустило глубокіе корни, гдѣ оно деморализуетъ общество, раззоряетъ его и ведетъ къ гибели все населеніи края. Фактическое подтвержденіе этого можно найти въ третьемъ выпускѣ «Трудовъ арханг. губ. статист. комитета за 1867 и 1868 г.» и въ «Сборникѣ народныхъ инородческихъ обычаевъ Арханг. губ.», составленномъ дѣйствительнымъ членомъ архангельскаго статистическаго комитета, П. С. Ефименко.

Въ Архангельской губерніи артельная форма труда, встрѣчающаяся во всѣхъ возможныхъ видахъ, выработала себѣ нѣкоторыя замѣчательныя особенности. Рыбные и звѣриные промыслы, которые составляютъ почти единственное средство къ существованію населенія, производятся на артельныхъ началахъ. Примѣръ особенно удачнаго соединенія капитала и труда въ лицѣ одного только работника представляетъ сельдяной промыселъ въ части моря, сосѣдней къ селенію Кандалакшѣ, въ селеніяхъ Ковдѣ и Княжой. Ловъ на такихъ мѣстахъ производится всѣмъ міромъ и добытое дѣлится по душамъ слѣдующимъ образомъ. Предварительно опредѣляютъ, сколько нужно рабочихъ для производства лова, и рѣшаютъ, сколько душъ должны выставить одного работника. Если нужно напр. одного съ трехъ

душъ, то дворъ изъ трехъ душъ посылаетъ одного, дворъ изъ шести душъ—двухъ и т. д.; если же въ домѣ двѣ души, то онъ присоединяется къ такому, въ которомъ четыре и оба посылаютъ двухъ работниковъ. Каждый работникъ долженъ принести съ собою необходимыя орудія лова и соль. Вырученныя отъ огульной продажи общаго лова деньги раздѣляются поровну между всѣми работниками, участвовавшими въ ловѣ. Работники-же, въ свою очередь, если не принадлежатъ къ одному дому, раздѣляютъ полученный заработокъ пропорціонально числу душъ домовъ, къ которымъ они принадлежатъ. Затѣмъ, если какое-нибудь семейство имѣетъ возможность, кромѣ участія въ мірскомъ ловѣ, отдѣльно отъ другихъ, заниматься этимъ же промысломъ, то такое занятіе ему допускается, только не въ тѣхъ участкахъ, которые принадлежатъ всему міру (Сборникъ, стр. 134).

Въ Пустозерской волости для производства рыбнаго промысла артель составляется на иныхъ началахъ. Тамъ обыкновенно при ревизіи собираются въ городъ, т. е. въ Пустозерскъ, хозяева семействъ всѣхъ 17 деревень, приписанныхъ къ этой волости. Всѣ жители этихъ деревень раздѣляются на 10 сотенъ; въ какой деревнѣ не хватаетъ душъ, къ той присчитываются души изъ другихъ деревень. Потомъ опредѣляютъ, сколько слѣдуетъ имѣть неводовъ на каждую сотню и въ какихъ мѣстахъ. Для возможнаго уравненія шансовъ улова, мѣста для рыбной ловли между сотнями распредѣляются такъ, чтобы и верхняя сотня пользовалась болѣе богатымъ низовымъ ловомъ и нижнія получили нѣсколько менѣе выгодныхъ мѣстъ въ верховьяхъ всей дачи. Затѣмъ каждая сотня распредѣляетъ доставшіеся ей участки между составляющими ее деревнями, а потомъ уже въ каждой деревнѣ назначается, поскольку душъ должно придтись на каждый неводъ (поплавень). На каждый поплавень приходится отъ 5 до 6 паевъ и къ каждому паю приписывается по ровному числу душъ, которые уже отъ себя выставляютъ работника, свою долю сѣтей, веревокъ и пр. Работники нанимаются (хотя бы они были даже изъ тѣхъ же семействъ, которыя ихъ выставляютъ) за деньги или изъ части въ уловѣ (Сборн., стр. 146—147). Эта форма артели отличается отъ предыдущей именно тѣмъ, что трудъ раздѣляется по неводамъ, причемъ, понятно, и добыча становится неравномѣрною для всѣхъ участвующихъ въ промысловомъ дѣлѣ. Въ первомъ примѣрѣ весь уловъ продается огульно и выручка дѣлится по числу ра-

работниковъ и душъ, а въ настоящемъ случаѣ каждый поплавень, составляя совершенно самостоятельную единицу, дѣлится тѣмъ же порядкомъ, только между своими сочленами, а до другихъ поплавней ему нѣтъ никакого дѣла.

Подобныя артели, впрочемъ, не всегда возможны. Онѣ возможны только тогда, когда у общины имѣются средства для закупки всѣхъ необходимыхъ орудій и матеріаловъ при производствѣ работъ. Въ противномъ случаѣ права на участки уступаются другимъ, что совершается двоякимъ образомъ: или каждый членъ продаетъ свое право кому нибудь другому и въ такомъ случаѣ вполнѣ зависитъ отъ покупателя, который даетъ ему столько, сколько вздумаетъ; или же права на пользованіе участками промысла продаются всею общиною. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ выгоды каждаго члена ограждаются гораздо болѣе, чѣмъ въ первомъ. Такъ, въ деревнѣ Варзугѣ всѣ домохозяева изъ приписанныхъ деревень, числомъ 987 душъ, собираются каждый годъ для продажи съ аукціона мѣстъ, гдѣ ловится семга. Всѣ 987 душъ дѣлятся на пять частей, называемыхъ ярлыками, что дѣлается отъ ревизіи до ревизіи. Каждый ярлыкъ собирается въ отдѣльной избѣ, но для возможно большаго уравненія выгодъ каждый изъ нихъ имѣетъ свою долю во всѣхъ рыболовныхъ участкахъ. Каждый ярлыкъ продаетъ принадлежащія ему доли изъ разныхъ участковъ, и деньги, полученныя за проданные участки, дѣлитъ поровну по душамъ, но при этомъ прежде всего считаются подати, а затѣмъ незначительный остатокъ распредѣляется по рукамъ (Сбор. стр. 136—137). Такое устройство представляетъ ту значительную выгоду, что затрудняетъ снятіе лучшихъ участковъ однимъ и тѣмъ же лицомъ за дешевую цѣну, потому что раздѣленіе каждаго участка на пять частей дозволяетъ покупать ихъ не однимъ только богатымъ, а самый торгъ, производимый одновременно въ пяти избахъ, затрудняетъ стачки торгашей.

Далѣе, на сѣверѣ артельная форма производства проявляется и въ томъ случаѣ, если предпринимателемъ какого нибудь дѣла является одно только лицо, именно капиталистъ, напр. въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда промыселъ вольный, т. е. когда право ловли принадлежитъ всякому, кто захочетъ заниматься даннымъ промысломъ, напр. тресковымъ, бѣлужьимъ, тюленьимъ и моржовымъ. Но въ этомъ случаѣ артельная форма болѣе или менѣе искажается, смотря по тому, на сколько въ данномъ промыслѣ преобладаетъ капиталъ или трудъ.

Предпринимателями обыкновенно являются лица, имѣющія какой нибудь запасный капиталъ. Они составляютъ съ рабочими артель; работники идутъ къ нимъ въ покрутъ, т. е. изъ опредѣленной доли въ пріобрѣтенной добычѣ. Такимъ образомъ составляется ассоціація труда и капитала, представляемыхъ отдѣльными личностями. Подобнаго рода артель въ настоящее время, когда у рабочихъ нѣтъ средствъ соединить капиталъ и трудъ въ одномъ лицѣ, была бы наиболѣе желательна. Но для этого необходимо, чтобы лица, составляющія съ работниками ассоціацію, были болѣе развиты, болѣе нравственны и лучше понимали свои собственные интересы. На Сѣверѣ же кулаки— народъ большею частью самый неразвитый, и они всегда захватываютъ себѣ львиную долю въ барышахъ промысла.

Возьмемъ для примѣра тресковый промыселъ на Мурманскомъ берегу. Артель, составляющая тамъ промысловую единицу, состоитъ изъ 4 человѣкъ. На основаніи постояннаго, неизмѣннаго правила, сумма, вырученная за продажу всей наловленной рыбы, дѣлится такъ, что двѣ-трети ея идутъ хозяину и лишь одна треть работникамъ. Эта треть дѣлится между ними поровну, такъ что каждый получаетъ по $^1/_{12}$ всего улова, что составляетъ пай. Двѣ трети пая хозяинъ уступаетъ кормщику въ видѣ прибавки, за тѣмъ на долю хозяина остается $7^1/_3$ пая (стр. 117). По разсчету, сдѣланному г. Данилевскимъ (Сборн. стр. 124—25), на каждый пай при среднемъ уловѣ слѣдуетъ положить около 60 р. сер. Если изъ причитающихся на долю предпринимателя 480 р. вычесть около 75 р. расходовъ на прокормъ и подарки рабочимъ и около 250 р. на обзаведеніе необходимыми для производства промысла орудіями, всего 325 р., то окажется, что хозяинъ въ первый же годъ получитъ чистаго дохода около $2^1/_2$ паевъ, т. е. 155 р. или болѣе 47% чистой прибыли.

Тамъ, гдѣ населеніе вовсе не въ состояніи завестись всѣми необходимыми орудіями и матеріаломъ для производства промысла, тамъ оно окончательно подпадаетъ подъ страшную эксплуатацію мѣстныхъ кулаковъ и артельная форма производства окончательно теряетъ свой смыслъ.

Такъ, въ Колѣ всего двое капиталистовъ держатъ въ своихъ рукахъ почти всѣ промыслы, страшно эксплуатируя промышленниковъ, которые не въ состояніи завести на свой счетъ все необходимое для промысловаго предпріятія. Вотъ что разсказано въ Сборникѣ архангельск. стат. комитета о положеніи этого люда. Всѣ неимѣющіе

средствъ завести собственной снасти, какъ лопари, такъ и бѣднѣйшіе изъ жителей Колы, промышляютъ на хозяевъ, какъ работники, изъ опредѣленнаго покрута. Провизія и снасть—хозяйскія, шняки же (морскія рыбопромышленныя лодки) должны быть пополамъ между промысловыми артелями и хозяевами, именно: если шняка хозяйская, то артель платитъ половину назначаемой обыкновенно за шняку кортомы, а если она принадлежитъ промышленнику, то хозяинъ приплачиваетъ имъ ту же сумму. За неводъ артельщики платятъ 10 р. сер., за столъ, чаны, котлы и проч. 5 руб. Всѣ эти деньги вычитываются хозяиномъ изъ промысловой суммы. Уловленная рыба дѣлится пополамъ между хозяиномъ и промышленниками, и ихъ половина непремѣнно сдается хозяину по произвольно назначенной имъ цѣнѣ. Когда покрутченники и ихъ кормщики, по малому улову рыбы или по низкой ея цѣнѣ, не могутъ отпромышлять своему хозяину за забранные ими долги, въ такомъ случаѣ они обязаны идти отъ того же хозяина на слѣдующую весну, только съ меньшею задачею денегъ и провизіи; въ случаѣ же нежеланія покрутченника идти отъ стараго хозяина на будущее время, онъ обязанъ взнести послѣднему свой долгъ наличными деньгами. Когда промышленникъ потеряетъ веревку или что-нибудь другое, то хозяинъ кладетъ ему на счетъ, т. е. вычитаетъ за это изъ его части. При разсчетѣ, денегъ на руки покрутченникамъ никогда не даютъ, а снабжаютъ ихъ товаромъ, нужнымъ и ненужнымъ,—контрабанднымъ ромомъ, чаемъ, сахаромъ, съѣстными припасами и пр. (стр. 131 — 32). Слѣдовательно, за то только, что во время промысла мнимые половинщики получаютъ хозяйскую провизію, они должны подѣлиться половиною всего промысла, да и остальную часть отдать непремѣнно тому же хозяину не торгуясь, а за столько, сколько послѣдній соизволитъ положить самъ. Такимъ образомъ существованіе артелей, съ правомъ пользованія извѣстною долею отъ всего улова, не спасаетъ бѣднаго человѣка отъ эксплуатаціи, какъ скоро онъ принужденъ входить съ капиталистомъ въ сдѣлку и если этотъ капиталистъ человѣкъ грубый и невѣжественный. Голодный желудокъ уступаетъ въ этомъ случаѣ львиную долю сытому, а самъ довольствуется только скудными остатками.

На выволочномъ промыслѣ покрутчики ходятъ на своемъ содержаніи; артель тамъ дѣлится только на 8 паевъ, изъ которыхъ $4^1/_2$ идутъ хозяину, а остальные $3^1/_2$ рабочимъ, число которыхъ тутъ

почти вдвое больше, чѣмъ въ предыдущихъ примѣрахъ, именно ихъ полагается 7 человѣкъ (Сборн. стр. 161).

Число кулаковъ, держащихъ въ своихъ рукахъ все сѣверное населеніе, невелико. Какихъ-нибудь 25 скупщиковъ закабалили, напр., все Поморье. У нихъ даже существуетъ особая поговорка: «пусти душу въ адъ, такъ и будешь богатъ» (стр. 88). Какой-нибудь Иванъ-чай продается ими отъ 1 р. 40 до 2 р. сер. за 1 фунтъ; вмѣсто рома отпускается водка, подкрашенная сандаломъ и т. п. А между тѣмъ скупщики сами при покупкѣ крестьянскихъ продуктовъ дешевятъ все до крайности. Лопари и самоѣды подвергаются такой грубой эксплуатаціи съ ихъ стороны, что она безъ всякаго преувеличенія можетъ быть названа грабежомъ. Два-три кольскихъ купца, напр., произвольно подѣлили между собою всѣ лопарскія селенія и эксплуатируютъ ихъ какъ хотятъ. Лопарь никогда не выходитъ у нихъ изъ долга; они оплачиваютъ всѣ его подати и за это имѣютъ удовольствіе держать въ своихъ рукахъ цѣлыя селенія темнаго и бѣднаго люда и распоряжаться имъ, какъ своею собственностью, такъ что лопари иначе и не называютъ ихъ, какъ своими господами (стр. 90).

Печерскій край тоже имѣетъ своихъ собственныхъ господъ,—это чердынцевъ, которые съ открытіемъ навигаціи наплываютъ съ своими каюками и барками въ значительныя селенія, тоже предварительно и полюбовно подѣленныя ими между собою (стр. 92). Товары свои они раздаютъ больше въ долгъ, но за то и промышленники обязываются непремѣнно только имъ отдавать все напромышленное, и хотя цѣна назначается по обоюдному согласію, но всѣ выгоды бываютъ на сторонѣ чердынцевъ. Съ помощью водки и подкуповъ зажиточныхъ крестьянъ-промышленниковъ чердынецъ устанавливаетъ на товаръ такую цѣну, какую ему хочется, и волею неволею заставляетъ всѣхъ остальныхъ сдавать ему все напромышленное уже по объявленной имъ цѣнѣ. Барыши этихъ кулаковъ громадны. Платя, напр., за муку при покупкѣ не дороже 4 р. сер. за куль, да прибавляя еще на про- 2 возъ р. 65 коп., они продаютъ ее въ Печорѣ за 12 руб. и это только на деньги. Какой же процентъ получаетъ чердынецъ, когда мѣняетъ товаръ на товаръ задолжавшему у него большинству населенія? Не даромъ же печорцы, вслѣдствіе такихъ порядковъ торговли говорятъ, что чердынцы объѣли ихъ начисто и теперь выѣдаютъ мозгъ изъ костей ихъ (Сборн. стр. 95).

Вотъ въ какомъ жалкомъ и печальномъ положеніи находится сѣ-

верное населеніе и какъ искажена артельная форма производства, которая на западѣ считается лучшею и которая дѣйствительно должна быть лучшею. Но въ томъ-то и бѣда, что у насъ крестьянинъ, вслѣдствіе своего круглаго невѣжества, не умѣетъ пользоваться тѣмъ, что у него есть, что онъ не сберегаетъ копѣйку, если она у него является, и легко поддается вліянію другихъ, которые умѣютъ его скрутить и захватить въ свои руки и которые большею частью изъ тѣхъ же крестьянъ. Имъ, этимъ послѣднимъ, удалось какимъ-нибудь образомъ нажить кое-какой капиталецъ, и этого имъ достаточно, чтобы запутать своихъ менѣе сильныхъ собратій. Они такимъ образомъ все болѣе и болѣе втягиваютъ себя въ грязь, становятся по мѣрѣ увеличенія своего богатства на счетъ другихъ все болѣе и болѣе жадными и безчеловѣчными, а другіе въ тоже время становятся все бѣднѣе и бѣднѣе и въ концѣ концовъ попадаютъ въ кабалу къ міроѣдамъ, въ полную отъ нихъ зависимость. Кулаки, выходя изъ крестьянской же среды, знаютъ всѣ ея нужды, и будучи безъ всякаго образованія и круглыми невѣжами, безсовѣстнѣйшимъ образомъ пользуются нуждами крестьянства, эксплуатируя его на каждомъ шагу.

Точно также искажены у насъ всѣ другіе виды артельныхъ коопераціи. Напр., артельная форма производства работъ почти всегда примѣняется въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда рабочіе берутся выполнить какую-нибудь работу сообща; напр. при постройкѣ желѣзныхъ дорогъ, при доставленіи грузовъ, при тягѣ судовъ и т. п. Въ этихъ случаяхъ, какъ выше было сказано, всегда артелью управляетъ старшій, который ведетъ всѣ дѣла ея, разсчитываетъ рабочихъ, заботится объ ихъ кормѣ и пр. Этотъ старшій выбирается или самою артелью или же назначается самимъ хозяиномъ, для котораго производится данная работа. Въ обоихъ случаяхъ почти всегда онъ безсовѣстнѣйшимъ образомъ обираетъ всѣхъ рабочихъ, которымъ большею частью приходится возвратиться домой безъ гроша денегъ. Это явленіе мы всюду замѣчаемъ, напр., на каменьщикахъ, плотникахъ и другихъ, приходящихъ на лѣто изъ великорусскихъ губерній въ Одессу и другіе города Новороссійскаго края, гдѣ задѣльная плата чрезвычайно высока, гдѣ поденьщикъ получаетъ 2—3 руб и больше въ сутки и гдѣ, слѣдовательно, онъ можетъ находиться въ такихъ же благопріятныхъ условіяхъ, какъ напр. американскій работникъ. Но эти деньги по большей части не попадаютъ въ руки рабочихъ, а почти цѣликомъ остаются у тѣхъ подрядчиковъ, приказчиковъ и надзорщиковъ, ко-

торые считаются у нихъ старшими, которые ихъ всегда при разсчетахъ опиваютъ и обсчитываютъ.

Такое же явленіе мы замѣчаемъ на артеляхъ, работающихъ на золотыхъ промыслахъ. Однимъ словомъ, всюду мы видимъ, что работники при работахъ всегда примѣняютъ артельную кооперацію, но всюду она искажается до послѣдней степени. Въ Архангельскѣ, напр., при смоляномъ и льняномъ буянахъ и въ гавани въ лѣтнее время работаютъ на архангельскихъ конторахъ нѣсколько сотъ человѣкъ и всѣ они, какъ водится, составляютъ артель. Даже можно встрѣтить вывѣску, на двухъ или трехъ языкахъ, гласящую о существованіи артели рабочихъ при архангельскомъ портѣ. Можно подумать, что тутъ дѣйствительно примѣнена артельная форма производства работъ, но на дѣлѣ оказывается совершенно другое. Староста артели хотя изъ тѣхъ же крестьянъ, но онъ ни что иное, какъ приказчикъ архангельскихъ конторъ и получаетъ отъ нихъ по 600 р. въ годъ жалованья. Слѣдовательно, онъ уже тутъ дѣйствуетъ не въ пользу артели, а въ пользу своихъ хозяевъ. Рабочіе тутъ являются простыми наемщиками. Но этотъ староста и себя не забываетъ. Получая жалованья всего 600 р. въ годъ, онъ проживаетъ по двѣ и больше тысячи руб. въ годъ, имѣетъ домъ, неуступающій по богатству дому своего хозяина, и нерѣдко, кромѣ того, ведетъ самостоятельную торговлю, однимъ словомъ живетъ не хуже любого купца. Откуда, спрашивается, беретъ онъ столько средствъ, чтобы такъ роскошно жить, имѣя всего 600 р. въ годъ? Понятно, съ тѣхъ рабочихъ, интересы которыхъ онъ, какъ староста, долженъ соблюдать. Рабочіе большею частью народъ бѣдный, задолжавшій старостѣ, который въ глухую зимнюю пору даетъ рабочему хлѣбъ и другіе необходимые предметы, а лѣтомъ вычитываетъ изъ заработковъ его, назначая, понятно, на все высокія цѣны, какія ему только вздумается. За отдаваемые въ займы деньги онъ беретъ страшные проценты. Онъ не гнушается и явно мошенническими пріемами. Такъ, при ежемѣсячныхъ разсчетахъ съ рабочими, получивъ отъ конторы деньги, онъ созываетъ рабочихъ, покупаетъ водки, напаиваетъ ихъ, и когда они порядочно опьянѣютъ, дѣлаетъ разсчетъ, по которому рабочіе обыкновенно не дополучаютъ отъ 10 до 30 коп. за рабочій день, смотря по тому, какой былъ заработокъ въ теченіе мѣсяца; а заработокъ бываетъ отъ 60 до 80 коп. и часто доходитъ до 1 руб. въ день. Въ началѣ прошлаго года въ одномъ изъ №№ «С.-Петербургскихъ Вѣдомостей» была

помѣщена корреспонденція изъ Архангельска, въ которой описываются артели въ архангельской губерніи. Въ ней приводится весьма интересный разсчетъ несомнѣнныхъ барышей артельнаго старосты; приводимъ его цѣликомъ. «Въ мѣсяцѣ считается 24 рабочихъ дня. Если староста утянетъ у рабочихъ среднимъ числомъ по 15 коп. въ день, въ мѣсяцъ онъ получитъ 3 р. 60 коп. съ одного рабочаго, а со 100 рабочихъ, находящихся у него въ артели, 360 руб.; слѣдовательно, въ теченіе 4 рабочихъ мѣсяцевъ 100 человѣкъ рабочихъ теряютъ 1,440 руб., кромѣ процентовъ, которые беретъ староста за товаръ, отпускаемый имъ зимою въ долгъ и которые опредѣлить довольно трудно; можно только предполагать, что при угощеніи водкою полученіе старостою долговъ тоже даетъ ему большой процентъ на капиталъ, употребленный на покупку товара и въ сущности принадлежащій тѣмъ же рабочимъ». При этомъ корреспондентъ весьма справедливо замѣчаетъ, что сумма 1,440 р. была бы вполнѣ достаточна для уплаты податей и повинностей. Рабочій отдаетъ большую часть своихъ заработковъ старостѣ, а другую часть пропиваетъ, вслѣдствіе чего становится неисправимымъ плательщикомъ податей, за нимъ накопляются недоимки, онъ раззоряется и превращается въ полнаго крѣпостнаго у кулака, котораго онъ еще въ простотѣ своей считаетъ человѣкомъ необходимымъ.

Точно въ такомъ же искаженномъ видѣ примѣнено артельное начало при вырубкѣ лѣсовъ для лѣсопильныхъ заводовъ. Приказчиками архангельскихъ конторъ отводятся артелямъ участки лѣсу, въ которыхъ они рубятъ деревья извѣстной толщины, длины и качествъ и по опредѣленной цѣнѣ за каждое бревно. Тутъ кажется, будто рабочая артель является самостоятельною и сколько она выработаетъ, столько же и получитъ. Но на дѣлѣ это вовсе не такъ. Приказчики купеческихъ конторъ поступаютъ съ рабочими не лучше артельныхъ старостъ; рабочіе у нихъ постоянно въ долгу и вѣчно ими закабалены. Но тутъ еще интересна другая сторона дѣла. Приказчики, указывая рабочимъ мѣста для рубки лѣса, указываютъ вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ и что рубить. Тѣ, понятно, буквально исполняютъ, что имъ приказываютъ. Они, слѣдовательно, являются лицами пассивными и очевидно неотвѣтственными за то, что они рубятъ напримѣръ въ недозволенномъ мѣстѣ. Но на дѣлѣ оказывается совершенно иное. Если приказчики имъ отведутъ участокъ, въ которомъ они не имѣютъ права рубить, или если приказчики укажутъ рабочимъ бревна такихъ размѣровъ,

которые рубить запрещено, то рабочіе, исполняющіе заданную работу, отвѣчаютъ за незаконную порубку, если она будетъ открыта. Ихъ тогда считаютъ за самостоятельную единицу, на которую купеческія конторы сваливаютъ всю отвѣтственность. Артель, говорятъ конторы, есть нашъ подрядчикъ, который взялся намъ доставить такое-то количество бревенъ, а гдѣ и что онъ вырубитъ,—это не наше дѣло. И дѣйствительно, съ артелью заключаются подобныя письменныя условія и ей поэтому приходится платиться страшными штрафами за самовольныя порубки. Артельщикамъ вслѣдствіе этого почти никогда ничего не остается изъ жалкихъ заработковъ, и они попадаютъ въ тѣ же неоплатные долги и въ ту же вѣчную кабалу, не смотря на то, что работа ведется у нихъ на артельныхъ началахъ.

Тѣ же обстоятельства прямо вліяютъ на состояніе промысловъ въ сѣверной части Россіи и гибельно отражаются на интересахъ сельскаго населенія. Но кромѣ этихъ обстоятельствъ есть много другихъ, которыя препятствуютъ успѣшному развитію на сѣверѣ Россіи такихъ промысловъ, которые могли бы доставлять значительныя выгоды сельскому населенію и существенно улучшить его бытъ. Чтобы познакомить читателей съ характеромъ этихъ препятствій, я подробно изложу положеніе наиболѣе важнаго промысла на сѣверѣ Россіи и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ укажу и на средства, которыя могли бы поправить дѣло.

IV.

Одно изъ самыхъ важныхъ производствъ сѣвернаго края есть сухая перегонка дерева. Положеніе этой отрасли промышленности по истинѣ печальное. Всѣ условія, которыми она обставлена, какъ-бы нарочно сгрупированы такъ, чтобы только препятствовать ей на каждомъ шагу. Съ одной стороны, неумѣнье вести дѣло со стороны самихъ крестьянъ, съ другой—неимовѣрныя пошлины со всѣми ихъ послѣдствіями; далѣе—громадность пространства, отсутствіе хорошихъ путей сообщенія, дальность рынковъ сбыта, вслѣдствіе чего производители принуждены бываютъ обращаться къ посредству скупщиковъ-кулаковъ; наконецъ отсутствіе всякой конкуренціи въ главномъ пунктѣ сбыта лѣсныхъ издѣлій—въ Архангельскѣ—вслѣдствіе чего понижается и безъ того ничтожный заработокъ смолокура.

Веденіе дѣла крестьянами крайне плохое; жаль смотрѣть, какъ много тратятъ они труда, времени и матеріала, вслѣдствіе нераціональности употребляемыхъ ими способовъ выкурки смолы и дегтя. А трудъ этотъ чрезвычайно тяжелый и непріятный. Такъ напр., на заводахъ, гдѣ гонится деготь, стоитъ постоянный удушливый запахъ отъ паровъ дегтя, который выдѣляется въ воздухъ, вслѣдствіе худаго охлажденія продуктовъ сухой перегонки. Непривыкшему къ этому дыму человѣку нельзя и пяти минутъ пробыть на такомъ заводѣ: онъ сейчасъ начнетъ кашлять и поспѣшитъ уйти оттуда.

Еще болѣе тяжела работа смолокуровъ, которая по истинѣ можетъ быть названа каторжною. По окончаніи одной перегонки, немедленно приступаютъ къ другой, не смотря на то, что смолокуренная печь еще не успѣла охладиться и огонь въ топкахъ ея не потушенъ. Выгребя уголья, печь сейчасъ же наполняютъ снова смольемъ, чтобы такимъ образомъ выигрывать во времени и топливѣ; но вслѣдствіе этого получится меньше продуктовъ и, слѣдовательно, потратится даромъ много матеріала, на добываніе котораго они потратили гораздо больше труда и времени. Печь при вторичной нагрузкѣ ея смольемъ бываетъ такъ горяча, что рабочій, наполняющій ее смольемъ, долженъ входить въ нее въ одной только рубашкѣ, вслѣдствіе чего, впрочемъ, еще скорѣе прожигается его тѣло. Отъ духоты (въ печь, чтобы ее охладить, бросаютъ снѣгъ), чада и жара рабочій въ первое время и двухъ секундъ не можетъ оставаться въ печкѣ. Онъ выбѣгаетъ оттуда распотѣвшій на 30—40 градусный морозъ. Понятно, какъ это должно дѣйствовать на организмъ смолокуровъ. Если они еще люди нетерпѣливые и неосторожные и послѣ такой операціи, немедленно по выходѣ изъ печки, напьются холодной воды, чтобы утолить жажду, то почти всегда заболѣваютъ чахоткою и затѣмъ умираютъ. Случается даже такъ, что подобный неосторожный смолокуръ, выпивъ холодной воды, тутъ же начинаетъ кашлять и харкать кровью.

Что же смолокуры и дегтекуры получаютъ за свой трудъ? Вотъ что имъ достается за эту каторжную работу. Для полученія одного пуда дегтя требуется заготовить отъ $3^1/_4$ я до 4 пудовъ скалы, за которою приходится ѣхать верстъ за 50; если же ее покупаютъ, то за нее платить по 15—18 коп. за пудъ. Положимъ, что для одного пуда дегтя потребуется $3^1/_2$ пуда скалы, которую можно будетъ покупать по 16 коп. за пудъ, что составляетъ 56 коп.; пошлины за

скалу, по 6 коп. съ пуда, 21 коп. Всего матеріалъ обходится въ 77 коп. Къ этому надо еще прибавить стоимость бочки и пошлину съ нея, на что приходится по 4 коп. съ пуда (за бочку 80 коп. и пошлины за нее 30 коп., всего 1 р. 10 к., а въ ней дегтю вмѣщается 20—25 пудовъ), такъ какъ при продажѣ дегтя за бочку ничего не берется. Кромѣ того, здѣсь не вошли въ разсчетъ расходы по полученію билетовъ 2 раза по 20 коп. (прошеніе пишется на гербовой бумагѣ, да еще писарю приходится платить каждый разъ коп. по 20 за написаніе прошеній); точно также здѣсь не взято во вниманіе ни время, которое приходится тратить для полученія билетовъ, за которыми производителю нужно съѣздить къ лѣсничему и часто не застать его дома, ни ремонтъ завода (корчаги, въ которыхъ курится деготь, вслѣдствіе быстраго ихъ охлажденія снѣгомъ, скоро трескаются), ни много другихъ расходовъ. Крестьянину такимъ образомъ 1 пудъ дегтя обходится отъ 85 до 90 коп., если даже не больше, на мѣстѣ производства. Что же онъ получаетъ, если на мѣстѣ ему даютъ только 70 коп.? Очевидно, что дегтекуръ, если онъ закупаетъ скалу, получаетъ 20 коп. съ пуда убытку, а трудъ его къ тому еще пропадаетъ даромъ (стоимость работы для выкурки 1 пуда дегтя въ вышеприведенный разсчетъ не вошла). Если же онъ самъ и скалу собираетъ, то ему останется послѣ всѣхъ трудовъ, хлопотъ и разныхъ непріятностей коп. 20—25 съ пуда дегтя. Если же существуютъ еще дёгтекуры, которые закупаютъ для своего производства скалу отъ другихъ, то только потому, что послѣдніе находятся у нихъ въ зависимости и должны, какъ это будетъ объяснено далѣе, доставлять имъ скалу по той цѣнѣ, какую первымъ вздумается назначать. Обыкновенно этимъ кулакамъ закупщикамъ скала достается по 7 коп. за пудъ. Столько выручаетъ дегтекуръ!

Смолокуръ-же зарабатываетъ и того меньше, несмотря на то, что его трудъ еще тяжелѣе. Выше уже было сказано, что смолокуру достается много-много 6 — 8 коп. въ сутки. Крестьянинъ среднимъ числомъ выкуриваетъ отъ 15 до 20 бочекъ смолы въ годъ, т. е. онъ успѣваетъ заготовить и переработать 3 или 4 куб. сажени смолняка (по нормѣ, при печномъ способѣ, полагается 5 бочекъ смолы изъ 1 куб. саж. матеріала). Втеченіе года крестьяне заняты работами по смолокуренію отъ 8 до 9 мѣсяцевъ: весною они мѣсяца два заняты подсочкою лѣса, осенью рубятъ и складываютъ его, потомъ зимою вод-

возятъ смолнякъ къ печкѣ, а въ февралѣ, мартѣ и апрѣлѣ занимаются выкуркою заготовленнаго матеріала.

Вотъ болѣе подробный разсчетъ работы и заработка. Для заготовленія 1 куб. саж. смольняка (въ 1 куб. саж. около 200 деревъ) требуется:

Для подсачиванія втеченіе 5—6 лѣтъ по 3 дня въ годъ, а въ первый годъ 4 — 5 дней	18 дней.
» вырубки и складыванья	3 »
» доставки на заводъ	4 »
» распилки и расколки.	2 »
» выкурки въ печкѣ по $^1/_3$ куб. саж.	6 »
Лошадь для перевозки матеріала и топлива, считая стоимость работы лошади, равной стоимости работы чел.	6 »
Помощникъ смолокура при печкѣ	6 »
Всего . .	45 дней.

Обыкновенно лѣсъ подсачиваетъ *) смолокуръ съ женою и дѣтьми, работа которыхъ не входитъ въ разсчетъ. Не принято также во вниманіе время, нужное для выправки билета, для сплава бочекъ до главной сплавной рѣки, для приготовленія плота и многое другое. Едва-ли мы сдѣлаемъ ошибку, если примемъ, что для заготовки и выкурки 1 куб. саж. смолья рабочему нужно 50 рабочихъ дней. Что же онъ получаетъ за этотъ трудъ? Изъ 1 куб. саж., по нормѣ, полагается 5 бочекъ, но обыкновенно крестьяне получаютъ всего 4 или даже $3^1/_2$ бочки. За 8-ми пудовую бочку печной смолы даютъ 2 р. 75 коп. или 2 р. 70 к. съ доставкою въ Архангельскъ, съ уплатою пошлины, доливомъ и проч. Изъ этого слѣдуетъ вычесть:

Пошлины	80 коп.
Доставка въ Архангельскъ отъ 30 до 40 коп. сред . .	35 »
Скупщикамъ за коммисію по 10 коп. съ бочки . . .	10 »
Доливъ до отправки въ Архангельскъ и по прибытіи туда отъ $^3/_4$ до 1 ведра 10—15 коп. сред.	12 »
Стоимость бочки 15 — 20 коп. сред.	16 »

*) Подсачивать лѣсъ значитъ сдирать съ деревъ кору, вслѣдствіе чего наносятся имъ раны, отъ которыхъ они страдаютъ сокотеченіемъ и подсыхаютъ. Такое раненное дерево богато смолистыми веществами.

пошлины за самую бочку и за дрова для выкурки 1 куб.

саж. смолы	12 к.
Ремонтъ печки	10 »
	1 р. 75 коп.

Вычитая изъ 2 р. 75 коп. или даже 2 р. 70 коп. 1 р. 75 коп. получаемъ въ остаткѣ около 1 рубля за бочку. Но если смолокуръ продаетъ свою смолу еще осенью, когда ему нужно уплатить подать и другія повинности, то скупщикъ беретъ себѣ за коммиссію 30 коп. съ бочки,—смолокуру остается коп. 80 за бочку. Но если допустимъ даже, что онъ получитъ за нее рубль и что онъ добудетъ изъ 1 куб. саж. не $3^1/_2$, а 4 бочки, то и въ этомъ, самомъ счастливомъ, случаѣ онъ выручитъ изъ 1 куб. саж. всего 4 руб., что за 50 рабочихъ дней составляетъ по 8 коп. въ сутки. Но скупщики часто взимаютъ еще съ крестьянъ смолокуровъ какіе-то проценты (за ссуду, что-ли), а потому они, вѣроятно, не безъ основанія говорятъ, что крестьянинъ отъ смолокуренія добываетъ лишь 3—5 коп. въ сутки.

Вотъ въ какомъ положеніи находится на сѣверѣ смолокуреніе. Оно еще въ гораздо худшемъ положеніи, чѣмъ дёгтекуреніе. А между тѣмъ крестьяне тѣхъ мѣстъ, гдѣ преимущественно занимаются смолокуреніемъ, въ Шенкурскомъ и Вельскомъ уѣздахъ, не имѣютъ за исключеніемъ земледѣлія почти никакого другого занятія.

Въ Кадниковскомъ, Тотемскомъ и другихъ уѣздахъ, гдѣ занимаются дегтекуреніемъ, положеніе крестьянства нѣсколько лучше. Во-первыхъ, тамъ хлѣбъ родится лучше, да кромѣ дегтекуренія у нихъ есть еще и другія занятія: у нихъ хорошо растетъ ленъ, зимою они заняты ческою его, пряжею, тканьемъ и пр. Во-вторыхъ и положеніе дегтекуренія здѣсь лучше, потому что деготь отсюда идетъ во внутреннія губерніи Россіи. Купцы — все русскіе; они имѣютъ дѣло прямо съ производителями, не прибѣгая къ посредству скупщиковъ. Цѣны на ростовской (Ярославской губ.), ананьинской, тропчинской (Вологодской губ.) и на другихъ ярмаркахъ назначаются правильно, смотря по требованію и предложенію дегтя. Кромѣ того и дегтя выкуривается почти столько, сколько его требуется. Въ прошломъ году, впрочемъ, его было выкурено мало, вслѣдствіе чего цѣна на деготь на мѣстѣ производства доходила до 1 р. 10 коп., а на ростовской ярмаркѣ до 1 р. 55 коп. за пудъ. Благодаря всему этому,

положеніе здѣшняго крестьянства—сравнительно еще довольно сносное; народъ здѣсь не такъ бѣдствуетъ, какъ въ тѣхъ мѣстахъ, гдѣ занимаются смолокуреніемъ.

Кромѣ смолы, при сухой перегонкѣ дерева здѣсь ничего болѣе не получается. Скипидаръ и дегтярная вода выливаются вонъ. Только въ одномъ мѣстѣ, недалеко отъ г. Вельска, у крестьянскихъ печей имѣются трубы съ холодильниками для собиранія скипидара, который въ этой мѣстности имѣетъ сбытъ. Благодаря этому приспособленію, крестьяне получаютъ еще отъ 4 до 6 пудовъ скипидара, который они продаютъ по 80 к.—1 р. за пудъ, а это уже удвоиваетъ ихъ доходъ. Въ другихъ же мѣстахъ ограничиваются добываніемъ одной только смолы, которая, какъ мы видѣли, весьма мало окупаетъ трудъ рабочаго. Вслѣдствіе этого смолокуреніемъ крестьяне занимаются не охотно.

Чѣмъ дальше къ сѣверу, тѣмъ все меньше и меньше занимаются смолокуреніемъ. Это происходитъ отчасти потому, что матеріалъ становится хуже, а отчасти потому, что населеніе, живущее недалеко отъ Архангельска и моря, находитъ себѣ другіе промыслы, болѣе выгодные, чѣмъ смолокуреніе. Впрочемъ, бываютъ мѣста, въ которыхъ можно было бы заниматься смолокуреніемъ, но имъ не занимаются потому, что жители не знакомы съ этимъ производствомъ. Въ другихъ мѣстахъ между тѣмъ, иногда при весьма неблагопріятныхъ обстоятельствахъ, этотъ промыслъ весьма распространенъ потому только, что тутъ уже давно имъ занимаются и жители къ нему привыкли. Бываютъ мѣста, въ которыхъ каждый поселянинъ занимается смолокуреніемъ, хотя оно ему приноситъ весьма мало выгоды. Впрочемъ, въ такихъ случаяхъ крестьянинъ куритъ смолу больше потому, что у него нѣтъ другого занятія.

Подвигаясь дальше къ сѣверу и притомъ лѣтомъ, я надѣялся увидѣть какую-нибудь работающую яму, но это мнѣ не удалось. Мнѣ попались не дѣйствующія, а уже засыпанныя ямы, въ которыхъ давно не производилось работы. Въ одномъ мѣстѣ встрѣтилась печь, въ которой шла перегонка подсоченнаго лѣса. Вообще вездѣ говорятъ, что печи вытѣсняютъ ямный способъ смолокуренія, такъ какъ печной способъ для смолокуровъ, сравнительно, гораздо выгоднѣе. Крестьяне всегда любятъ заимствовать все то, что они находятъ для себя выгоднымъ. Такъ напр., въ Тотемскомъ и Кадниковскомъ уѣздѣ, Вологодской губ., прежде для дегтекуренія употреблялись стоячія корчаги. Одному вздумалось замѣнить ихъ лежачими. Это оказалось болѣе выгоднымъ и тогда

вездѣ стоячія корчаги замѣнились лежачими, и теперь почти нѣтъ стоячихъ корчагъ. Точно также и смолокуры всюду замѣняютъ ямы печами, что для крестьянъ гораздо выгоднѣе. Надо ихъ только научить, какъ лучше пользоваться печами, если пока нельзя теперешній печной способъ смолокуренія замѣнить другими, болѣе выгодными. Если ихъ научить изъ печей получать хорошую смолу, то не будетъ надобности прибѣгать къ ямному способу. Теперь же они, дѣйствительно, получаютъ изъ печей дурную смолу. Изъ 70 т. бочекъ смолы, привезенныхъ въ прошломъ году въ Архангельскъ, 55 т. бочекъ были худшаго, пятаго сорта. (Смола въ Архангельскѣ раздѣляется на пять сортовъ. Лучшій сортъ—это однорубежка, а худшій—пятирубежка). Въ видахъ поощренія крестьянъ получать лучшіе сорты смолы, мѣстный смольный браковщикъ предлагалъ архангельскимъ купцамъ сдѣлать болѣе значительную разницу въ цѣнѣ между первыми сортами и послѣднимъ, но купцы отказываются принять эту мѣру. Теперь разница между первыми четырьмя сортами и послѣднимъ всего на 25 коп. Въ прошломъ году напр. за пятирубежку давали по 2 р. 70 к. или 2 р. 75 к., а за 1, 2, 3 и 4 рубежки только по 3 руб. Браковщикъ же предлагаетъ имъ увеличить эту разницу на 50, 75 к. и на 1 руб. Архангельскіе купцы этого не дѣлаютъ отчасти потому, что мало заботятся о развитіи смолокуренія, а больше потому, что они знаютъ, что имъ нѣтъ надобности, за отсутствіемъ конкуренціи, платить больше: и безъ того товаръ непремѣнно попадетъ къ нимъ въ руки, какую бы цѣну они ни давали.

Вслѣдствіе этого уменьшается постепенно и вывозъ смолы заграницу. Въ прошломъ году до августа мѣсяца было приплавлено всего около 70 т. бочекъ смолы, тогда какъ прежде, какъ мнѣ сообщилъ мѣстный браковщикъ, оно превышало 100 т. Точно также въ прошломъ году было приплавлено пеку на $^1/_3$ меньше, чѣмъ въ запрошломъ напр. году. Требованія на пекъ, вслѣдствіе этого, были значительны, но цѣна на него все-таки стояла одна и та же, именно 50 коп. за пудъ. Между тѣмъ заграницею цѣны на эти товары очень высоки. Напр. въ Стокгольмѣ, откуда смола и пекъ также идутъ въ Англію и другія мѣста, куда идетъ и наша смола, 8-ми пудовая бочка смолы стоитъ 6—7 руб. Фрахтъ же за доставку товаровъ изъ Архангельска за-границу вовсе не такъ значителенъ въ сравненіи съ тѣмъ, во сколько обходится доставка изъ Стокгольма напр. въ Англію. Въ юго-западной Швеціи цѣна даже на мѣстѣ производства еще выше.

Въ Финляндіи крестьяне за 8 пудовую бочку получаютъ чистыми деньгами безъ пошлинъ и другихъ расходовъ 3 руб. и больше, а у насъ въ Кадниковскомъ уѣздѣ, на рѣкѣ Кубанѣ, гдѣ нѣтъ архангельскихъ монополистовъ, смола на мѣстѣ производства продавалась въ прошломъ году по 60 коп. за пудъ, что составитъ 4 р. 80 к. за 8 пудовую бочку. Впрочемъ, въ эту цѣну входятъ пошлина и другіе расходы.

Архангельскъ очень хорошій портъ и лѣтомъ къ нему приходитъ очень много судовъ, на которыхъ отправляется много товаровъ. Льну напр. въ прошломъ году было отправлено, какъ говорятъ, болѣе чѣмъ на 1 мил. руб. сер., что можно видѣть изъ того, что каждый изъ шести имѣющихся въ Архангельскѣ льняныхъ браковщиковъ (у каждаго браковщика по 10 рабочихъ) получилъ по 7,500 руб. однихъ процентовъ причитающихся за браковку льна. Но цѣны на товары въ Архангельскѣ весьма низкія.

Смола и пекъ также подвергаются браковкѣ, но браковка эта производится весьма несовершеннымъ способомъ. Браковщикъ опускаетъ въ бочку со смолою желѣзный прутъ и вертитъ его. Если онъ не задѣваетъ нигдѣ внутри и если бочка внутри надлежащей длины и требуемаго діаметра, что опредѣляется тѣмъ же щупомъ, то она считается полномѣрною и годится для заграничнаго отпуска. Затѣмъ браковщикъ приступаетъ къ опредѣленію достоинства смолы. Для этого онъ вынимаетъ щупомъ же пробу смолы и, смотря по тому, какъ скоро стекаетъ она со щупа, опредѣляетъ степень ея густоты и сортъ. Чѣмъ жиже смола, тѣмъ выше ея сортъ; самая густая смола представляетъ послѣдній, пятый сортъ. Все это опредѣляется, конечно, ощупью и отъ расположенія браковщика зависитъ причислить данную смолу къ тому или другому сорту. Если же щупъ, при опущеніи его въ бочку, станетъ задѣвать, то бочку эту бракуютъ. Слѣдствіемъ этого бываетъ то, что вынимаютъ одно изъ ея днищъ, а смолу выливаютъ въ мѣрникъ, состоящій изъ обрубка бочки, въ верхней части которой вколочены гвоздики, указывающіе полную мѣру бочки, т. е. 8 пудовъ и $7^1/_4$, $7^1/_2$ и $7^3/_4$ пуда. Если смола въ мѣрникѣ дойдетъ до гвоздиковъ, указывающихъ $7^3/_4$ или $7^1/_2$ пуда, то бочка не бракуется; если же ея нѣсколько меньше, то ее бракуютъ. Тогда забракованую бочку *отощаютъ*, т. е. особымъ приспособленнымъ для этой цѣли долотомъ утончаютъ стѣнки бочки, переливаютъ въ нее изъ мѣрника смолу, вставляютъ вынутое днище, если оно еще годится, а то дѣлаютъ новое, доливаютъ бочку, такъ какъ объемъ бочки, вслѣдствіе ея отощенія увеличился, и затыкаютъ

втулкою верхнее отверстіе бочки. Такимъ образомъ послѣ всѣхъ этихъ операцій бочка готова для заграничнаго отпуска.

Теперь посмотримъ, насколько совершененъ этотъ способъ браковання смолы и какая происходитъ отъ этого потеря для производителей. Прежде, чѣмъ приступаютъ къ браковкѣ смолы, изъ бочекъ выпускаютъ подсмольную воду. Вмѣстѣ съ нею обыкновенно вытекаетъ и часть смолы. Такъ какъ подсмольная вода выпускается вонъ на землю, то отъ этого происходитъ болѣе или менѣе значительная потеря для производителя, потому что изъ этой подсмольной воды и той части смолы, которая съ нею вмѣстѣ вытекаетъ, можно бы было приготовить пекъ на тѣхъ пековаренныхъ заводахъ, которые имѣются тутъ же въ Архангельскѣ. Обыкновенно пековары въ Вельскомъ и Шенкурскомъ уѣздахъ даютъ по 50 коп. за 8-ми пудовую бочку такаго подсмолка. Но подсмолокъ, доставляемый крестьянами изъ печей, обыкновенно болѣе жидокъ, чѣмъ подсмолокъ изъ бочекъ, и, слѣдовательно, изъ него получается меньше пеку; да кромѣ того, приготовленный здѣсь пекъ надо еще везти въ Архангельскъ, тогда какъ въ первомъ случаѣ, т. е. при выварке пеку въ Архангельскѣ, этого не требуется. Далѣе, при переливаніи смолы изъ бочки въ мѣрникъ обратно, проливается много смолы. Кромѣ того, вылить всю смолу до единой капли, въ особенности густую, вельзя. Слѣдствіемъ этого бываетъ иногда то, что бочка становится маломѣрною. Остающаяся въ бочкѣ смола, въ случаѣ ея маломѣрности, выбрасывается вонъ вмѣстѣ со стружками, на которыхъ она, понятно, остается при отощеніи бочки. Точно также теряется часть смолы, пристающей къ стѣнкамъ мѣрника, при переливаніи ея обратно въ бочку.

Послѣ всѣхъ этихъ операцій приходится, понятно, доливать не мало смолы въ подвергнутую промѣркѣ бочку. Разсчитано, что въ общемъ числѣ на 10 бочекъ теряется одна бочка для долива. Это прямая потеря, которая довольно велика. Но не меньше и косвенная потеря. Дѣло въ томъ, что десятая бочка, идущая на доливъ, уже оплочена пошлиною и приплавлена въ Архангельскъ. Пошлины за нее уплочено 80 коп., а за доставку отъ 30 до 40 коп. Слѣдовательно, на бочку приходится по 12 или $13^1/_3$ к. Кромѣ того, за отощеніе и вторичную укупорку забракованной бочки надо платить по 12 коп. съ бочки.

Послѣднія два обстоятельства не были мною приняты во вниманіе раньше, при разсчетѣ выручки крестьяниномъ за одну бочку

смолы, и, слѣдовательно, заработокъ его бываетъ еще меньше, чѣмъ я прежде полагалъ, потому что всѣ эти потери отъ браковки прямо ложатся на производителя. Смолу сплавляютъ въ Архангельскъ скупщики. При браковкѣ какой нибудь части изъ ихъ партіи, имъ выдается браковщикомъ свидѣтельство въ томъ, что отъ браку произошла потеря такая-то. Потомъ эта потеря взыскивается съ производителей. Такъ какъ скупщику продана смола не однимъ смолокуромъ, а многими, и такъ какъ неизвѣстно, чьи именно бочки были подвергнуты браку, то, понятно, скупщику является возможность, при окончательномъ разсчетѣ съ смолокурами, предъявлять каждому изъ нихъ полученное имъ отъ браковщика свидѣтельство, взыскивая съ каждаго происходившую отъ браковки потерю, причитающуюся на одну бочку. Скупщикамъ, вслѣдствіе этого, становится даже выгоднымъ, чтобы часть изъ приплавленной имъ партіи бочекъ смолы была забракована, потому что впослѣдствіи они вознаградятъ себя сторицею за происшедшій вслѣдствіе браковки расходъ.

Теперь остается узнать, что достигается браковкою и насколько она совершенна. Первая бочка всегда почти можетъ оказаться маломѣрною, хотя въ ней имѣется надлежащее количество смолы, потому что не всю смолу можно вылить въ мѣрникъ. Послѣдующія же бочки, напротивъ, могутъ иногда показаться полномѣрными, хотя онѣ собственно маломѣрны, потому что этому способствуетъ та смола, которая остается въ мѣрникѣ. Въ первыхъ бочкахъ, которыя подвергнутся браковкѣ, послѣ всѣхъ операцій будетъ, слѣдовательно, больше смолы, чѣмъ требуется, тогда какъ послѣднія будутъ отправлены за границу маломѣрными.

Такъ какъ наблюдается только затѣмъ, чтобы не было маломѣрныхъ бочекъ и такъ какъ за излишекъ не платится больше,—т. е. если будетъ въ бочкѣ вмѣсто 8 пуд., напр., 9 пуд., заплатится все таки только за 8 пуд.—то смолокуры стараются, чтобы въ бочку вошло ровно 8 пуд. смолы. Въ особенности имъ нѣтъ разсчета стараться, чтобы бочки вышли полномѣрными, если справедливо, что скупщики пользуются браковкою, чтобы увеличить доходность своихъ торговыхъ операцій, какъ это объяснено было выше.

Далѣе, при браковкѣ смолы требуется, чтобы въ ней было 8 пудовъ вѣса, между тѣмъ провѣряется это *мѣрою*. Понятно, что чѣмъ гуще смола, тѣмъ она тяжелѣе и, слѣдовательно, она можетъ не достигнуть въ мѣрникѣ до требуемой черты, хотя и будетъ имѣть

8 пудовъ. Точно также, чѣмъ жиже смола, тѣмъ она занимаетъ большій объемъ и она можетъ достигнуть до требуемой черты, но въ ней все-таки восьми пудовъ не будетъ. Правда, все это говоритъ въ пользу жидкой смолы, но такъ какъ въ настоящее время изъ 70 тыс. приприплавленныхъ въ прошломъ году бочекъ смолы, какъ выше было сказано, 55 т. были послѣдняго, худшаго сорта, т. е. самой густой смолы, то тяжесть несовершенства способа бракованія ложится теперь почти на всю отправляемую заграницу смолу.

Что касается способа браковки пека, то онъ тоже мало удовлетворяетъ цѣли. Онъ производится такимъ образомъ, что въ бочкѣ, съ противоположной стороны втулки, въ предположеніи, что нечистоты осядутъ на низъ, пробуравливаютъ дыру и по вынутой буравомъ пробѣ судятъ о качествѣ пека и о томъ, есть ли въ немъ постороннія примѣси. Понятно, что о присутствіи послѣднихъ по этой пробѣ узнать нельзя. Можно, напр., наливать бочки сначала хорошимъ пекомъ, дать ему остыть, потомъ дополнить ее худшимъ пекомъ съ разными посторонними примѣсями*). Если пекъ мягокъ, то его бракуютъ. Доставщикъ получаетъ его обратно, перевариваетъ его вторично или продаетъ его кому-нибудь, только не для заграничнаго отпуска, напр., на стоящія въ Архангельскѣ суда для собственной надобности. Вообще браковка производится чрезвычайно несовершенно и грубо. О достоинствѣ пека по браковкѣ ничего нельзя узнать, а о качествѣ смолы—весьма мало. Присутствіе примѣсей въ смолѣ, если она густа, опредѣлить никакъ нельзя; для браковщика оно представляется дѣломъ весьма темнымъ.

Итакъ, пользы отъ браковки смолы и пека весьма мало, между тѣмъ вреда отъ нея очень много. Конечно, ее можно было бы уничтожить совсѣмъ, еслибы смолокуреніе велось иначе, чѣмъ теперь, еслибы заводчики были болѣе солидны и еслибы можно было ограничиться указаніемъ на бочкахъ фирмы производителя, который сталъ бы отвѣтственнымъ лицомъ въ случаѣ, если окажутся какія нибудь неисправности и недостатки въ продуктахъ его производства. Но теперь, при раздробленности производства, этого достигнуть нельзя. Это будетъ возможно только при артельномъ веденіи дѣла, когда каждый артельный заводъ представитъ солидную фирму и надлежащую гарантію за доброкачественность всѣхъ выпускаемыхъ имъ товаровъ.

*) Впрочемъ, иногда вынимаютъ буравомъ пробу и изъ дна бочки. Но по ней все-таки нельзя достаточно судить о достоинствѣ пека, такъ какъ она слишкомъ мала.

Бракованіе смолы, слѣдовательно, служитъ большимъ тормазомъ для смолокуренія и имѣетъ не малое вліяніе на заграничный отпускъ этого товара. Привезенная въ прошломъ году въ Архангельскъ смола была большею частью старой выкурки. Свѣжей смолы было мало. Впрочемъ, браковщикъ полагалъ, что ея приплавятъ до конца навигаціи еще около 15 т. бочекъ, и это количество будетъ большею частью свѣжей выкурки. Незначительность приплава смолы свѣжей выкурки происходитъ вслѣдствіе того, что смолокуреніемъ занимаются большею частью болѣе состоятельные крестьяне, такъ какъ изъ всего вышеизложеннаго можно было видѣть, что при занятіи смолокуреніемъ требуется нѣкоторый капиталъ, и что вообще голыми руками, даже при ямномъ способѣ, ничего дѣлать нельзя. Для подвозки матеріала требуется, напр., лошадь, кормъ ей и проч., но лошадь не у всѣхъ найдется. Иногда крестьяне нарочно ничѣмъ не обзаводятся, изъ боязни, что у нихъ отнимутъ и продадутъ съ аукціона за разныя недоимки; въ особенности это замѣтно въ Шенкурскомъ уѣздѣ Архангельской губерніи, гдѣ за крестьянами имѣются большія штрафныя недоимки. Смолокуреніемъ и дегтекуреніемъ занимаются больше состоятельные крестьяне потому еще, что для полученія права на выкурку дегтя или смолы нужно взять билетъ на заготовку какого-нибудь количества матеріала и внести пошлину впередъ. Бѣдные крестьяне не могутъ запастись такимъ билетомъ, такъ какъ пошлины нужно заплатить по крайней мѣрѣ за 100 пудовъ, напр., скалы по 6 коп. съ пуда, что составляетъ 6 руб. Къ этому слѣдуетъ прибавить расходы на гербовую бумагу, написаніе прошеній и время, нужное для поѣздки къ лѣсничему. Богатые крестьяне-скупщики пользуются этимъ, вносятъ пошлины за нѣсколько тысячъ пудовъ скалы и раздаютъ потомъ бѣднымъ билеты на заготовленіе матеріала, выдавая имъ при этомъ большею частью деньги впередъ. За это крестьянамъ приходится весь ими заготовленный матеріалъ продавать скупщикамъ, и притомъ по такой цѣнѣ, какую назначатъ сами скупщики. Они имъ даютъ по 7—9 коп. съ пуда.

Вотъ по какимъ причинамъ смолокуреніемъ занимаются болѣе состоятельные крестьяне. Они, имѣя кое-какія средства, рѣшаются не продавать свою смолу тогда, когда цѣна на нее низка. Они оставляютъ ее на другой, третій и т. д. годъ, въ надеждѣ, что цѣна на ихъ товаръ возвысится; но надежды ихъ большею частію остаются тщетными, и имъ приходится продавать смолу, пожалуй, еще по бо-

лѣе низкой цѣнѣ, такъ какъ она, отъ долгаго нахожденія въ бочкахъ, въ неудобныхъ помѣщеніяхъ, теряетъ нѣсколько въ качествѣ, уже не говоря о томъ, что часть ея теряется вслѣдствіе просачиванія сквозь стѣнки бочекъ. Такъ какъ просачиваются болѣе жидкіе продукты, то смола отъ долгаго лежанія густѣетъ и высшій сортъ ея уходитъ потомъ за нисшій.

Недоброкачественность нашей архангельской смолы уже пріобрѣла заслуженную извѣстность заграницею и теперь ей предпочитаютъ смолу шведскую, финскую и другихъ странъ. Между тѣмъ, прежде наша смола считалась лучшею во всей Европѣ и охотно покупалась. Теперь же она съ каждымъ годомъ ухудшается въ качествѣ. Это обстоятельство можетъ довести торговлю нашею смолою до того, что у насъ перестанутъ ее покупать даже тогда, когда она будетъ и лучше теперешняго.

Поучительнымъ примѣромъ въ этомъ отношеніи можетъ служить бывшая въ Архангельскѣ торговля щетиною. Вся щетина идетъ теперь изъ Вологодской губерніи въ Петербургъ, а оттуда заграницу. Между тѣмъ прежде, много лѣтъ тому назадъ, она вся шла черезъ архангельскій портъ. Это произошло оттого, какъ мнѣ сообщилъ одинъ изъ мѣстныхъ старинныхъ купцовъ, что щетину стали отпускать заграницу весьма плохаго качества, съ разными посторонними примѣсями. Заграницею, вслѣдствіе этого, потеряли довѣріе къ архангельской щетинѣ и ее перестали у насъ покупать. Недовѣріе это и до сихъ поръ существуетъ и такъ велико, что одного только указанія, что щетина изъ Архангельска, достаточно, чтобы она была за границею забракована или значительно понижена въ цѣнѣ, будь она даже самаго лучшаго качества. Одна изъ архангельскихъ конторъ хотѣла было возобновить отправку щетины заграницу изъ Архангельска, но принуждена была отказаться отъ своего желанія. Всюду ее преслѣдовало наименованіе «архангельской», несмотря на то, что отправленная этою конторою щетина была самаго лучшаго достоинства. Теперь изъ Устюга, лежащаго на Сѣв. Двинѣ, въ томъ мѣстѣ, откуда она становится судоходною, въ теченіе всего лѣта, щетина вмѣсто того, чтобы быть отправленною внизъ по теченію въ Архангельскъ, идетъ для заграничнаго отпуска въ Петербургъ, куда и приходится везти зимою гужемъ или лѣтомъ вверхъ противъ теченія по Сухонѣ, Кубенскому озеру и по цѣлой системѣ каналовъ. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ доставка обходится въ нѣсколько разъ дороже,

чѣмъ въ первомъ, и товаръ отъ этого становится значительно дороже, но онъ все-таки охотнѣе покупается, если онъ идетъ черезъ Петербургъ, какъ черезъ мѣсто, которое успѣло зарекомендовать себя съ хорошей стороны, тогда какъ щетина, идущая черезъ архангельскій портъ, несмотря на ея бо́льшую дешевизну, вовсе не покупается.

Тоже самое легко можетъ случиться и со смолою, торговля которою можетъ отъ этого пострадать еще больше. Смолѣ нельзя будетъ разсчитывать на то, что если ее перестанутъ покупать въ Архангельскѣ, то мѣстомъ сбыта можетъ сдѣлаться Петербургъ. Ее вовсе перестанутъ покупать у насъ, доставка ея изъ Вологодской и Архангельской губерніи въ Петербургъ, какъ щетины напр., выйдетъ чрезвычайно дорога, да кромѣ того смолу можно будетъ получать изъ Швеціи, Финляндіи и другихъ странъ, тѣмъ болѣе, что требованія на сырую смолу съ каждымъ годомъ уменьшаются, такъ какъ желѣзо при строеніи судовъ стало вытѣснять дерево, а между тѣмъ для судовъ она прежде главнымъ образомъ и требовалась. Точно также и канаты для снастей замѣняются теперь желѣзными цѣпями и проволокою.

Теперь изъ Архангельска вывозится смолы гораздо меньше, чѣмъ прежде, но все-таки цифра отправляемой въ настоящее время заграницу смолы и пеку еще довольно почтенная. До августа мѣсяца въ прошломъ году было привезено, какъ выше уже сказано, 70 т. бочекъ и до конца навигаціи ожидали еще около 15 т. бочекъ. Кромѣ того, пеку было привезено 15 т. бочекъ, что, въ переводѣ на смолу, составитъ 25—30 бочекъ смолы. Всего смолы должно быть вывезено въ прошломъ году изъ Архангельска 110—115 т. бочекъ, что составляетъ сравнительно порядочное количество. Этимъ и надо пользоваться, пока мы еще окончательно не потеряли довѣрія къ нашей смолѣ. Надо возстановить ея прежнюю репутацію и мы можемъ быть обезпечены ея сбытомъ, такъ какъ ее нигдѣ и никогда не получатъ дешевле, чѣмъ у насъ. Главное, нужно, чтобы она качествомъ соотвѣтствовала заграничнымъ требованіямъ. Что ее можетъ идти больше, чѣмъ теперь, видно изъ слѣдующаго:

Изъ 70 т. бочекъ приплавленной въ прошломъ году въ Архангельскъ смолы, 55 т. приходится на 5-й, худшій сортъ ея. Всѣхъ сортовъ 5; изъ нихъ первые 2 или 3 сорта исключительно идутъ въ Германію, Голландію, Францію, Испанію, Италію, Турцію и т. д.; 4-й сортъ идетъ въ Шотландію, гдѣ смола употребляется для смазки овецъ, съ цѣлью предохранить ихъ отъ вредныхъ насѣкомыхъ. На-

конецъ 5-й сортъ цѣликомъ идетъ въ Англію, гдѣ смолу подвергаютъ дальнѣйшей перегонкѣ. Итакъ, изъ 70 т. бочекъ 55 т. идутъ въ одну только Англію, куда требуется 5-й, худшій сортъ, 15 т. бочекъ идутъ на удовлетвореніе требованіямъ всѣхъ остальныхъ странъ Европы, въ томъ числѣ и Шотландіи, куда идетъ вее количество 4-го сорта смолы. Понятно, что будь больше первыхъ сортовъ смолы, то все ея количество могло бы имѣть сбытъ, потому что требованія на эти сорта въ Голландіи, Бельгіи, Франціи, Италіи, Испаніи и проч. очень велики.

Наученіемъ смолокуровъ получать лучшіе сорта смолы можно достигнуть увеличенія сбыта ея заграницу. Но этимъ ограничиваться еще нельзя.

Рядомъ съ улучшеніемъ производства сухой перегонки необходимо уничтожить все то, что служитъ ему препятствіемъ для дальнѣйшаго развитія. Такихъ препятствій, какъ мы видѣли, такъ много, что никакія улучшенія въ самыхъ способахъ производства не въ состояніи будутъ подвинуть его сколько-нибудь впередъ, если не будутъ уничтожены хоть главнѣйшія изъ нихъ. Самымъ главнымъ и сильнымъ препятствіемъ въ настоящее время безспорно является тотъ способъ взиманія пошлины, который теперь принятъ. Онъ чрезвычайно сложенъ, обременяетъ въ высшей степени какъ производителей, такъ и честныхъ чиновниковъ, достигая все-таки весьма плохихъ результатовъ. Онъ представляетъ обширное поле для беззаконныхъ дѣйствій какъ со стороны крестьянъ, такъ и со стороны тѣхъ служащихъ, которые рады удить рыбу въ мутной водѣ.

Способъ взиманія пошлины состоитъ въ слѣдующемъ: желающій заниматься смолокуреніемъ долженъ прежде всего обратиться къ лѣсничему и взять у него билетъ на заготовленіе какого-нибудь количества смолы. Для этого требуется написать прошеніе на гербовой бумагѣ (въ удѣльномъ вѣдомствѣ прошенія пишутся на простой бумагѣ), заплатить писарю за составленіе его и съѣздить къ лѣсничему. Когда настанетъ санный путь, то матеріалъ перевозится изъ лѣса къ заводу. Тутъ долженъ его освидѣтельствовать лѣсничій или кто-нибудь другой изъ лѣснаго начальства. Если матеріалу окажется больше чѣмъ крестьянинъ имѣлъ право заготовить по своему билету, то излишекъ конфискуется, какъ самовольно вырубленный. Ему дозволяется заготовить больше противъ назначеннаго въ билетѣ только на 10%.

Спрашивается, какъ можно узнать въ лѣсу, то ли или другое количество смолы мною заготовлено, въ особенности, если смолье это будетъ состоять изъ пней и корней? Складывать его въ сажени на мѣстѣ нѣтъ возможности; это возможно только уже по доставкѣ матеріала къ заводу. Если у меня билетъ, напр., на 100 куб. саж. смолы и если при складываніи его на заводѣ оказалось не 110, допускаемыхъ закономъ, а 115 или 120 куб. саж., то все это лишнее количество конфискуется, какъ незаконнымъ образомъ заготовленное.

По выкуркѣ смолы, лѣсничему надо опять поѣхать на заводъ, провѣрить, получилось-ли изъ даннаго количества смолья то количество смолы, какое требуется по нормѣ, клеймить бочки, смотрѣть, нѣтъ ли смолья свѣжей заготовки и т. д.

Норма обязательнаго выхода смолы изъ 1 куб. саж. такъ велика, что смолокуры ее никогда не получаютъ. Требуется получить 5 бочекъ смолы изъ 1 куб. саж. смолья, а крестьяне получаютъ всего $3^1/_2$ или 4 бочки. Въ этомъ случаѣ производителю приходится платить больше, чѣмъ полагается по таксѣ. Между тѣмъ пошлина, какъ мы увидимъ дальше, и безъ того велика.

Далѣе, смолокуръ, отправляя свой товаръ на мѣсто продажи, напр., въ Архангельскъ, долженъ запастись свознымъ билетомъ, который для казеннаго вѣдомства долженъ быть писанъ на гербовой бумагѣ. Въ Архангельскѣ смола опять провѣряется по свознымъ билетамъ, затѣмъ бракуется и т. д. Вотъ сколько мытарствъ долженъ пройти смолокуръ, пока ему удастся сбыть свой злополучный товаръ! А это, конечно, не можетъ не вызывать со стороны его озлобленія къ лѣсному начальству и равнодушія или даже ненависти къ своему труду, который въ концѣ концовъ такъ плохо его вознаграждаетъ.

Изъ слѣдующаго можно видѣть, какъ велико озлобленіе крестьянъ къ лѣсному начальству. Одинъ изъ лѣсныхъ смотрителей встрѣтилъ разъ обозъ съ неоплаченнымъ пошлиною товаромъ. Онъ хотѣлъ остановить крестьянъ, но тѣ преспокойно взяли его, растянули на землѣ и переѣхали черезъ него всѣмъ обозомъ. Ихъ озлобленіе доходитъ такимъ образомъ до звѣрства. Самовольный порубщикъ, при поимкѣ его, готовъ убить на мѣстѣ поймавшаго — беззащитнаго лѣснаго сторожа. У нѣкоторыхъ, при провозкѣ товара мимо того пункта, гдѣ провѣряются билеты, бываютъ иногда дубины или даже ружья, чтобы убить всякаго, кто осмѣлится помѣшать имъ провезти товаръ. Всѣ крестьяне отъ души ненавидятъ лѣсныхъ сторожей, хотя они бы-

ваютъ изъ ихъ же среды. Послѣднихъ считаютъ фискалами, богоотступниками, идущими противъ своихъ же братьевъ, и имъ приходится жить выдѣленными изъ общества, такъ какъ и ихъ жизнь постоянно въ опасности. Одинъ изъ сторожей разсказывалъ, что домъ, въ которомъ онъ нанималъ себѣ комнату, былъ сожженъ крестьянами, и что ему чрезвычайно трудно найти себѣ квартиру, такъ какъ его не хотятъ и боятся пускать къ себѣ на жительство. Для безопасности лѣсныхъ сторожей, удѣльнымъ вѣдомствомъ предполагается снабдить ихъ ружьями, а также строить имъ помѣщенія.

Между тѣмъ сѣверный крестьянинъ вовсе не такой звѣрь, какимъ онъ въ этомъ случаѣ представляется. Онъ мягкаго характера, добръ и чрезвычайно честенъ. Тамъ конокрадства не бываетъ; въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ вовсе не знаютъ о существованіи замковъ. Иногда крестьяне просто поражаютъ своею честностью. Ямщикъ, напр., иногда отказывается брать на водку больше, чѣмъ обыкновенно полагается. Въ одномъ мѣстѣ крестьяне, которые нарочно пришли изъ деревни вытащить опрокинувшійся и провалившійся экипажъ, не хотѣли получить предложенныя имъ на водку деньги, говоря, что они пришли вытащить экипажъ, а не съ цѣлью получить на водку. Надо еще замѣтить, что опрокинувшійся экипажъ принадлежалъ очень достаточному лицу, которое имъ, вѣроятно, предложило болѣе или менѣе приличную сумму. Въ деревняхъ о кражахъ ничего не слышно и непривыкшаго человѣка иногда поражаетъ безпечность крестьянъ въ охраненіи своего добра. Одинъ у другаго никогда ничего не возьметъ.

Одно только они себѣ дозволяютъ—это кражу лѣса, и бываютъ, какъ мы видѣли, чрезвычайно озлоблены, если ихъ преслѣдуютъ за подобныя кражи. Они считаютъ лѣсъ общимъ достояніемъ, и никто, по ихъ мнѣнію, не имѣетъ права на преимущественное владѣніе и пользованіе лѣсами, которыхъ такъ много здѣсь. Крестьяне никакъ не могутъ привыкнуть къ мысли, что лѣса, которыми они до недавняго времени вполнѣ свободно пользовались, не составляютъ ихъ собственности. Они, пожалуй, свыклись бы съ этой мыслью, еслибы были болѣе обезпечены и менѣе нуждались. Бѣдность представляется главною побудительною причиною самовольныхъ порубокъ. Не имѣя возможности выправлять себѣ билетъ на заготовку смолокуреннаго матеріала и внести пошлины за какое-нибудь количество смолья, крестьянинъ принужденъ бываетъ прибѣгать къ самовольнымъ порубкамъ. Точно также, не будучи въ состояніи получать

все требуемое по нормѣ количество смолы изъ того матеріала, который ему полагается по билету, онъ прибѣгаетъ къ самовольнымъ порубкамъ, чтобы изъ большаго количества матеріала получить недостающее количество смолы. Далѣе, выручая отъ смолокуренія ничтожный заработокъ, а между тѣмъ, нуждаясь въ деньгахъ для уплаты оброка, податей и другихъ повинностей, онъ опять прибѣгаетъ къ самовольнымъ порубкамъ, такъ какъ для того, чтобы заработать нужную ему сумму, ему необходимо выкурить по возможности большее количество матеріала, что ему не всегда возможно, потому что таксаціею опредѣляется maximum того количества, какое ежегодно возможно отпускать изъ данной лѣсосѣки. Самовольныя же порубки ведутъ къ штрафамъ, а штрафы ихъ еще болѣе раздражаютъ.

Причиною самовольныхъ порубокъ служитъ также и то, что взимаемая теперь пошлина чрезвычайно велика. Она тѣмъ болѣе тяжело отзывается на производствѣ, что теперешній заработокъ смолокура самый ничтожный. Онъ выручаетъ, какъ мы видѣли, за бочку смолы не болѣе 1 руб. или даже 80 коп. Пошлины же платится по 5 руб. 25 к. за куб. саж. или по 80 коп. за бочку, т. е. однихъ пошлинныхъ денегъ приходится около 100%. Къ тому же существуетъ такого рода несообразность: тотъ же лѣсъ, но неподсоченный, а идущій на дрова, оплачивается пошлиною въ 1 руб. только. Значитъ, смолокуръ, который въ теченіе нѣсколькихъ лѣтъ подсачивалъ лѣсъ, приготовляя его къ смолокуренію, т. е. придавая ему своимъ трудомъ бо́льшую цѣнность, долженъ за это самое платить за него въ $5^1/_4$ раза больше. Говорятъ, что это дѣлается потому, что лѣсъ во времл подсочки замедляется ростомъ и, слѣдовательно, въ этомъ случаѣ его получится меньше, чѣмъ тогда, еслибы его не подсачивали. Но эта разница та́къ незначительна, что изъ-за нея никакъ не слѣдуетъ увеличивать плату въ $5^1/_4$ разъ.

Далѣе, за пни и корни взимается такая-же пошлина, какъ и за подсоченный лѣсъ *). Между тѣмъ слѣдовало бы, напротивъ, поощрять выкорчеваніе пней и корней, такъ какъ они и валяющійся въ лѣсу сухоподстой способствуютъ распространенію лѣсныхъ пожаровъ. Не дѣлается-же это потому, что боятся, чтобы крестьянинъ не сталъ злоупотреблять дозволеннымъ правомъ безпошлинно курить

*) Казенное вѣдомство, впрочемъ, беретъ за пни и корни меньшую пошлину, но зато за подсоченный лѣсъ взимается больше, именно 1 р. 5 к., или 1 р. 15 к. за бочку.

смолу изъ пней и корней. Онъ, пожалуй, выкуритъ смолу изъ подсоченнаго лѣса, а скажетъ, что выкурилъ изъ пней и корней.

Но пошлина сама по себѣ, какъ она ни велика, все-таки не озлобляла-бы такъ крестьянъ, какъ самый способъ ея взиманія. Онъ сильно тормозитъ дѣло, его необходимо замѣнить другимъ, болѣе раціональнымъ и справедливымъ, иначе никогда нельзя будетъ разсчитывать на возможность развить и усовершенствовать эту отрасль промышленности. Правда, дѣлались попытки измѣнить существующій способъ взиманія пошлины, но они дѣлались нерѣшительно и нерадикально, причемъ рядомъ съ новыми способами оставлялся и старый. Это производило еще большую путаницу, которая заставила еще крѣпче держаться стараго способа и отказаться отъ новаго, хотьбы даже онъ самъ по себѣ былъ лучше.

Такъ напр., была предложена и утверждена акцизная система взиманія пошлины, которая была-бы несравненно лучше, но она до сихъ поръ нигдѣ на сѣверѣ не была примѣнена и наврядъ ли, при настоящемъ положеніи дѣла, можетъ быть примѣняема на практикѣ. Чтобы взимать акцизъ съ размѣровъ завода, надо, чтобы заводъ представлялъ болѣе или менѣе крупную единицу, которая вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ должна быть единицею постоянною и опредѣленною. Теперь же крестьянскіе заводы малы и работаютъ тогда, когда имъ вздумается. Еслибы смолокуреніе развилось на артельныхъ началахъ, то вмѣсто нѣсколькихъ маленькихъ маловыгодныхъ для крестьянъ заводовъ образовался-бы одинъ большой, который будетъ правильно вести свои дѣла и который можетъ работать круглый годъ. Тогда, понятно, можно будетъ назначить акцизъ съ завода, смотря по тому количеству матеріала, какое онъ въ состояніи будетъ переработывать въ годъ. Пошлина такимъ образомъ будетъ взиматься съ матеріала, а не съ издѣлій, какъ это дѣлается теперь. При взиманіи пошлины съ издѣлій поощряется тотъ, кто хуже работаетъ. Если, напр., я получу изъ 1 куб. саж. 6 бочекъ смолы, то плачу за нее 4 р. 80 к., вмѣсто 4 руб. за 5 бочекъ, сколько полагается по нормѣ. Если-же получу 4 бочки, то заплачу только 3 р. 20 коп. Мало того, если у меня получается 6 бочекъ вмѣсто 5, сколько полагается по нормѣ, то весь излишекъ конфискуется, какъ выкуренный изъ самовольно заготовленнаго матеріала, и мнѣ приходится заплатить штрафъ въ размѣрѣ тройной пошлины. Дозволяется нѣкоторый излишекъ противъ нормы, но не болѣе 10%; слѣдовательно, всякій излишекъ сверхъ 10%

конфискуется, обязывая еще того, кто старался лучшимъ образомъ вести свое производство, къ уплатѣ значительнаго штрафа. Если я кромѣ смолы стану получать еще напр., скипидаръ, то я долженъ уплатить пошлину и за скипидаръ. Точно также придется платить и за другіе продукты, которые вздумали бы получать при сухой перегонкѣ дерева. Однимъ словомъ, размѣръ пошлины за одну и ту-же куб. саж. можетъ возрастать до безконечности.

Слѣдствіемъ теперешняго способа взиманія пошлины бываетъ весьма много прискорбныхъ недоразумѣній, тормозящихъ на каждомъ шагу смолокуренное и дегтярное производства. Такъ напр., въ запрошломъ году Тотемскій лѣсничій назначилъ крестьянамъ сборнымъ пунктомъ для выдачи провозныхъ билетовъ и клеймовки бочекъ Фомійнскую станцію, но не успѣлъ во время пріѣхать. Въ это самое время, когда крестьяне съ своими товарами съѣхались на вышеназванную станцію, нагрянули жандармы и полиція, стали требовать отъ нихъ провозныхъ билетовъ и нагнали на крестьянъ такой страхъ, что тѣ долго не могли опомниться. Лѣсничій назначилъ нарочно одинъ общій сборный пунктъ, чтобы не ѣхать къ каждому производителю отдѣльно и тѣмъ ихъ не задержать, такъ какъ они торопились на ростовскую ярмарку. Пошлина крестьянами уже была уплочена, и впослѣдствіи дѣло выяснилось, но крестьяне все-таки поплатились и страхомъ и матеріально. Они долго не могли взяться за заготовку матеріала и когда они за нее взялись, скала уже гораздо труднѣе сдиралась съ дерева, потому что сдирка ея возможна весною, когда дерево въ полномъ соку. Совершенно такая же исторія случилась и въ прошломъ году, какъ это будетъ видно дальше.

При теперешнемъ способѣ взиманія пошлины, въ чиновникахъ существуетъ извѣстнаго рода подозрительность. Они постоянно боятся, не заготовлено-ли больше смолы, не заготовлено-ли больше матеріала; чиновники-же удѣльные нерѣдко обнаруживаютъ даже нѣкотораго рода жадность поймать самовольнаго порубщика, оштрафовать его и воспользоваться тою частью изъ штрафныхъ денегъ, которая полагается открывшему самовольную порубку. Одному удѣльному чиновнику даже пришла въ голову счастливая мысль штрафовать крестьянъ по 25 руб. каждый разъ, когда они станутъ въ удѣльныхъ лѣсахъ безпошлинно собирать ягоды и грибы! Къ счастью, этотъ благой совѣтъ высшимъ начальствомъ не былъ принятъ во вниманіе, а то удѣльному вѣдомству пришлось-бы еще чаще штрафовать кресть-

янъ, къ чему оно и такъ склонно. За крестьянами и теперь числятся значительныя недоимки штрафныхъ денегъ и крестьяне отъ этихъ штрафовъ такъ раззорены, что даже мѣстная администрація, за положительнѣйшею невозможностью, отказывается ихъ взыскивать. А этихъ штрафныхъ недоимокъ не мало. Такъ напр., въ одномъ изъ удѣльныхъ округовъ Шенкурскаго уѣзда за крестьянами числится 30 или даже 36 тысячъ руб. штрафныхъ недоимокъ. Само удѣльное вѣдомство пришло къ убѣжденію, что необходимо сложить съ крестьянъ нѣкоторую часть недоимокъ.

Эти подозрѣнія со стороны чиновниковъ вліяютъ весьма пагубно на производство. Такъ напр., въ позапрошломъ году одна купчиха закупила у крестьянъ 153 пуда скипидара, получаемаго изъ крестьянскихъ смолокуренныхъ печей, перегнала его и получила 104 пуда чистаго бѣлаго скипидара. Когда она обратилась за полученіемъ свознаго билета, то его не выдали, а скипидаръ засеквестровали, потому что удѣльный чиновникъ усомнился въ томъ, можно-ли изъ 153 пудовъ сыраго скипидара получить 104 чистаго. Печной скипидаръ онъ принялъ за смольный-красный, изъ котораго дѣйствительно получается, какъ полагается и по нормѣ, только четвертая часть и то зеленаго, а не бѣлаго скипидара. Дѣло затянулось; скипидаръ остался на другой годъ и утекалъ себѣ изъ бочекъ, а онъ между тѣмъ былъ запроданъ и за него чуть-ли не пришлось платить неустойку. Въ прошломъ году только послѣ Пасхи дѣло выяснилось, скипидаръ былъ освобожденъ, но не знаю, успѣла-ли купчиха и въ прошломъ году свезти свой скипидаръ, такъ какъ дороги тогда уже испортились значительно. Вслѣдствіе этого та же купчиха стала давать крестьянамъ за скипидаръ по 80 коп. за пудъ, а не по 1 рублю, какъ прежде; и если-бы она перестала покупать этотъ скипидаръ у крестьянъ, то сосѣдній пековаръ сталъ-бы имъ платить только по 50 коп. за пудъ, какъ онъ имъ дѣйствительно и предлагалъ; или-же крестьяне перестали-бы собирать свой скипидаръ. А это, какъ мы выше видѣли,—единственное мѣсто, гдѣ крестьяне устроили холодильники и собираютъ скипидаръ, отъ котораго у нихъ доходъ отъ смолокуренія уже удвоивается.

Подобная же исторія вышла въ прошломъ году и въ Шенкурскомъ уѣздѣ. Значительная часть подсоченнаго лѣса была удѣльнымъ вѣдомствомъ засеквестрована только потому, что кора съ деревъ была содрана въ три или четыре періода, а не въ пять періодовъ, какъ полагается по установившемуся обычаю, хотя деревья стояли на

корню въ подсоченномъ видѣ долѣе, чѣмъ пять или шесть лѣтъ. Не было ни одного дерева, которое было менѣе 17-лѣтней подсочки, и такое смолье гораздо лучше пяти или шести-лѣтней подсочки. По призводившимся при мнѣ опытамъ такъ и оказалось. Смолы изъ такого матеріала получилось не столько, сколько требуется по нормѣ, но значительно больше.

Противники акцизной системы указываютъ на то, что ею можно будетъ злоупотреблять. Если не станутъ свидѣтельствовать матеріалъ и проч., говорятъ они, то каждый можетъ себѣ купить клочокъ земли съ лѣсомъ, выстроить тамъ заводъ и сказать, что онъ куритъ смолу изъ своего матеріала. Но это, понятно, преувеличено; если у него клочокъ земли, то онъ не въ состояніи будетъ перерабатывать изъ своего лѣса 100, 200 или больше куб. саж. смолья; если же онъ все-таки столько выкурилъ, то ясно, что тутъ дѣло нечистое, и такого господина можно притянуть къ отвѣтственности. Далѣе, выходя изъ того взгляда, что могутъ существовать подобныя злоупотребленія, можно прійти къ тому выводу, что казна и удѣлъ должны совсѣмъ запретить частное владѣніе лѣсомъ. Очевидно, что это невозможно. Наконецъ, и теперь, при теперешнемъ способѣ взиманія пошлины, существуютъ подобныя злоупотребленія. Въ Кадниковскомъ и Вельскомъ уѣздахъ Вологодской губерніи весьма много матеріала казеннаго и удѣльнаго вѣдомствъ идетъ подъ названіемъ помѣщичьяго. Помѣщики, зная, что матеріалъ не изъ ихъ имѣній, охотно выдаютъ крестьянамъ билеты на заготовку, выкурку и провозъ смолы, взимая, понятно, съ нихъ ничтожную плату. Въ прошломъ году оказалось, что одна помѣщица выдавала значительное количество билетовъ на заготовленіе смолы, тогда какъ у нея въ лѣсу и березы не имѣется. Многіе помѣщики выдаютъ билеты на заготовку матеріала въ 10 и 100 разъ больше, чѣмъ они могутъ отпускать изъ своихъ дачъ.

Кромѣ того, при теперешнемъ способѣ взиманія пошлины, существуетъ еще много другихъ злоупотребленій, отъ которыхъ казна и удѣлъ терпятъ значительныя потери. Въ прошломъ году удѣльное вѣдомство открыло много злоупотребленій на ананьинской ярмаркѣ въ Кадниковскомъ уѣздѣ Вологодской губерніи. Сумма этихъ потерь оказалась довольно почтенная, если принять во вниманіе, что изъ Ананьина отправляется сравнительно ничтожная часть всѣхъ выработанныхъ изъ удѣльныхъ лѣсовъ издѣлій, которыя большею частію

идутъ въ Архангельскъ. Потеря отъ открытыхъ въ прошломъ году злоупотребленій равняется 5,000 руб., но она представляетъ $^1/_3$ или $^1/_4$ часть всего того, что еще можно было открыть, такъ какъ многіе изъ судовъ ушли, не подвергшись осмотру и не всѣ билеты и товары можно было на другихъ судахъ провѣрять. Чтобы открыть эти злоупотребленія, понадобилось вмѣшательство полиціи и жандармскаго полковника, которые провѣряли провозные билеты, останавливали суда, провѣряли число бочекъ, одно судно было даже выгружено, брали съ виновныхъ значительные залоги, съ нѣкоторыхъ по 500 и 700 руб. и пр. Оно переполошило всѣхъ производителей Кадниковскаго уѣзда и значительной части Вельскаго уѣзда. Крестьяне вслѣдствіе этого до 9-го іюня, т. е. почти до самого сѣнокоса, какъ мнѣ сообщилъ мѣстный лѣсничій, не брали билетовъ на заготовленіе бересты ни на одинъ пудъ. Если они до самаго сѣнокоса не обращались къ лѣсничему за билетами, то надо полагать, что въ этомъ году почти что не будетъ никакой выкурки смолы и дегтя. Свѣжей скалы нарвать нельзя, да у крестьянъ и времени не хватитъ на сдирку бересты. Если будетъ какая-нибудь выкурка, то только изъ старой заготовленной бересты. Точно также мнѣ сообщили, что въ двухъ ближайшихъ къ селу Ананьино удѣльныхъ округахъ взяты билеты на заготовленіе самаго незначительнаго количества смолокуреннаго матеріала.

Это можно себѣ объяснить отчасти испугомъ крестьянъ и отчасти тѣмъ, что скупщики, которымъ пришлось представить большіе залоги, не разсчитались вполнѣ съ смолокурами, или по крайней мѣрѣ не выдали имъ задатковъ на будущій товаръ. Вслѣдствіе этого крестьяне лишились средствъ выправлять себѣ билеты на заготовленіе скалы и другихъ матеріаловъ. Такъ дѣйствительно и оказалось. Крестьяне 7-го удѣльнаго округа въ послѣднихъ числахъ іюня обратились къ удѣльному вѣдомству съ просьбою дозволить имъ заготовлять матеріалъ съ разсрочкою платежа пошлины до осени. Это имъ было дозволено, но наврядъ ли имъ удалось воспользоваться льготою, такъ какъ уже было поздно.

Если акцизная система взиманія пошлины не удовлетворяетъ всѣмъ требованіямъ казны и удѣла, то есть другая система, болѣе справедливая и болѣе раціональная. Это—отдача участковъ лѣса въ оброчное или арендное содержаніе. Отдачею смолокуру извѣстнаго участка лѣса въ арендное содержаніе достигается *почти все*, чего только можно желать для развитія смолокуреннаго производства.

Одинъ или нѣсколько производителей вмѣстѣ, если они составляютъ между собою артель, берутъ какой-нибудь участокъ смолокуреннаго лѣса на извѣстное число лѣтъ. Этотъ участокъ, въ свою очередь, раздѣляется на столько частей, на сколько лѣтъ онъ взятъ въ аренду. Въ теченіе года арендаторы могутъ вырубать только одну такую часть лѣса, что дѣлается съ цѣлью не дать имъ возможности въ первые годы аренды уничтожать много лѣса, а въ концѣ срока ея сидѣть безъ матеріала. Кромѣ того, если арендаторъ можетъ въ годъ вырубать только опредѣленное количество лѣса, то онъ, подсачивая его, будетъ въ состояніи располагать имъ такъ, чтобы въ данное время данная часть матеріала была вполнѣ годна къ употребленію.

Удѣлу и казнѣ останется только охранять границы отданныхъ имъ въ аренду участковъ и слѣдить, чтобы въ этихъ участкахъ ежегодно было вырублено то, что допускается таксаціею. Казна и удѣлъ могли бы, пожалуй, обойтись только однимъ охраненіемъ границъ, отданныхъ ими въ аренду лѣсовъ, такъ какъ смолокуръ, въ отданномъ ему на срубъ лѣсу, можетъ дѣлать, что ему вздумается. Но дѣло въ томъ, что имъ приходится также и охранять вообще лѣса въ видахъ общегосударственныхъ интересовъ. Если за этимъ не слѣдить, то смолокуръ, уничтожившій преждевременно свой лѣсъ, останется безъ матеріала и, слѣдовательно, безъ занятія. Если онъ захочетъ, по уничтоженіи перваго участка, взять въ аренду еще другой участокъ, то очень можетъ случиться, что казна и удѣлъ найдутъ это невозможнымъ, чтобы сразу не уничтожать всѣ лѣса. Въ аренду ихъ можетъ отдаваться опредѣленное число, именно столько, сколько допускается таксаціею. Иначе можетъ случиться, что нашему потомству не хватитъ лѣса, что также необходимо имѣть въ виду.

Срокъ аренды какого-нибудь участка можетъ быть, напр., пятилѣтній, десятилѣтній или двадцатилѣтній, такъ какъ пятилѣтній неудобенъ. Лѣсъ подсачивается въ теченіе пяти лѣтъ, потомъ только онъ становится годнымъ къ употребленію. Слѣдовательно, подсачивая въ этомъ году первую часть лѣса, въ будущемъ году другую и т. д., придется на шестой годъ, вырубая первую часть, засочить новую шестую часть, иначе смолокуръ можетъ остаться безъ матеріала. Впрочемъ, по истеченіи первыхъ пяти лѣтъ, онъ могъ бы взять другой участокъ еще на пять лѣтъ, но тогда могло бы случиться, что рядомъ съ первымъ участкомъ нельзя ему отдать другой, а только въ другомъ, болѣе или менѣе отдаленномъ мѣстѣ, что для

арендатора не всегда можетъ быть удобнымъ. Ему придется раскинуться по большому пространству и работать въ двухъ различныхъ мѣстахъ, такъ какъ въ теченіе четырехъ лѣтъ онъ долженъ будетъ еще продолжать подсачивать и первый участокъ, гдѣ и заводъ у него устроенъ.

Десятилѣтній срокъ болѣе всего удобенъ. Если смолокуру, по истеченіи этого срока, достанется участокъ въ совершенно другомъ мѣстѣ, то тогда онъ можетъ безъ особенно чувствительныхъ для себя потерь перенести свой заводъ, потому что послѣдній, по истеченіи десяти лѣтъ, можетъ потребовать болѣе или менѣе фундаментальнаго ремонта, такъ что расходъ какъ на перевозку его приборовъ, матеріаловъ и всѣхъ принадлежностей, такъ и на перестройку его, окупится тѣмъ, что смолья не придется везти изъ далеко отстоящихъ отъ завода мѣстностей.

Арендная плата опредѣляется по количеству куб. саженъ смолья, какое будетъ получаться ежегодно изъ даннаго участка лѣса. Если положимъ, что ежегодная добыча смолья будетъ 100 куб. саженъ, то арендаторъ, съ которымъ заключается надлежащимъ образомъ условіе, долженъ внести арендныхъ денегъ по теперешней, напр., таксѣ, т. е. по 5 р. 25 коп. за куб. саж., или 525 руб. за 100 куб. саж. Удѣлу и казнѣ, по полученіи арендной платы, нѣтъ болѣе дѣла до того, что сдѣлаетъ арендаторъ съ своимъ лѣсомъ. Онъ можетъ изъ него добывать хоть золото и алмазы, это ихъ уже не касается. Если онъ дѣйствительно получитъ золото или алмазы, то это его счастье; если же онъ не съумѣетъ извлечь надлежащую выгоду изъ своего матеріала, то это его вина. Удѣлу и казнѣ останется регулировать арендную плату, чтобы она сообразовалась съ тѣмъ, что дѣйствительно можетъ получаться отъ переработки лѣса. Въ настоящее время, напр., плата въ 5 р. 25 коп. за куб. саж. смолья или, вѣрнѣе, лѣса, такъ какъ въ смолье, годное для смолокуренія, превращаетъ лѣсъ уже смолокуръ, черезъ-чуръ велика. Впослѣдствіи, напротивъ, она можетъ оказаться малою. Поэтому, было бы весьма благоразумно регулировать надлежащимъ образомъ арендную плату, чтобы не обременять ею производителей. При введеніи арендной отдачи лѣсовъ, вся сложная процедура теперешняго способа взиманія пошлины исчезнетъ, а сложность этой процедуры и есть главная причина того гнета, какой теперь приходится одинаково испытывать какъ чиновникамъ, такъ и производителямъ, если только они люди честные. Матеріалъ не при-

дется больше свидѣтельствовать ни на мѣстѣ его заготовки, ни на заводѣ.

Расходы на взиманіе пошлины и охраненіе лѣсовъ при введеніи новой системы значительно уменьшатся, такъ какъ придется ограничиться только охраненіемъ границъ отданныхъ въ аренду участковъ. Точно также изчезнетъ запутанность счетоводства, какая существуетъ теперь при взиманіи пошлины съ издѣлій. При полученіи билета на заготовку, напр., 1 куб. саж. смолья, смолокуру выдается 5 ярлыковъ на право выкурить 5 бочекъ смолы. Столько же, кажется, ярлыковъ высылается въ контору и столько же остается у чиновника, выдающаго билеты. Потомъ, при провѣркѣ дѣйствій чиновниковъ, къ каждому билету подбираются его ярлыки, а такъ какъ билетовъ выдается десятки тысячъ, то ярлыковъ бываетъ сотни тысячъ, для провѣрки и сличенія которыхъ требуется не мало усидчиваго труда и времени. Мало того; смола переработывается въ пекъ, при чемъ получается и скипидаръ; пошлина въ этомъ случаѣ взимается за пекъ, соображаясь съ нормою выхода его изъ смолы. Тогда количество пека и скипидара приходится перевести на смолу и по ней вычислять число ярлыковъ, что, понятно, еще болѣе усложняетъ дѣло. И дѣйствительно, провѣрка этихъ ярлыковъ не мало отупляетъ того, кто ею занимается. Надо имѣть гигантское терпѣніе и обладать величайшимъ хладнокровіемъ, чтобы исполнять это занятіе. Все это уничтожится при введеніи новой системы.

Арендный способъ отдачи лѣсовъ, какъ выше было сказано, и болѣе справедливъ. Если я собственникъ лѣсовъ и дозволяю другимъ ими пользоваться съ цѣлью получать отъ нихъ кое-какія выгоды, то я долженъ предлагать свои лѣса, т. е. свой товаръ, въ такомъ видѣ, какой для потребителей, т. е. для моихъ покупателей, наиболѣе удобенъ. Продавая имъ свой товаръ и получая отъ нихъ за него деньги, я долженъ его предлагать уже готовымъ, какъ въ торговлѣ обыкновенно и принято. Но въ отношеніи лѣсовъ это достигается только отдачею ихъ въ арендное содержаніе, такъ какъ въ этомъ случаѣ владѣлецъ продаетъ свое право на пользованіе его лѣсомъ. Тогда, само собою разумѣется, владѣльцу нѣтъ дѣла до того, какъ арендаторъ будетъ пользоваться лѣсомъ: пойдетъ ли лѣсъ на дрова, сгніетъ ли онъ, выкурится ли изъ него смола или добудется что нибудь другое, болѣе цѣнное. Дѣло владѣльца только облегчать арендатору пользованіе отданнымъ ему въ аренду лѣсомъ. Такъ вездѣ и дѣлается. И

со стороны казны и удѣльнаго вѣдомства являются, кажется, попытки отдавать свои лѣса въ арендное содержаніе. Но при этомъ оставляется и теперешній способъ взиманія пошлины съ издѣлій. Въ такомъ случаѣ, желаемая цѣль, понятно, не можетъ быть достигнута.

Арендную отдачу лѣсовъ надо вводить постепенно, а не сразу. Получая какой нибудь участокъ лѣса и подсачивая его теперь, можно будетъ имъ пользоваться спустя только пять лѣтъ. Слѣдовательно, если сразу перейти отъ теперешняго способа взиманія арендной пошлины къ арендной отдачѣ, то крестьяне могутъ остаться въ теченіе первыхъ 5-ти лѣтъ безъ матеріала и, слѣдовательно, безъ занятія. Поэтому, отдавая имъ теперь лѣса въ аренду, надо на первое время позволить продолжать пользоваться тѣмъ лѣсомъ, который они успѣли подсочить. По истеченіи этого срока, они переходятъ въ отведенные имъ участки, гдѣ у нихъ имѣется уже свѣжій матеріалъ, въ теченіе пяти лѣтъ ими же подготовленный.

Къ сожалѣнію, введеніемъ арендной отдачи лѣсовъ не уничтожаются еще всѣ обстоятельства, которыя тормозятъ теперь смолокуренное производство. По этой причинѣ я выше и сказалъ, что арендною отдачею лѣсовъ достигается *почти* все, чего можно желать для развитія сухой перегонки дерева. Остается еще одно обстоятельство, которое можетъ имѣть болѣе или менѣе сильное вліяніе на улучшеніе этого производства, смотря по тому, какъ на него взглянутъ.

Дѣло въ томъ, что теперь существуетъ законъ, по которому необходимо брать билеты для провоза изготовленныхъ издѣлій какъ изъ казенныхъ, такъ и изъ частныхъ лѣсовъ. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ билеты выдаются или свидѣтельствуются мѣстною полиціею. Это дѣлается съ цѣлью слѣдить за производителями, чтобы они не заготовляли матеріала въ данной дачѣ больше, чѣмъ имъ, напр., дозволяется по условію, или же чтобы они, пользуясь правомъ заготовлять матеріалъ изъ дачъ одного владѣльца, не стали заготовлять его и изъ дачъ другого какого нибудь владѣльца. Тогда должна будетъ существовать извѣстная норма выходовъ издѣлій изъ даннаго количества матеріала, а вмѣстѣ съ нею и извѣстный процентъ того, что допускается получать сверхъ нормы. По условію можно будетъ видѣть, какое количество матеріала имѣетъ данное лицо право перерабатывать, а по нормѣ опредѣлится, какое количество издѣлій оно можетъ провезти. Но это послужитъ не малымъ стѣсненіемъ для производителей.

Поэтому, вмѣстѣ съ введеніемъ арендной отдачи лѣсовъ, необходимо отмѣнить и законъ, заставляющій производителей брать билеты на провозъ лѣсныхъ издѣлій. Если же этого сдѣлать нельзя, то необходимо провѣрить и установить новыя нормы выходовъ продуктовъ изъ того или другаго матеріала. Кромѣ того, надо увеличить и процентъ выходовъ сверхъ нормы, соображаясь всегда какъ въ первомъ, такъ и во второмъ случаѣ съ тѣмъ способомъ, какой употребляется тѣмъ или другимъ производителемъ. Точно также не слѣдуетъ строго преслѣдовать за бо́льшій выходъ, чѣмъ полагается по нормѣ. Въ настоящее время допускается 10% сверхъ нормы. Излишекъ конфискуется, какъ самовольная выкурка, причемъ приходится платить штрафъ въ размѣрѣ тройной пошлины, тогда какъ совершенно достаточно ограничиться обыкновенною платой. А это вполнѣ гарантируетъ владѣльца. Въ противномъ случаѣ придется косвеннымъ образомъ покровительствовать наименѣе раціональному способу, а всякое улучшеніе, такъ сказать, преслѣдовать, какъ оно теперь на дѣлѣ и выходитъ. Далѣе, обязанности по выдачѣ билетовъ надо возлагать не на полицейскихъ чиновниковъ, а на людей, спеціально для этой цѣли назначенныхъ. Въ настоящее время на исправниковъ и становыхъ возложено столько обязанностей по службѣ, что они положительно не въ состояніи исполнять все, что отъ нихъ требуется, въ особенности на сѣверѣ, гдѣ объѣзды ихъ бываютъ раскинуты на протяженіи нѣсколькихъ сотъ верстъ. Они, вслѣдствіе этого, дѣлаютъ много упущеній, которыми иные не замедляютъ пользоваться. А это, въ свою очередь, вызываетъ тѣ злоупотребленія, которыя такъ тяжело отзываются на производителяхъ, принося вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ не малый вредъ казнѣ и удѣлу.

Къ счастію, удѣльное вѣдомство, какъ мнѣ недавно сообщили, уже рѣшилось совершенно измѣнить свой прежній взглядъ на свои отношенія къ мѣстному населенію. Оно поняло, что увеличить доходность своихъ имѣній можно не систематическимъ раззореніемъ крестьянъ, а, напротивъ, увеличеніемъ ихъ благосостоянія. Въ этихъ видахъ приняты мѣры къ сложенію значительной части изъ накопившихся за крестьянами штрафныхъ недоимокъ, а это—весьма благоразумная мѣра. Другая благоразумная мѣра состоитъ въ томъ, что крестьянамъ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстъ дозволено вносить пошлину не при заготовкѣ смолокуреннаго матеріала весною, а осенью, когда у нихъ бываютъ деньги. Это обстоятельство избавляетъ ихъ отъ необходи-

мости прибѣгать къ посредству скупщиковъ-кулаковъ. Далѣе, приступили къ удовлетворенію справедливыхъ жалобъ крестьянъ на неудовлетворительность ихъ надѣловъ. «Прежде, какъ выразился одинъ наивный удѣльный чиновникъ, поощрялась всякая мѣра, клонившаяся не въ пользу крестьянъ». Поэтому крестьянскіе надѣлы оказались крайне плохими. Пахатной земли, какъ мы выше видѣли, приходится всего около $^3/_4$ десятины на душу, сѣнокосовъ почти не имѣется, а попавшій имъ въ надѣлъ лѣсъ—самый плохой. Стоитъ только увидѣть гдѣ нибудь паршивенькій лѣсокъ, чтобы догадаться, что онъ крестьянскій. Точно также было сдѣлано весьма много другихъ упущеній, тяжело отозвавшихся на благосостояніи крестьянъ. Слѣдствіемъ этого были постоянныя неудовольствія и полнѣйшее обѣднѣніе и безъ того бѣднаго края.

Теперь же, благодаря просвѣщенной иниціативѣ новаго управляющаго вельскимъ удѣльнымъ имѣніемъ, Н. О. Осипова, и недавней ревизіи тайнаго совѣтника Н. А. Ананьева, все приняло оборотъ къ лучшему какъ для населенія, такъ и для самаго удѣла. Остается пожелать имъ счастливаго успѣха въ ихъ благомъ начинаніи.

V.

Въ заключеніе я перейду къ разъясненію тѣхъ основаній, на какихъ должны быть устроены артельныя смолокурни. Мною уже было заявлено въ печати, что всѣ участники въ производствахъ артельнаго завода получаютъ плату какъ за свой матеріалъ, такъ и за свой трудъ, какъ бы они артели и не составляли. Впослѣдствіи получающаяся прибыль раздѣляется *между всѣми соучаствовавшими въ производствѣ* пропорціонально тому, что каждый изъ нихъ успѣлъ въ теченіе года заработать. Это послѣднее обстоятельство дало многимъ поводъ сдѣлать мнѣ нѣкоторыя возраженія.

Подъ выраженіемъ «между всѣми соучаствовавшими въ производствѣ», я подразумѣвалъ не только постоянныхъ заводскихъ рабочихъ, но и тѣхъ, которые доставляютъ матеріалъ на заводъ. Мнѣ именно и возражаютъ на это, что доставщики смолья получаютъ за него плату, чѣмъ они должны быть удовлетворены, и что артель завода должны составлять собственно тѣ рабочіе, которые постоянно на немъ работаютъ, тѣмъ болѣе, что отъ послѣднихъ главнымъ образомъ зависитъ весь успѣхъ дѣла.

Все это было бы справедливо, еслибы не было упущено слѣдующее обстоятельство. Заводъ сухой перегонки безъ смолья существовать не можетъ; подготовлять смолье, чтобы оно годилось въ дѣло и было хорошаго качества, также надо умѣть, и, наконецъ, вѣдь и постояннымъ рабочимъ платится ежемѣсячно жалованье и притомъ такое, которое ихъ достаточно обезпечиваетъ; я предполагаю имъ платить по 15 руб. въ мѣсяцъ. За смолье же платится только по 6 рублей, а между тѣмъ работнику, приготовляющему смолье, также нужно мѣсяцъ работы для заготовки 1 куб. саж. Его трудъ, слѣдовательно, гораздо меньше оплачивается, чѣмъ трудъ постояннаго заводскаго рабочаго.

Между тѣмъ, трудъ какъ перваго, такъ и послѣдняго одинаково нуженъ и полезенъ для завода, и отдавать предпочтеніе одному изъ нихъ предъ другими никакъ не приходится. Напротивъ того, необходимо распредѣлять прибыли не пропорціонально тому, что каждый артельщикъ заработаетъ въ теченіе года, какъ я прежде предполагалъ, а болѣе справедливымъ образомъ; именно, постоянные рабочіе, получающіе хорошее ежемѣсячное жалованье и притомъ въ теченіе всего года, должны получать не всѣ деньги, которыя имъ причитаются изъ прибылей на основаніи вышеприведеннаго правила, а только часть ихъ.

По этой причинѣ я думаю раздѣлять прибыли между членами артели слѣдующимъ образомъ. Вся сумма раздѣлится на столько частей, сколько артельщиковъ, и притомъ часть каждаго изъ нихъ будетъ пропорціональна тому, что онъ успѣлъ заработать въ теченіе года. Положимъ, что артель будетъ состоять изъ 25 человѣкъ. Пять изъ нихъ будутъ постоянными рабочими на самомъ заводѣ, а остальные 20 займутся заготовкою, доставкою, распилкою и расколкою смолья. Если заводъ переработаетъ въ годъ 100 куб. саж. смолья, то каждый изъ нихъ доставитъ на заводъ по 5 куб. саж.

Тѣмъ членамъ артели, которые займутся доставкою сырыхъ продуктовъ, выдается сполна вся сумма, какая имъ причитается на ихъ долю. Постоянные же работники получатъ только 20% изъ той суммы, которая имъ причитается изъ прибылей. Остальные 80% пойдутъ на образованіе основнаго и оборотнаго капитала.

Для большей ясности этого раздѣленія прибылей, приведу численный примѣръ:

Положимъ, что отъ артельнаго завода въ концѣ года получится

3,000 руб. чистаго дохода. Артельщиковъ будетъ 25 человѣкъ. Изъ нихъ постоянныхъ рабочихъ 5, которые получатъ, считая по 15 руб. въ мѣсяцъ или по 180 руб. въ годъ, 900 руб.; а остальные рабочіе за 100 куб. саж. смолья по 6 руб.—600 руб. Вся сумма заработка составитъ 1,500 руб. Если на 1,500 руб. приходится 3,000 руб. прибыли, то на одинъ рубль—2 рубля.

Одинъ работникъ за доставку 5 куб. саж. смолья получитъ къ прежнимъ 30 рублямъ еще 60 руб., а всего 90 руб. или по 18 руб. въ мѣсяцъ, такъ какъ онъ одну куб. сажень можетъ заготовить только въ теченіе цѣлаго мѣсяца, а иногда на это требуется и больше времени.

Постоянный рабочій получаетъ въ годъ 180 руб. Ему причитается двойная сумма, т. е. 360 руб., но онъ получаетъ изъ нихъ только 20%, т. е. пятую часть — 72 руб. Всего ему приходится 252 руб. въ годъ или по 21 руб. въ мѣсяцъ, т. е. на три рубля больше, чѣмъ первому. Кромѣ того, ему полагается готовая квартира и отопленіе. Будучи къ тому же обезпеченъ круглый годъ, онъ болѣе будетъ привязанъ къ интересамъ завода, чѣмъ доставщикъ сырья, что и необходимо для большаго успѣха дѣла.

Если доставщикамъ смолья не давать части изъ прибылей завода, какъ полагаютъ нѣкоторые, то ихъ трудно будетъ убѣдить доставлять матеріалъ на артельный заводъ. Они пожелаютъ сами изъ него выкуривать смолу, надѣясь за это выручать больше, чѣмъ 6 руб. за куб. саж. Тогда дѣло артельнаго смолокуренія не будетъ ладиться.

Что касается суммы, идущей на образованіе основнаго и оборотнаго капиталовъ, то она раздѣлится пополамъ: одна половина пойдетъ на образованіе перваго изъ нихъ, а другая—на образованіе втораго. Въ нашемъ случаѣ сумма эта будетъ равняться 1,800 (удвоенному жалованью постоянныхъ рабочихъ) безъ 360 руб. (20%, выдающихся тѣмъ же рабочимъ), т. е. 1,440 руб. На основной и оборотный капиталъ, слѣдовательно, приходится по 720 руб.

Я раздѣляю эту прибыль по-ровну между тѣмъ и другимъ капиталами, потому что считаю ихъ одинаково важными. Оба эти капитала принадлежатъ всей артели. Основной капиталъ, когда достигнетъ извѣстной величины, никогда не долженъ истощаться. Онъ будетъ служить для выдачи членамъ артели ссудъ, а получаемые отъ этихъ ссудъ проценты пойдутъ для выдачи пособій членамъ, если ихъ по-

стигнетъ какой нибудь несчастный случай, равно какъ и для улучшенія школъ и удовлетворенія другихъ собственныхъ нуждъ.

Оборотный же капиталъ служитъ какъ для усиленія заводской производительности этой же артели, такъ и для постройки новыхъ заводовъ для другихъ артелей. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ за ссуду получится въ пользу артели извѣстный процентъ, напр. по 6%. Кромѣ того, артель, владѣя основнымъ капиталомъ, можетъ разсчитывать на полученіе кредита въ размѣрѣ, въ три или четыре раза его превышающемъ, что не маловажно.

Впослѣдствіи, если артель прекратитъ свое существованіе,— основной и оборотный капиталы раздѣлятся по-ровну между всѣми артельщиками.

Артельное смолокуреніе можетъ быть съ пользою примѣнено и въ томъ случаѣ, если какой нибудь лѣсовладѣлецъ захочетъ устроить у себя въ имѣніи заводъ для сухой перегонки дерева. Первымъ вопросомъ при желаніи устроить у себя подобный заводъ, является вопросъ о томъ, какъ получать для него смольнякъ. Крестьяне или не умѣютъ его добывать или не захотятъ его доставлять на данный заводъ. Сегодня они доставляютъ матеріалъ, напримѣръ, мнѣ, а завтра, если рядомъ со мною выстроится другой заводъ, они перейдутъ туда, а мнѣ придется остаться безъ матеріала; точно также будетъ и съ постоянными заводскими рабочими. Теперь знающихъ рабочихъ не имѣется; ихъ придется подготовлять, а потомъ, когда они научатся новому дѣлу, они перейдутъ къ первому встрѣчному, кто имъ предложитъ нѣсколько большее жалованье, чѣмъ они у меня получаютъ. Тогда я опять остаюсь не причемъ, а заводъ мой долженъ или прекратить свои дѣйствія, или я принужденъ буду взяться за обученіе новыхъ рабочихъ и т. д. Однимъ словомъ, тутъ выступаетъ вопросъ о преобладаніи капитала надъ трудомъ или труда надъ капиталомъ. Въ нашемъ случаѣ преимущества на сторонѣ труда. Они заключаются въ томъ, что, разъ добывъ денегъ, рабочіе могутъ уже самостоятельно вести начатое ими дѣло, потому что капиталъ у нихъ остается навсегда, тогда какъ капиталистъ не можетъ вѣчно владѣть рабочими.

Но рабочіе безъ капитала ничего не подѣлаютъ и, кромѣ того, ихъ въ настоящемъ случаѣ не достаетъ и знаній. По этой-то причинѣ необходимо примирить интересы обѣихъ сторонъ, а этого можно достигнуть веденіемъ производства на артельныхъ началахъ. Давая

рабочимъ возможность участвовать въ барышахъ производства, мы ихъ этимъ самымъ привлечемъ и заинтересуемъ дѣломъ. Вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ и капиталистъ находитъ примѣненіе своему капиталу, который заключается въ наличныхъ деньгахъ, въ лѣсахъ или въ другого рода имуществахъ.

Между тѣмъ, въ настоящее время относятся къ этому вопросу весьма односторонне: одни готовы признать всѣ преимущества за трудомъ, не придавая капиталу никакого значенія; другіе же считаютъ трудъ ни во что, полагая, что они оказываютъ рабочему благодѣяніе, давая ему возможность заработывать себѣ на хлѣбъ для поддержанія своего жалкаго существованія. Очевидно, что какъ тѣ, такъ и другіе не правы. Несомнѣнно, что капиталъ есть продуктъ труда; но съ другой стороны капиталъ, образуясь благоразумнымъ сбереженіемъ, даетъ труду возможность быть еще болѣе производительнымъ. Капиталъ надо разсматривать какъ орудіе труда при всякомъ производствѣ. Какъ я, напр., имѣя руки, но не имѣя инструментовъ, не въ состояніи буду сдѣлать хотя бы простаго стола, точно также и рабочіе, собравшись вмѣстѣ для веденія какого нибудь дѣла, безъ капитала ни за что взяться не могутъ. Орудіе, инструменты и проч. имъ необходимо имѣть.

Съ другой стороны, и капиталъ безъ труда не мыслимъ. Представьте себѣ, что вы выстроили заводъ, приготовили всѣ приборы и инструменты, но у васъ нѣтъ людей для производства на немъ работъ. Что вы тогда станете дѣлать? Вашъ заводъ простоитъ годъ, два, десять и больше лѣтъ, не принося вамъ ни гроша прибыли; напротивъ того, все вами приготовленное современемъ разрушится, сгніетъ, инструменты и приборы перепортятся и т. д.

Ясно, стало быть, что оба фактора промышленности, трудъ и капиталъ, одинаково другъ въ другѣ нуждаются. Только при благоразумномъ взаимномъ отношеніи ихъ можетъ правильно развиваться промышленность. Чѣмъ правильнѣе будетъ взаимное содѣйствіе капитала и труда, тѣмъ лучше и значительнѣе будетъ производительность. Благоразумные и болѣе развитые представители промышленности поняли истину этого экономическаго закона и стали отводить труду надлежащее мѣсто въ участіи въ барышахъ производства. Въ Англіи, Франціи и другихъ государствахъ западной Европы можно встрѣтить много фабрикантовъ и заводчиковъ, которые вошли съ своими рабочими въ соглашеніе и признали ихъ соучастниками въ

выгодахъ своихъ заводовъ и фабрикъ. Они это дѣлаютъ въ видахъ собственныхъ интересовъ. Они понимаютъ, что имъ гораздо выгоднѣе, какъ нравственно, такъ и матеріально, предоставить труду въ производствѣ такую же роль, какую они сами занимаютъ, благодаря своему капиталу. Конечно, чтобы понять эту истину, надо быть человѣкомъ развитымъ, образованнымъ, иначе подобная артель рабочихъ и капиталистовъ можетъ принять такую жалкую форму, какую мы видимъ на сѣверѣ, гдѣ капиталисты — народъ неразвитый и страшные кулаки.

Задача настоящаго времени и состоитъ въ томъ, чтобы всѣхъ убѣдить въ справедливости этого принципа. Капиталъ, вслѣдствіе сложившихся обстоятельствъ, получилъ господствующую силу и продолжаетъ дѣйствовать по установившейся рутинѣ, не заботясь о справедливомъ отношеніи къ труду. Между тѣмъ, стоитъ немного подумать, чтобы убѣдиться въ нераціональности этого положенія дѣлъ.

Въ самомъ дѣлѣ: теперь рабочіе, не участвуя въ барышахъ того производства, которымъ они занимаются, мало имъ интересуются, небрежно работаютъ и вслѣдствіе этого мало производятъ. Фабриканту приходится еще нанимать особыхъ людей, которые сами не работаютъ, а смотрятъ только за рабочими, чѣмъ, впрочемъ, какъ извѣстно, цѣль все таки не достигается. Между тѣмъ, эти лица получаютъ всегда въ нѣсколько разъ больше, чѣмъ сами рабочіе, которые главнымъ образомъ и производятъ всѣ тѣ цѣнности, которыми пользуются другіе. Кромѣ того, сколько безпокойства, хлопотъ и непріятностей причиняетъ нерадѣніе рабочихъ самому хозяину завода!

Совершенно иначе было бы, еслибы рабочіе сами стали пользоваться плодами своего труда, т. е. еслибы бырышъ правильно дѣлился между ними и хозяиномъ, а не принадлежалъ всецѣло послѣднему. Рабочіе были бы болѣе заинтересованы дѣломъ, лучше и усерднѣе стали бы работать сами, безъ понуканія какъ со стороны фабриканта, такъ и со стороны другихъ лицъ, спеціально для этой цѣли назначаемыхъ. Трудъ ихъ сталъ бы болѣе производителенъ и притомъ при гораздо меньшихъ расходахъ, такъ какъ надзорщики надъ ними сдѣлались бы лишними. Хозяину тогда оставалось бы весьма мало хлопотъ, потому что рабочіе сами обо всемъ позаботятся не меньше хозяина. Послѣднему придется только закупать сырые матеріалы, продавать выработанные продукты и вести заводское счетоводство. Фабрикантъ отъ привлеченія рабочихъ къ участію въ ба-

рышахъ производства не только не будетъ въ проигрышѣ, а, напротивъ того, его выгоды отъ этого значительно увеличатся, не говоря уже о томъ, что онъ ни отъ кого никогда не услышитъ нравственнаго упрека. Промышленность тогда станетъ на болѣе твердую почву и значительно улучшится. Рабочій старательный и болѣе внимательный будетъ болѣе полезенъ дѣлу, чѣмъ самъ хозяинъ, потому что онъ всегда лучше знаетъ положеніе, потребности и недостатки производства. Потерь и кражъ будетъ гораздо меньше, чѣмъ теперь, или вовсе не будетъ, такъ какъ рабочіе, будучи сами заинтересованными лицами, станутъ слѣдить другъ за другомъ и каждый изъ нихъ побоится компрометировать себя, чтобы не быть удаленнымъ изъ артели и не лишиться выгоднаго заработка. Контроль такимъ образомъ будетъ какъ со стороны рабочихъ, такъ и со стороны хозяина. Я убѣжденъ, что производство, если фабрикантъ войдетъ въ соглашеніе съ рабочими на вышеуказанныхъ началахъ, на столько станетъ болѣе выгоднымъ, что первый за выдѣленіемъ изъ прибылей части, причитающейся послѣднимъ, все-таки получитъ больше, чѣмъ онъ получаетъ теперь, при настоящемъ положеніи дѣла.

Затронутый тутъ вопросъ на столько важенъ, что о немъ стоитъ поговорить и разсмотрѣть его отдѣльно и болѣе подробно. Но онъ мнѣ не по силамъ. Онъ столь же важенъ, какъ и вопросъ объ обязательномъ трудѣ, съ которымъ человѣчество уже удовлетворительно порѣшило. Но этимъ послѣднимъ вопросомъ не исчерпается еще все запутанное отношеніе капитала къ труду. Онъ представляетъ только переходную ступень и никто на немъ не думаетъ останавливаться. Хотя съ уничтоженіемъ обязательнаго труда рабочій сталъ болѣе свободнымъ и болѣе производительнымъ, въ чемъ теперь никто и не сомнѣвается, но это все-таки относительная свобода. Пока рабочій будетъ принужденъ выпрашивать себѣ работу у капиталиста, не пользуясь самъ плодами своего труда, до тѣхъ поръ онъ останется рабомъ и трудъ его будетъ малопроизводителенъ, отчего страдаетъ вообще вся промышленность. Слѣдовательно, она можетъ стать на твердую ногу тогда только, когда будетъ рѣшенъ удовлетворительно и первый, самый важный вопросъ—вопросъ о привлеченіи рабочихъ къ участію въ выгодахъ, добываемыхъ ихъ трудомъ, наравнѣ съ капиталистами.

Основанія, на которыхъ можетъ быть устроена артель капиталиста и рабочихъ, напр., въ нашемъ случаѣ, при постройкѣ смолоку-

реннаго завода, совершенно такія же, какія я привелъ выше, при образованіи артели изъ однихъ только рабочихъ. Капиталистъ получаетъ на основной капиталъ, затраченный имъ на постройку завода и на оборотный капиталъ, по 10 и больше процентовъ, смотря по размѣрамъ производства. Кромѣ того, онъ, если онъ самъ будетъ завѣдывать дѣлами завода, получитъ надлежащихъ размѣровъ жалованье. Рабочимъ за трудъ и матеріалъ также платится. Потомъ, въ концѣ года, по сведеніи счетовъ, прибыль раздѣляется между всѣми участвовавшими въ работахъ завода пропорціонально тому, что каждый выработалъ въ теченіе года. Въ это число входитъ и капиталистъ.

Такимъ образомъ послѣдній получаетъ хорошій и вполнѣ обезпеченный процентъ на затраченный имъ капиталъ, именно 10 и больше процентовъ, вознагражденіе за свой трудъ по веденію заводскихъ дѣлъ и еще участвуетъ въ барышахъ завода. Притомъ ему достанется львиная часть изъ прибылей, такъ какъ его жалованье будетъ въ нѣсколько разъ больше того, что получаетъ рабочій. Понятно, что жалованье ему потому полагается большее, что онъ, будучи лучше подготовленъ къ дѣлу, приноситъ ему больше пользы, и вознагражденіе это будетъ вполнѣ соотвѣтствовать экономическому закону, по которому вознагражденіе за трудъ тѣмъ больше, чѣмъ больше была затрата со стороны лица на пріобрѣтеніе имъ полезныхъ свѣдѣній. Напр., медикъ, ученый и проч. получаютъ за свой трудъ въ нѣсколько разъ больше, чѣмъ простой рабочій, потому что имъ нужно было много лѣтъ учиться, дѣлать на ученье большія затраты и во все это время быть непроизводительными. Если хозяинъ не въ состояніи будетъ самъ вести дѣла завода, то онъ, понятно, жалованья не будетъ получать, а ограничится только тѣми процентами, какіе ему причитаются за его основной и оборотный капиталы, и частью изъ прибылей, пропорціональною этимъ же процентамъ.

Изъ прибылей, причитающихся рабочимъ, высчитывается извѣстный процентъ на образованіе фонда, который раздѣлится на двѣ части: одна часть послужитъ рабочимъ для уплаты хозяину части стоимости завода, чтобы послѣдній и каждый изъ первыхъ участвовали въ производствѣ одинаковыми паями, а другая часть отлагается въ сторону и послужитъ для покрытія убытковъ, если таковые окажутся. Рабочіе такимъ образомъ будутъ участвовать наравнѣ съ капиталистомъ не только въ барышахъ, но и въ убыткахъ производства.

Вотъ тѣ основанія, на которыхъ каждый помѣщикъ можетъ устроить у себя въ имѣніи смолокуренный заводъ. Онъ тогда будетъ обезпеченъ и матеріаломъ, и рабочими. Тутъ, такъ сказать, и овцы будутъ цѣлы и волкъ останется сытымъ. Рабочіе найдутъ себѣ хорошее занятіе, дающее имъ болѣе или менѣе значительный заработокъ, а помѣщикъ найдетъ выгодный сбытъ своему лѣсу и отличное примѣненіе своему капиталу. Но, повторяю, подобная артель труда и капитала возможна только тогда, когда представители капитала будутъ люди образованные и развитые, а не такіе, какими мы ихъ часто видимъ, въ особенности на сѣверѣ.

Точно также артельное смолокуреніе было бы выгодно и для мелкихъ лѣсовладѣльцевъ. Владѣя небольшимъ участкомъ лѣса и имѣя небольшой капиталъ, помѣщикъ не можетъ самъ приступить къ постройкѣ завода. Нѣсколько же такихъ мелкихъ помѣщиковъ, соединясь вмѣстѣ и съ рабочими, могутъ самымъ лучшимъ образомъ устроить подобный заводъ. Матеріала у всѣхъ ихъ вмѣстѣ хватитъ достаточно, а капитала большого не понадобится, если въ компанію будутъ приняты и рабочіе, которые сами выстроятъ заводъ, заготовятъ матеріалъ и будутъ работать на заводѣ. Заводъ гораздо скорѣе выстроится, матеріала пойдетъ на него меньше и онъ будетъ гораздо лучше и дешевле выстроенъ.

Кромѣ всего сказаннаго, чтобы развить смолокуренное и дегтярное производства и дать занимающимся ими болѣе обезпеченный и большій заработокъ, необходимо улучшить самую эту отрасль промышленности. Выше мы видѣли, что кромѣ дегтя и смолы, при сухой перегонкѣ дерева, на сѣверѣ ничего болѣе не получается, и что только въ одномъ мѣстѣ получается и скипидаръ. Поэтому необходимо устроить заводы такъ, чтобы ничего не терялось, чтобы возможно было получать всѣ тѣ продукты, какіе получаются при правильномъ веденіи сухой перегонки дерева. Далѣе, мы видѣли, что и тѣ немногіе продукты, какіе теперь смолокуръ получаетъ, продаются въ сыромъ видѣ и притомъ за безцѣнокъ, вслѣдствіе того, что сбытъ ихъ болѣе или менѣе ограниченъ. Кромѣ того, и провозъ сырыхъ продуктовъ къ мѣсту сбыта, какъ товара болѣе громоздкаго, дорого стоитъ.

Поэтому улучшеніе въ смолокуренномъ производствѣ должно главнымъ образомъ состоять въ томъ, чтобы сырые продукты, получающіеся при сухой перегонкѣ дерева, были подвергнуты дальнѣйшей

переработкѣ, чтобы получать изъ нихъ улучшенные продукты и притомъ такіе, какіе въ данное время наиболѣе нужны. Въ настоящее время, вслѣдствіе сильнаго развитія фабричной и заводской промышленности и желѣзнодорожнаго дѣла, усилились требованія на смазочныя вещества и колесныя мази. Эти именно продукты и получаются теперь изъ смолы и дегтя, и такъ какъ цѣны на теперешнія смазочныя масла велики и такъ какъ масла и мази, получаемыя изъ смолы и дегтя, не уступаютъ въ качествѣ и достоинствѣ первымъ и даже нѣкоторыя изъ нихъ превосходятъ, то понятно, что цѣны и на смоляное смазочное масло будутъ велики и переработка сырыхъ продуктовъ сухой перегонки дерева въ болѣе цѣнные будетъ чрезвычайно выгодна. Мало того, такъ какъ и у насъ фабричная и заводская промышленность и желѣзнодорожное дѣло сильно развилось, то и намъ эти продукты необходимы, и мы ихъ станемъ продавать въ самой Россіи, а не отправлять заграницу въ сыромъ видѣ, и потомъ ихъ оттуда получать въ переработанномъ видѣ, какъ это теперь дѣлается, за что намъ приходится платить страшныя деньги. Напр., въ 1869 году въ Россію было привезено изъ-за границы на 5 милл. руб. сер. скипидару, гарпіусу и нефти. Въ эту сумму не входятъ еще другія траты на покупку другихъ продуктовъ сухой перегонки дерева, какъ-то: уксусной кислоты, уксуснокислыхъ солей, смазочныхъ маслъ, колесныхъ мазей и пр. А между тѣмъ, все это могло бы быть приготовлено въ самой Россіи не хуже привознаго изъ-за границы.

Точно также и скипидаръ, котораго привозится много изъ-за границы и который у насъ на сѣверѣ, какъ мы выше видѣли, выливается вонъ, за неимѣніемъ сбыта его, можетъ быть переработываемъ въ ламповое масло, на приготовленіе сургуча, лаковъ и проч., а для этой послѣдней цѣли станутъ собирать сѣру, которая получается теперь при подсачиваніи сосноваго лѣса, но которую только въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстностяхъ собираютъ. Вмѣстѣ съ этимъ, для полученія большаго количества сѣры, вызовется потребность подсачивать и еловый лѣсъ, который теперь ни на что не идетъ и пропадаетъ совершенно даромъ. На сѣверѣ даже на постройки и другія потребности крестьяне его не берутъ, считая его поганымъ.

Далѣе, если смолу станутъ переработывать на смазочное масло и колесную мазь, а эти продукты будутъ продаваться въ самой Россіи, то и цѣна на сырую смолу и въ Архангельскѣ значительно возвы-

сится, такъ какъ стоимость ея увеличится и предложеніе ея въ Архангельскѣ уменьшится.

Вотъ какъ должна вестись и въ какую сторону должна быть направлена эта отрасль промышленности. Только при такихъ условіяхъ она можетъ быть вполнѣ выгодна, можетъ принести громадную пользу какъ мѣстному населенію, такъ и всему государству. Теперь крестьянинъ за переработку 5 куб. саж. смолья выручаетъ всего рублей 15 — 20, затративъ на это восьмимѣсячный трудъ, тогда какъ при улучшеніи этого производства онъ за эти же 5 куб. саж. получитъ, какъ мною вычислено, рублей 120, т. е. въ шесть разъ больше.

Къ числу мѣръ, необходимыхъ въ видахъ развитія смолокуреннаго производства, принадлежитъ и улучшеніе путей сообщенія. Главный путь, ведущій всѣ товары Кадниковскаго, части Вельскаго, Устюжскаго, Никольскаго и другихъ уѣздовъ Вологодской губерніи, это—Кубинская система. По рѣкѣ Кубинѣ и ея притокамъ отправляются товары въ Петербургъ по Маріинской системѣ и въ другія губерніи Россіи по Волжской системѣ. Рѣка Кубина впадаетъ въ Кубинское озеро, откуда беретъ свое начало рѣка Сухона, притокъ Сѣверной Двины. Кубинское озеро является такимъ образомъ главнымъ узломъ этихъ рѣчныхъ системъ. Къ сожалѣнію, оно чрезвычайно бурное, фарватеръ его не изслѣдованъ и служитъ главнымъ препятствіемъ для судоходства по этимъ рѣчнымъ системамъ. Точно также судоходство встрѣчаетъ сильное препятствіе на рѣкѣ Кубинѣ и ея притокахъ, вслѣдствіе настроенныхъ на нихъ мельницъ. Пароходства же, между тѣмъ, по этимъ рѣкамъ и по озеру не существуетъ. Были сдѣланы въ прошломъ году попытки въ этомъ направленіи, но весьма неудачно.

Далѣе, было бы полезно, по моему крайнему разумѣнію, продолжить линію желѣзной дороги отъ Вологды дальше, до Шенкурска, откуда, если уничтожить одинъ имѣющійся въ рѣкѣ Вагѣ порогъ, могло бы начинаться правильное пароходство. Тогда нѣкоторые товары, вмѣсто того, чтобы тянуться къ Архангельску, пошли бы внутрь Россіи, откуда, въ свою очередь, пошли бы другіе товары за границу черезъ Архангельскъ.

С. Шапиро.

НЕПРАКТИЧНЫЙ ЗАКОНОПРОЕКТЪ.

I.

Въ 1861 году совершенъ былъ переворотъ, которымъ наше рабочее населеніе выведено изъ крѣпостнаго и зависимаго положенія. Тутъ положено было первое основаніе, на которомъ можетъ быть построено зданіе его свободы и самостоятельности. Съ тѣхъ поръ въ Россіи, какъ и вездѣ, гдѣ зависимое населеніе было освобождено, началась работа въ двухъ направленіяхъ. Съ одной стороны, крестьянское населеніе надѣлялось землею, получало право полнаго распоряженія частями этой земли и такимъ образомъ становилось на свои собственныя, самостоятельныя ноги, а съ другой—установлялись твердыя основанія для тѣхъ случаевъ, когда оно работало по найму. У насъ въ настоящее время точно также возбужденъ вопросъ о наймѣ и даже уже составленъ законопроектъ, по поводу котораго мы и выскажемъ нѣкоторыя мысли.

Наша публика очень хорошо понимаетъ важность отношенія крестьянъ къ землѣ. Она знаетъ, что громадное большинство нашего рабочаго населенія состоитъ изъ крестьянъ и издавна привыкла смотрѣть на вопросъ о землѣ какъ на одинъ изъ первостепенныхъ нашихъ вопросовъ. Но значеніе вопроса о наймѣ вовсе не такъ ясно для нашего общества. Полагая, что большая часть нашего рабочаго населенія живетъ отъ находящейся въ его владѣніи земли, общество наше придаетъ весьма большое значеніе поземельнымъ надѣламъ, оброкамъ и сборамъ съ нихъ, а на вопросъ о наймѣ, смотритъ скорѣе какъ на вопросъ будущаго, чѣмъ какъ на вопросъ настоящаго. Постоянно повторяютъ, что у насъ пролетаріата нѣтъ, что наемнымъ трудомъ живетъ у насъ не-

значительное меньшинство и т. д. Все это составляетъ самую крупную ошибку. Въ числѣ дохода, получаемаго нашимъ рабочимъ классомъ, наемная плата не только равняется чистому доходу отъ находящихся въ крестьянскомъ владѣніи земель, но несомнѣнно превышаетъ его. Наше положеніе отличается, напр., отъ привислянскаго края тѣмъ, что у насъ менѣе людей, которые живутъ исключительно однимъ наемнымъ трудомъ, но за то же у насъ болѣе людей, которые живутъ на половину собственнымъ хозяйствомъ и на половину наемнымъ трудомъ. Для этихъ людей, установившіяся отношенія между нанимателемъ и наемникомъ по крайней мѣрѣ такъ же важны, какъ и отношенія къ землѣ, а число этихъ людей такъ велико, что въ громадномъ большинствѣ мѣстностей трудно встрѣтить крестьянское семейство, которое жило бы исключительно отъ одного своего надѣла. Чтобы читатель могъ составить себѣ правильное понятіе о размѣрахъ наемнаго труда въ Россіи, я ему скажу, что въ 45 губерніяхъ европейской Россіи въ крестьянскомъ землевладѣніи находится 89,403,000 дес. земли, у помѣщиковъ 82,466,000 дес., у казны и удѣла 132,842,000 дес., у другихъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, кромѣ казны, удѣла и помѣщиковъ, 120,926,000 дес. Слѣдовательно, крестьяне имѣютъ 89,403,000 дес., а другіе крупные землевладѣльцы 336,214,000 дес., т. е. почти въ четыре раза болѣе. Въ привислянскомъ краѣ землевладѣніе распредѣлено гораздо болѣе благопріятно для крестьянъ. Тамъ въ крестьянскомъ владѣніи находится 3,609,721 десятина, а у крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ 6,453,030 дес., т. е. почти только вдвое болѣе. Не смотря на это, тамъ крестьянъ, надѣленныхъ землею, считается 1,995,304 чел., а безземельныхъ 1,405,555 чел., т. е. почти столько же. Въ Финляндіи поземельное отношеніе еще благопріятнѣе. Тамъ въ крестьянскомъ владѣніи находится 18,479,144 дес., а въ дворянскомъ всего 1,481,455 дес. Большинство этихъ земель сосредоточено въ одной Выборгской губерніи, но и тамъ дворянскихъ земель 1,049,420 д., а крестьянскихъ 1,942,869, т. е. вдвое болѣе—и тутъ распредѣленіе землевладѣнія несравненно благопріятнѣе, чѣмъ у насъ. Если отбросить Выборгскую и крайне сѣверную Улеоборгскую губернію, гдѣ во владѣніи казны находится 10,298,017 дес., то землевладѣніе въ Финляндіи распредѣлится слѣдующимъ образомъ. Во владѣніи крестьянъ 12,797,570 дес., у казны 1,001,380 дес., у другихъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ 994,231 дес., всего у крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ

1,995,611 дес. Слѣдовательно, у крестьянъ оказывается почти въ шесть съ половиною разъ болѣе земли, чѣмъ у крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ. Не смотря на это, поземельныхъ владѣній въ Финляндіи считается 103,593, а хозяйствъ 252,309. И такъ, даже въ Финляндіи, при ея многоземеліи, при помянутомъ распредѣленіи земли, значительное большинство населенія живетъ наемнымъ трудомъ. Какимъ же образомъ наемный трудъ можетъ имѣть второстепенное значеніе у насъ, гдѣ крупное землевладѣніе преобладаетъ гораздо болѣе, чѣмъ въ какой-либо изъ нашихъ окраинъ, кромѣ Остзейскаго края? Въ девяти западныхъ нашихъ губерніяхъ *) во владѣніи крестьянъ находится 13,384,000 дес., а у крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ 29,440,000 дес., т. е. въ 2,19 раза болѣе. Въ другихъ губерніяхъ европейской Россіи **) во владѣніи крестьянъ находится 76,019,000 дес., а у крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ 382,813,000 дес., т. е. въ 5,03 раза болѣе; въ Россіи, слѣдовательно, крупнаго землевладѣнія почти въ два съ половиною раза болѣе, чѣмъ въ западномъ краѣ. Очень можетъ быть, что эти данныя изумятъ многихъ, но всякій можетъ провѣрить ихъ даже по «Военно-Статистическому Сборнику» 1871 года; пусть онъ сосчитаетъ цифры, которыя тамъ находятся, безъ всякихъ увертокъ и толкованій—и онъ убѣдится.

Послѣ этого нѣтъ надобности вычислять передъ читателемъ, сколько у насъ работниковъ на фабрикахъ, заводахъ и промыслахъ, сколько у насъ ремесленниковъ, работающихъ по найму, какая часть населенія живетъ заказной, поштучной работой, дѣлаетъ поштучно гвозди, ложки, валяные и пр. издѣлія, сколько прислуги, судорабочихъ и пр.; читатель пойметъ и безъ того, что среди нашего населенія наниматель и наемникъ—правило, а тотъ, кто не наниматель и не наемникъ—болѣе или менѣе рѣдкое исключеніе. Читатель пойметъ и еще одно, болѣе важное обстоятельство. Мы видимъ въ нашей средѣ классъ помѣщиковъ и крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ. Этотъ классъ составляетъ значительную часть образованнаго общества. Между образованными людьми это весьма вліятельный классъ, но все-таки это только классъ, это только часть образованнаго общества. Капиталисты, духовенство, чиновники—это точно также вліятельные классы,

*) 1) Виленской, 2) Витебской, 3) Волынской, 4) Гродненской, 5) Кіевской, 6) Ковенской, 7) Минской, 8) Могилевской, 9) Подольской.

**) Остзейскій край и Войско Донское отбрасываются.

но это точно также только части образованнаго общества. Наниматели же—это *все* образованное общество безъ исключенія. Въ образованномъ обществѣ нѣтъ ни одной части, которая бы не принадлежала къ разряду нанимателей. Это обстоятельство имѣетъ громадное вліяніе на тѣ понятія, которыя составляются въ обществѣ. Даже самому добросовѣстному человѣку, если только онъ заинтересованъ извѣстнымъ образомъ въ дѣлѣ, справедливымъ представляется совершенно другое, чѣмъ не заинтересованному. Если читатель съ этой точки зрѣнія вникнетъ въ дѣло, то онъ можетъ увидать вещи, которыя его изумятъ гораздо болѣе, чѣмъ то, что мы говорили о значеніи найма для Россіи. Чтобы дать ему нѣкоторое предчувствіе, я укажу, въ видѣ намека, только на одинъ фактъ. Помѣщики составляютъ, какъ мы уже сказали, весьма вліятельный классъ, однако же даже во время господства крѣпостнаго права и по отношенію къ крѣпостнымъ, имъ воспрещались дѣйствія, направленныя къ разрушенію семейнаго союза. Помѣщикъ не могъ раздѣлять супруговъ, не могъ отдѣлять дѣтей отъ родителей. По отношенію же къ найму, разрушающія семейство сдѣлки не только допускаются, но въ области того найма, гдѣ всякій образованный человѣкъ является нанимателемъ, т. е. въ области найма прислуги, разрушеніе семейства составляетъ правило, а не исключеніе. Мало этого, еслибы законодательная власть была даже вполнѣ убѣждена во вредѣ такого явленія, она могла бы сдѣлать для его измѣненія только очень немногое. Это достаточно ясно показываетъ читателю, до какой степени онъ долженъ сосредоточить все свое вниманіе, чтобы отрѣшиться и отъ предразсудковъ и отъ мелкаго эгоизма, и составить себѣ правильное и безпристрастное понятіе о дѣлѣ.

Такое положеніе, съ одной стороны, показываетъ важность предмета, но съ другой—оно раскрываетъ передъ нами всѣ трудности, съ которыми придется бороться не только писателю, который вздумалъ бы разъяснять публикѣ идею справедливости этого дѣла, но и законодателю. Законъ менѣе всего всемогущъ; дѣйствительность слишкомъ часто показываетъ все безсиліе его предписаній. Для того, чтобы законъ оказался полезнымъ въ своемъ примѣненіи, необходимо, чтобы онъ отбросилъ всякія мечты о возможности вынуждать безусловное повиновеніе, не соображаясь съ дѣйствительностью; онъ

не долженъ бросать своихъ предписаній на вѣтеръ — онъ долженъ предписывать только тамъ, гдѣ онъ обставилъ себя такъ, что повиновеніе послѣдуетъ. Можно издать законъ весьма справедливый, законъ, котораго пользу будутъ сознавать всѣ и къ которому всѣ будутъ относиться съ симпатіей, а онъ все-таки останется безъ примѣненія; рядомъ съ этимъ можно издать законъ и несправедливый, и для всѣхъ ненавистный, но онъ все-таки будетъ примѣняться, потому что онъ создалъ для себя практическую обстановку. Англійская законодательная практика давно привыкла дѣлать это различіе, и если какой-нибудь изъ государственныхъ людей предлагаетъ законъ и даетъ ему такую обстановку, что онъ останется безъ примѣненія, то противная партія не упуститъ случая осмѣять его и уронить руководителя въ глазахъ его собственныхъ приверженцевъ. Ему тотчасъ кидаютъ въ лицо упрекъ, что онъ прекрасный ораторъ и теоретикъ, но вовсе не государственный человѣкъ.

Справедливость и практичность—вотъ два условія всякаго закона. Справедливость, конечно, первое условіе; если законъ несправедливъ, то онъ будетъ тѣмъ вреднѣе, онъ тѣмъ болѣе будетъ подтачивать здоровыя основы общественной жизни, чѣмъ онъ будетъ практичнѣе. Но практичность для него, по крайней мѣрѣ, такое же необходимое условіе. Законодательный памятникъ, наполненный справедливыми, но не практическими законами, похожъ на школу съ паркетными полами, съ прекрасной выставкой учебныхъ пособій, но гдѣ дѣтей ничему не учатъ. Разъяснять идею справедливости, въ особенности съ практическою цѣлью, въ такихъ вопросахъ, какъ было рабство, въ тѣхъ обществахъ, гдѣ вся образованная часть населенія владѣла рабами, какъ теперь наемъ, конечно, дѣло весьма трудное. Успѣхъ не можетъ быть полный, однако же историческій опытъ показываетъ, что постоянныя усилія все-таки приводятъ къ цѣли. Несмотря на то, что общества, въ родѣ афинскаго, карфагенскаго и римскаго были даже немыслимы безъ рабства, рабство все-таки уничтожилось теперь. Въ самой области найма идея справедливости, даже въ нашемъ русскомъ обществѣ, въ теченіе послѣднихъ двухъ вѣковъ весьма измѣнилась. Теперь наемъ у насъ рѣзко отличается отъ всякой крѣпостной зависимости, а въ Уложеніи Алексѣя Михайловича онъ сливается съ нею незамѣтно въ одно учрежденіе. По Уложенію, холопъ можетъ быть закрѣпощенный и вольный человѣкъ. Въ ст. 17, гл. XX говорится, что господа не могутъ преслѣ-

довать своихъ холоповъ. Въ этой статьѣ уложенія подобные люди называются и холопами, и вольными людьми. Сказавъ сначала, что они *вольные люди*, уложеніе приводитъ причину, почему ихъ нельзя преслѣдовать и говоритъ: «суда не давать для того, что онъ (владѣлецъ) холопу вѣрилъ и у себя его держалъ безъ крѣпости». По понятію временъ уложенія, всякій рабочій, свободный или несвободный—холопъ; держать его въ рабствѣ—въ этомъ нѣтъ ничего дурнаго, но дурно ему *вѣрить*; человѣкъ, который ему вѣрилъ, наказывается за это и лишается своего крѣпостнаго права. Служилыя кабалы, ссудныя, жилыя и урочныя записи создаютъ цѣлый рядъ отношеній, составляющихъ незамѣтный переходъ отъ рабства къ найму. Въ 1643 году считалось уже большимъ прогрессомъ, когда воспрещено было боярскимъ людямъ давать служилыя кабалы и предписывалось замѣнять ихъ урочными записями, на опредѣленное число лѣтъ. Уложеніе должно было бороться противъ стремленія высшаго общества дѣлать всякаго наемника своимъ крѣпостнымъ. Эта борьба очень рельефно выражается въ ст. 32, гл. XI улож., гдѣ говорится: «А тѣмъ людямъ, у кого они (наймиты изъ крестьянъ и бобылей) въ работу наймутся... ни чимъ ихъ себѣ не крѣпить, и какъ отъ нихъ тѣ наймиты отработаются и имъ отпущать ихъ безо всякаго задержанія». Все это ясно показываетъ намъ, что идея справедливости въ области найма можетъ дѣлать успѣхи, и что разъяснять ее передъ обществомъ, въ въ особенности по каждому практическому случаю, дѣло не только не лишнее, но крайне необходимое и плодотворное.

Эта необходимость сдѣлается для читателя еще болѣе осязательною, если онъ уяснитъ себѣ, какъ пагубно дѣйствуютъ на общество страсти тамъ, гдѣ идея справедливости остается скрытою передъ нимъ и не разъясняется. Закрѣпленіе населенія сдѣлано было въ томъ же XVII вѣкѣ, въ которомъ издано Уложеніе. Менѣе чѣмъ за полвѣка до Уложенія, Россія, изъ-за вопроса о закрѣпленіи, раздиралась продолжительнымъ и кровавымъ междоусобіемъ, но лишь только крѣпостники взяли верхъ, какъ все высшее сословіе кинулось на закрѣпленія и старалось повсюду замѣнять наемный трудъ крѣпостнымъ. Дѣйствуя такимъ образомъ, они явно сознавали, что они дѣлаютъ несправедливость, но они не могли бороться съ собственнымъ своимъ увлеченіемъ.

Интересно наблюдать, какъ въ такихъ обстоятельствахъ бралось за дѣло законодательство того времени. Оно чувствовало, что оно не

въ силахъ остановить потока, котораго зловредное направленіе оно понимало; поэтому оно хотѣло, по крайней мѣрѣ, его ограничить, тамъ и сямъ воздвигнуть плотины, чтобы хотя нѣкоторые оазисы спасти отъ затопленія. Оно старается уменьшить число лицъ, которыя могли бы закабалять людей, и вотъ мы встрѣчаемся съ постановленіями въ родѣ слѣдующаго: «А которые вольные люди похотятъ жити у протопоповъ и у протодьяконовъ, и у поповъ, и у дьяконовъ, и у иныхъ причетниковъ церковныхъ или у служекъ монастырскихъ, и на тѣхъ людей протопопамъ и протодьяконамъ давати служилыя кабалы; а у поповъ и дьяконовъ и у иныхъ причетниковъ церковныхъ и у служекъ монастырскихъ тѣмъ вольнымъ людямъ жити изъ воли, по записямъ урочные годы, а служилыхъ кабалъ на такихъ вольныхъ людей попамъ и дьяконамъ и инымъ причетникамъ церковнымъ и служкамъ монастырскимъ не давать». Вотъ какъ разсуждаетъ уложеніе: въ пользу болѣе сильныхъ людей оно допускаетъ несправедливость, но старается обуздывать ее по отношенію къ менѣе вліятельнымъ. Не чувствуя себя въ силахъ уничтожить зло, оно старается сдѣлать несправедливое право достояніемъ возможно менѣе многочисленнаго привиллегированнаго сословія.

Что же вышло изъ этого? Крѣпостное право сосредоточивалось въ рукахъ одного привиллегированнаго сословія, которое дѣлалось могущественнѣе со дня на день; наконецъ, оно пріобрѣло самое рѣшительное вліяніе на судьбы государства. Будущность Россіи поставлена была въ зависимость отъ людей, деморализованныхъ крѣпостнымъ правомъ. Нечего объяснять, до какой степени это задержало наше развитіе и сколько вреда это намъ принесло. Мы избавились отъ этого зла отчасти благодаря не угасшимъ, еще здоровымъ чувствамъ того же самаго помѣстнаго дворянства и все-таки избавились, только чрезвычайно поздно, болѣе чѣмъ полстолѣтія спустя послѣ того, какъ оно уничтожилось въ цивилизованнѣйшихъ изъ европейскихъ государствъ; но если мы разъ спаслись отъ пропасти, благодаря нашему доброму генію и проблескамъ здраваго чувства, то намъ менѣе всего слѣдуетъ искушать счастье и снова легкомысленно ступать на колею нашихъ старыхъ грѣховъ. Если мы чувствуемъ, что какое-нибудь юридическое отношеніе заключаетъ въ себѣ извѣстную долю несправедливости, то мы каждый классъ нашего государства должны тѣмъ тщательнѣе охранять отъ него, чѣмъ выше онъ поставленъ въ обществѣ. То, что не можетъ быть дозволено работнику, не можетъ быть дозво-

лено и мастеру-ремесленнику, еще менѣе можетъ быть дозволено фабриканту или заводчику и еще менѣе помѣщику. Мысль эта многимъ можетъ показаться непрактическою; если общество однажды имѣетъ слабость терпѣть какую-нибудь несправедливость, то этой несправедливостью каждый отдѣльный его членъ воспользуется въ тѣмъ большихъ размѣрахъ, чѣмъ онъ сильнѣе и могущественнѣе. Это разсужденіе, однакоже, правильно только по отношенію къ нѣкоторымъ обществамъ; все тутъ зависитъ отъ духа людей и отъ чувствъ, въ которыхъ они воспитываются. Извѣстны цѣлыя цивилизаціи, которыхъ развитіе и процвѣтаніе основано было на томъ воззрѣніи, что къ высшему классу общества идея справедливости должна примѣняться съ большею строгостью, чѣмъ къ остальнымъ; таковы египетская, индѣйская цивилизаціи; какъ скоро они перестали держаться этого воззрѣнія, они стали упадать. Въ средніе вѣка могущество католическаго духовенства точно также основано было на томъ, что оно относилось къ своимъ членамъ съ большею строгостью, чѣмъ рыцарство и впало даже въ крайность ученія о безбрачіи. Отступленіе отъ этого воззрѣнія превратило католичество въ формальную религію и разрушило власть духовенства. Даже въ нашемъ собственномъ законодательствѣ мы можемъ указать на подобный образъ дѣйствія, увѣнчавшійся полнымъ успѣхомъ. Наше законодательство относилось строже къ государственнымъ и удѣльнымъ землямъ, чѣмъ къ помѣщичьимъ. По свѣдѣніямъ за 1868 г. 9,246,891 душ. (по 10 рев.) государственныхъ крестьянъ должны въ европейской Россіи получить въ надѣлъ изъ казенныхъ земель, на правахъ собственниковъ, 64,985,011 дес. земли, т. е. по 7,02 десятины на душу, а 862,740 душъ удѣльныхъ получили въ надѣлъ въ собственность 4,336,454 дес., т. е. по $5^2/_5$ дес. на душу. Изъ числа 9,939,707 душъ бывшихъ крѣпостныхъ, надѣлы получили въ собственность только 6,757,844 души и обращено въ крестьянскую собственность земель всего 22,649,271 дес., т. е. 2,27 дес., около двухъ десятинъ съ четвертью на душу; если считать даже однихъ только тѣхъ крестьянъ, которые получили надѣлы въ собственность, то окажется, что они получили на душу 3,35 десятины, несравненно менѣе, чѣмъ удѣльные и государственные. Разсуждая съ узкой точки зрѣнія, такой образъ дѣйствія долженъ былъ ослабить правительство и усилить дворянство, между тѣмъ, историческій опытъ показалъ прямо противное: ничто не способствовало въ большей степени

усиленію правительства, ничто не внушало населенію столько къ нему довѣрія, какъ именно то обстоятельство, что на государственныхъ и удѣльныхъ земляхъ крестьянамъ жилось гораздо лучше, чѣмъ на помѣщичьихъ. Сравнительно худшее положеніе помѣщичьихъ земель лишило помѣстное дворянство всякаго самостоятельнаго значенія; они имѣли только то значеніе, которое правительство давало имъ и очень хорошо чувствовали это; черезъ дурное состояніе своихъ земель, они дѣлали бѣдными и себя и русскій народъ.

Исторія показываетъ намъ очень ясно, что образъ дѣйствій, который такъ усилилъ у насъ правительство, настолько же способенъ усиливать и отдѣльные классы. Въ первой половинѣ среднихъ вѣковъ духовенство отличалось своимъ справедливымъ образомъ дѣйствій по отношенію къ рабочему населенію на своихъ земляхъ; оно состояло въ этомъ отношеніи не только выше военнаго дворянства, но даже выше государей; въ этомъ очень ясно можно убѣдиться, если сравнить свѣдѣнія объ управленіи землями Карла В., напр., съ положеніемъ С. Жерменскаго монастыря; тутъ отношенія опредѣлены точнѣе и требованія гораздо незначительнѣе. Зато же духовенство сдѣлалось самымъ вліятельнымъ сословіемъ и папа смирялъ императоровъ. Въ новѣйшее время англійскіе тори постоянно уличаютъ виговъ въ дурномъ обращеніи съ рабочимъ населеніемъ и вводятъ противъ нихъ законы для улучшенія быта фабричныхъ рабочихъ; виги точно также поступаютъ съ тори и улучшаютъ бытъ сельскаго населенія. Имъ кажется, что они дѣйствуютъ одинъ относительно другаго какъ враги и соперники, что они вредятъ другъ другу, между тѣмъ, напротивъ, они этимъ поддерживаютъ и усиливаютъ одинъ другаго. При ихъ недальновидности, союзъ между ними равнялся бы самоубійству. Каждый изъ нихъ дѣйствуетъ, относительно себя, какъ злѣйшій свой врагъ, а относительно своего соперника, какъ первый его доброжелатель. Еслибы вмѣсто того, чтобы враждовать другъ съ другомъ, они вздумали бы помогать другъ другу, они сдѣлали бы себя бѣдняками, довели бы Англію до нищенства, лишились бы всякаго самостоятельнаго значенія и попались бы въ руки бюрократическаго чиновничества. Исторія слишкомъ ясно показываетъ справедливость этого заключенія. Всякому извѣстно, къ какимъ результатамъ привелъ въ XVIII вѣкѣ союзъ высшихъ сословій, которыя на материкѣ Европы составили привиллегированные классы. Точно къ такому же концу привелъ въ XIX вѣкѣ образъ дѣйствій

французской буржуазіи, которая постоянно кричала, что она погибаетъ, когда дѣло шло объ улучшеніи быта рабочаго класса; сколько она ни бьется и ни вертится, она никакъ не можетъ выбиться изъ-подъ ферулы бюрократіи.

Мы имѣемъ во Франціи одинъ прекрасный примѣръ, который бросаетъ яркій свѣтъ на это дѣло. Въ сѣверной Франціи существуетъ знаменитая анзенская горная компанія—это одно изъ самыхъ обширныхъ дѣлъ во Франціи. Пайщики, т. е. капиталисты, участвующіе въ этой компаніи, дѣйствовали какъ всякіе французскіе капиталисты; они думали только о томъ, какъ-бы увеличить свои барыши, притѣсняя рабочихъ; но директоры избрали нѣсколько иной путь, они противодѣйствовали пайщикамъ въ томъ же родѣ, какъ тори противодѣйствуютъ вигамъ, они становились на сторону рабочихъ и до извѣстной степени заботились объ нихъ. Оказалось, что они, такимъ образомъ, до того забрали капиталистовъ въ руки, что они дѣлами компаніи распоряжались неограниченно, и капиталисты, не смотря на свое право собственности, должны были подчиниться имъ. Въ маломъ видѣ тутъ совершилось то же, что Наполеонъ III сдѣлалъ по отношенію ко всему государству. Люди узкіе и грубо эгоистическіе чрезъ это самое создаютъ для себя наибольшіе шансы къ утратѣ самостоятельности.

Когда англичане помогали американскимъ рабовладѣльцамъ, тогда они причиняли Соединеннымъ Штатамъ несомнѣнный вредъ; но когда Соединенные Штаты захотѣли отомстить имъ и помогали феніямъ въ Ирландіи, тогда они принесли своимъ врагамъ точно такую же несомнѣнную пользу. Они заставили англичанъ дѣйствовать въ Ирландіи съ большею справедливостью, этимъ они сдѣлали ихъ менѣе узкими и болѣе умными, они развивали ихъ нравственно точно также, какъ тори развивали виговъ. Опытъ теперь уже вполнѣ доказалъ, что вслѣдствіе законовъ, благопріятныхъ для рабочихъ, какъ рабочіе, такъ и капиталисты сдѣлались одинаково болѣе интеллигентными, предпріимчивыми и богатыми. Давленіе Соединенныхъ Штатовъ, которое разрушило англійскіе предразсудки по отношенію къ ирландцамъ и создало новые законы, благопріятные для католиковъ и бѣднаго рабочаго класса, увеличило силу Англіи и сцементировало ее. Можно сказать, что каждый разъ, когда враги заставляютъ государство или какой-нибудь классъ общества вводить въ своей средѣ прогрессивные порядки, они наносятъ не вредъ, а ока-

зываютъ имъ услугу. Враги Манчестера, тори, доставили ему доходъ въ семьсотъ пятьдесятъ милліоновъ рублей въ годъ, они дали англійскимъ фабрикамъ тѣхъ искусныхъ рабочихъ, которые безъ нихъ были бы жалкими рабами, тѣхъ ловкихъ капиталистовъ, между которыми, напр., Плетъ дѣлаетъ на одной фабрикѣ оборотъ въ восемь милліоновъ, и которые безъ нихъ были бы безпутными тунеядцами.

Конечно, враги могутъ оказывать подобныя услуги, но полагаться на это и дѣлать изъ этого основу своего прогресса и своего благосостоянія—это верхъ отсутствія благоразумія. При такомъ нравственномъ настроеніи различныхъ классовъ государства, какъ разъ дождешься такихъ явленій, какъ отдѣленіе Соединенныхъ Штатовъ отъ Англіи, раздробленіе Австріи или война между федералистами и сепаратистами. Благонадежная политическая почва будетъ существовать только тогда, когда разные классы общества будутъ сами широко смотрѣть на свои интересы и правильно понимать ихъ. Составители великой хартіи, которые сами ограничили себя, положили основу величія Англіи. Когда я изображалъ передъ читателемъ, какъ все общество односторонне, въ качествѣ нанимателей, заинтересовано въ вопросахъ о наймѣ, онъ, можетъ быть, не зналъ какъ изъ этого положенія найти выходъ къ прогрессу. Теперь этотъ выходъ будетъ ясенъ для него: нужно разсматривать дѣло съ широкой точки зрѣнія общественнаго блага, съ той высоты, гдѣ интересъ каждой отдѣльной личности сливается съ общимъ интересомъ—и мы придемъ къ рѣшеніямъ, которыя могутъ производить одинаковое впечатлѣніе на всѣхъ, какъ на наемниковъ, такъ и на нанимателей.

II.

Что долженъ дать намъ наемъ? Почему онъ замѣняетъ рабство? Онъ долженъ дать намъ рабочее населеніе порядочное, дѣятельное и интеллигентное. Ничто не возвышаетъ въ такой степени трудолюбіе, порядочность и интеллигентность работника, какъ строгіе семейные нравы и заботливость о своихъ дѣтяхъ; американскій работникъ имеиро потому лучшій работникъ въ свѣтѣ, что ни одинъ работникъ не тратитъ такъ много на воспитаніе своихъ дѣтей *). Именно эта потребность держитъ заработную плату амери-

*) Въ Бостонѣ одно обученіе въ школѣ стоитъ работнику на каждаго ребенка по 30 руб. въ годъ.

канца на такомъ высокомъ уровнѣ, заставляетъ работника трудиться интеллигентно, чтобы его заработки не уменьшались отъ непроизводительности его труда. Но если мы съ этой точки посмотримъ на результаты, которые даетъ у насъ наемный трудъ, то результаты эти окажутся менѣе всего удовлетворительными. Самый главный недостатокъ нашего семейнаго быта заключается въ томъ, что у отцовъ семейства слишкомъ недостаточно развито понятіе о своихъ родительскихъ обязанностяхъ. Въ нашемъ обществѣ отцамъ постоянно внушается самое высокое понятіе объ ихъ правахъ и самое неудовлетворительное объ ихъ обязанностяхъ. Эта безнравственная черта нашего семейнаго воспитанія прекрасно подмѣчена писателемъ Островскимъ въ его комедіи «Свои люди сочтемся», гдѣ отецъ говоритъ про свою дочь: «захочу, въ кашѣ съѣмъ». Пока у насъ будутъ господствовать подобныя безнравственныя чувства, они будутъ самымъ могущественнымъ препятствіемъ для всякаго развитія. Грубыя воззрѣнія родителей на свои обязанности, какъ извѣстно, составляютъ одну изъ самыхъ главныхъ причинъ поразительной смертности между нашими дѣтьми и болѣе всякой другой причины развиваютъ пьянство. Наемный трудъ у насъ не только парализируетъ, но увеличиваетъ зло. Если крестьянинъ пренебрегаетъ своими дѣтьми и часто пропиваетъ въ кабакѣ то, что необходимо для ихъ содержанія, то наемникъ въ городахъ вовсе не хочетъ знать своихъ дѣтей и взваливаетъ всѣ тягости воспитанія на мать. Вычисленія «Воен. Ст. Сборн.» (стр. 68) показываютъ, что у насъ въ городахъ Московской губерніи въ *тринадцать разъ* болѣе незаконорожденныхъ, чѣмъ въ селеніяхъ, въ Петербургской почти въ семь разъ болѣе, даже въ такихъ губерніяхъ, гдѣ нѣтъ никакихъ особыхъ причинъ для увеличенія числа незаконныхъ рожденій въ городахъ, напр. въ Казанской и Воронежской, въ городахъ въ *пять разъ* болѣе незаконныхъ рожденій, чѣмъ въ селеніяхъ. Конечно, законодательными мѣрами нельзя уничтожить главнаго источника этого явленія, обычая разлучать мужа и жену, родителей и дѣтей при наймѣ прислуги и проч., безнравственное обыкновеніе предпочитать холостую прислугу семейной; но законъ ни въ какомъ случаѣ своими предписаніями и своими выраженіями не долженъ поощрять того грубаго міровоззрѣнія, которое внушаетъ у насъ отцу и мужу увѣренность, что не онъ существуетъ для блага своей семьи, а эта семья существуетъ для того, чтобы служить ему. Одно изъ самыхъ важныхъ и самыхъ без-

нравственныхъ проявленій этихъ грубыхъ чувствъ составляетъ у насъ обыкновеніе мужей брать съ своихъ женъ оброкъ, какъ съ рабынь. Отецъ семейства не только не воспитываетъ своихъ дѣтей, но если мать тяжелымъ наемнымъ трудомъ зарабатываетъ что-нибудь для ихъ воспитанія, то онъ у ней отбираетъ и пропиваетъ въ кабакѣ.

У насъ, повидимому, и не подозрѣваютъ, до какой степени это зло поощряется воззрѣніями, выражающимися въ законѣ. Когда-то циническій взглядъ главы семейства на свои права простирался очень далеко. Родоначальникъ смотрѣлъ не только на жену и дѣтей, но на весь родъ свой какъ на своихъ рабовъ. Уложеніе Алексѣя Михайловича утверждаетъ это право, оно дозволяетъ главѣ семейства отдавать въ наймы не только дѣтей своихъ, но даже и братьевъ и племянниковъ, оно полагаетъ, что оно сдѣлало уже очень много, если оно ограничило срокъ найма пятью годами (гл. XX, ст. 116) и помѣшало этимъ превращенію житейскихъ записей въ крѣпостные акты. Съ тѣхъ поръ воззрѣніе законодателей значительно измѣнилось къ лучшему; однакоже и въ настоящее время предполагается подтвердить правило, что дѣти, не достигшіе 17-ти-лѣтняго возраста, не могутъ наниматься безъ согласія не только родителей, но даже опекуновъ, а жены безъ согласія ихъ мужей. У насъ безъ того существуютъ законы о повиновеніи дѣтей родителямъ и о порядкѣ выдачи паспортовъ женамъ отъ мужей. Эти законы слишкомъ достаточны для обезпеченія семейнаго единства и подобныя дополнительныя предписанія легко могутъ только пропитывать мужей и отцовъ той циническою заносчивостью, которая къ несчастію слишкомъ часто заставляетъ ихъ смотрѣть на свое семейство не какъ на предметъ своихъ обязанностей, а какъ на своихъ слугъ. Они уничтожаютъ впечатлѣніе ст. 2203 гр. зак., гдѣ говорится: «не могутъ быть отданы въ наемъ дѣти родителями, жены мужьями». Къ несчастію, даже это прямое порицаніе взгляда на жену и на дѣтей какъ на рабовъ, какъ на предметъ эксплуатаціи, остается у насъ мертвою буквою. Оно было направлено прямо противъ оброковъ, собираемыхъ мужьями съ своихъ женъ, матерями съ своихъ малолѣтнихъ дѣтей, но оно никогда не примѣнялось и никто, кромѣ закоренѣлыхъ законниковъ, объ немъ ничего не слыхивалъ. Между тѣмъ, крайне необходимо, чтобы закономъ оказанъ былъ хотя какой-нибудь противувѣсъ тому циническому бездушію, съ которымъ отцы относятся у насъ къ своимъ семейнымъ обязанностямъ. Чтобы хотя сколько-нибудь помѣшать раз-

ложенію семейства подъ вліяніемъ этихъ грубыхъ чувствъ, нужно прежде всего высказать въ законѣ принципъ въ родѣ слѣдующаго: «Священная обязанность мужа и отца семейства способствовать обезпеченію своей жены и заботиться о томъ, чтобы малолѣтнія дѣти получали возможно лучшее содержаніе и воспитаніе. Поэтому, онъ ни въ какомъ случаѣ не можетъ препятствовать своей женѣ пріобрѣтать для своего обезпеченія и въ особенности для обезпеченія своихъ дѣтей, работая по найму или другимъ образомъ». Не подлежитъ сомнѣнію, что подобное постановленіе принесетъ свою пользу. Не повсемѣстно, но въ нѣкоторыхъ селеніяхъ, путемъ административныхъ мѣръ, уничтожено было обыкновеніе мужей бить своихъ женъ и послѣдствія для утвержденія основъ семейства оказались самыя благодѣтельныя. Не подлежитъ никакому сомнѣнію, что если наши законы будутъ высказывать строгій взглядъ на обязанности мужа и отца, взглядъ, прямо противодѣйствующій тому заносчивому цинизму, который позволяетъ у насъ главѣ семейства слишкомъ легко смотрѣть на свое положеніе и полагать, что онъ дѣлаетъ благодѣяніе даже и тогда, когда онъ далеко еще не выполнилъ и своихъ обязанностей, то это принесетъ свою долю пользы, но отъ рабства жены, отъ взиманія съ нея оброковъ это не избавитъ. Это не помѣшаетъ пьяному мужу, оставляющему своихъ дѣтей на произволъ голода и холода, отбирать у жены деньги и вещи, заработанныя ею тяжкимъ трудомъ для обезпеченія своихъ дѣтей, и нести въ кабакъ. Чтобы избавить наше отечество отъ этого зла, необходимы еще дополнительные уголовные законы, въ родѣ слѣдующихъ: «Мужъ, который дозволитъ себѣ отобрать у жены деньги или вещи, пріобрѣтенныя ею для содержанія своихъ дѣтей работою по найму или другимъ трудомъ, и употребить на свои потребности, подвергается за это аресту до одного мѣсяца. Но если онъ подобную собственность своей жены растратитъ или покусится растратить ради игры, пьянства или разврата, то онъ подвергается за сіе заключенію въ тюрьмѣ отъ двухъ до четырехъ мѣсяцевъ. Сверхъ того, онъ, не избавляясь отъ обязанности жить съ своей женою, долженъ выдать женѣ пожизненный видъ и давать ей денежное вспомоществованіе какъ для нее, такъ и для ея дѣтей, въ сроки и въ размѣрахъ, опредѣленныхъ судомъ. Этотъ размѣръ можетъ быть въ послѣдствіи увеличенъ, если его денежныя обстоятельства улучшатся». Только подобное законодательство, гдѣ нравственная сентенція будетъ поддержана практической мѣрой,

приведетъ дѣйствительно къ цѣли и сдѣлаетъ поворотъ въ легкомысленныхъ взглядахъ нашего общества.

Уничтоживъ рабство между работодавцемъ и работниковъ, мы должны прежде всего думать объ уничтоженіи рабства между мужемъ и женою-работницею, а затѣмъ и о другихъ условіяхъ организаціи наемнаго труда. Въ области экономическаго производства общество всего болѣе страдаетъ отъ дурного подбора капиталистовъ и работодателей. Чтобы парализовать неудобство этого явленія, необходимо дать работникамъ право выбирать себѣ господина. Этой свободой работника мы должны тѣмъ болѣе дорожить, чѣмъ значительнѣе наша неловкость въ созиданіи правильныхъ экономическихъ отношеній; это у насъ единственное средство сосредоточивать производство въ болѣе способныхъ рукахъ. Поэтому нельзя не возражать противъ мотивовъ къ проекту правилъ о наймѣ, говорящихъ о необходимости противодѣйствовать *переманиванью* рабочихъ. Свобода переманиванья рабочихъ—это единственное средство, которое мы теперь имѣемъ для того, чтобы создать способныхъ капиталистовъ; это хотя и неполное и неудовлетворительное, но все-таки единственное орудіе подбора. Возставать противъ переманиванья—значитъ защищать монополію и рабство. Жалобы на переманиванье породили въ XVII вѣкѣ крѣпостное право. Сдѣлавшись такимъ образомъ первымъ источникомъ нашего экономическаго упадка, онѣ не остановились на этомъ, онѣ побуждали законодателей закрѣплять и остальное свободное населеніе. Всякому извѣстно, какая масса закрѣпленій произведена была Петромъ Великимъ въ городахъ, на фабрикахъ и заводахъ. Деморализованные этимъ направленіемъ, господа стремились даже къ закрѣпленію своей прислуги. Въ ст. 73 указа 30-го марта 1716 года говорится: «Всѣ слуги, служащіе при офицерахъ, отнюдь прежде договореннаго времени, а наипаче же въ походахъ, изъ службы своего господина отходить да не дерзаютъ, ни безъ воли ихъ, гдѣ надо службу принимать, кто въ томъ погрѣшитъ, не токмо прежнему своему господину будетъ отданъ, но и сверхъ того жестоко наказанъ быть имѣетъ». Принужденіе служить также не можетъ быть оправдано съ нравственной точки зрѣнія, какъ принужденіе къ браку; въ примѣненіи къ дѣвушкамъ оно уже много разъ давало поводъ къ изнасилованію ихъ развратниками, а въ примѣненіи къ мужчинамъ

оно деморализуетъ нанимателей и поощряетъ грубое обращеніе человѣка съ человѣкомъ; неисполняющій обязательства служить можетъ за это подвергаться справедливой отвѣтственности, но отнюдь не обязательству служить. Вотъ почему всѣ статьи проекта, которыя возлагаютъ на наемника обязанность, во что бы то ни стало, продолжать свою службу, даже если о дѣйствіяхъ нанимателя возбуждено дѣло въ судѣ, вызываютъ противъ себя самыя серьезныя возраженія. Какъ можно заставлять свободную дѣвушку или женщину служить нанимателю, если этотъ наниматель покушается на честь или цѣломудріе наемника, посѣщаетъ свою наемницу ночью, какъ это часто бываетъ, и позволяетъ себѣ разныя неприличія и дерзости, обращается грубо и унизительно съ наемниками, во время суда ставитъ его въ невыносимыя положенія и старается принудить его прекратить дѣло. При работахъ массами, это правило, по крайней мѣрѣ, столько же вредно, какъ при наймѣ прислуги и ремесленниковъ, гдѣ содержательница модистокъ дѣлается сводней и насильно принуждаетъ своихъ работницъ къ разврату, а содержатель башмачнаго заведенія принуждаетъ двѣнадцатилѣтнихъ ученицъ топить чужихъ незаконныхъ дѣтей въ корытѣ, подъ предлогомъ купанья. Только тотъ можетъ не возражать противъ подобнаго правила, кто никогда не слыхалъ, какъ завозятъ рабочихъ большими артелями за сотни и тысячи верстъ, потомъ не даютъ имъ ни пищи, ни крова, ни одежды, потому что хозяинъ проигралъ деньги въ карты и не высылаетъ ничего для производства работъ и содержанія рабочихъ. Издать подобные законы, значило бы упустить изъ виду свойства нѣкоторыхъ нашихъ капиталистовъ, ихъ легкомысліе, ихъ безпечность, ихъ страсть брать на себя дѣла не по силамъ, отсутствіе самообладанія, вслѣдствіе котораго у нихъ деньги въ рукахъ не держатся. Подобные законы только поощряли бы развитіе этихъ недостатковъ; надѣясь на нихъ, неспособные изъ капиталистовъ еще болѣе привыкаютъ вести свои дѣла спустя рукава, вызываютъ этимъ самыя печальныя явленія, безпорядки и даже убійства, т. е. именно все то, что законы стараются предупредить. Подобные безпорядки—величайшая рѣдкость у капиталиста, у котораго дѣло обставлено основательно, подрядчики всегда удовлетворены и рабочіе разсчитаны, но они постоянно встрѣчаются у капиталистовъ раззоренныхъ, безпечныхъ и которые ведутъ дѣла свои кое-какъ. Кромѣ того, они встрѣчаются еще у такихъ капиталистовъ, которые изъ властолюбія или жадности при-

нимаютъ на себя задачи не по силамъ. Если капиталистъ имѣетъ такое обширное дѣло, за которымъ одному человѣку нельзя услѣдить, то онъ не долженъ вести его черезъ служащихъ и повѣренныхъ. Если онъ за это берется, то онъ поступаетъ точно также, какъ централизаторъ, который хочетъ управлять черезъ бюрократическихъ агентовъ всѣмъ въ отдаленной провинціи, хотя онъ о положеніи ея дѣлъ можетъ имѣть смутное понятіе. Онъ долженъ раздроблять свое дѣло по частямъ и дѣйствовать не черезъ служащихъ и повѣренныхъ, а черезъ компаньоновъ, изъ которыхъ каждый въ своемъ участкѣ былъ бы полнымъ и вполнѣ отвѣтственнымъ хозяиномъ, или черезъ артели, имѣющія съ нимъ компанейское условіе. Самые способные къ дѣламъ крупные капиталисты уже давно убѣдились, что наиболѣе благонадежная связь между капиталистомъ и дѣйствующимъ подъ рукою у него распорядителемъ создается компанейскимъ условіемъ; но многіе изъ нашихъ капиталистовъ слишкомъ любятъ, чтобы служащіе стояли у нихъ у порога, для того, чтобы слѣдовать правиламъ благоразумія. Эта странная заносчивость приводитъ къ тому, что служащіе и довѣренные, за дѣйствіями которыхъ капиталистъ не имѣетъ никакой возможности слѣдить, запутываютъ дѣла капиталистовъ, выводятъ этой запутанностью и своими злоупотребленіями рабочихъ изъ терпѣнія и вызываютъ безпорядки. Успѣхъ производства и хорошія отношенія между нанимателями и наемниками были бы обезпечены гораздо лучше, еслибы всѣ правила, о которыхъ здѣсь говорится—замѣнить однимъ: «Если кто либо въ отношеніяхъ найма внезапно прекратитъ исполненіе своихъ обязательствъ, то судъ рѣшаетъ, существовали-ли для этого достаточныя причины. Судъ своимъ рѣшеніемъ обязанъ возстановить и обезпечить справедливость, но онъ ни въ какомъ случаѣ не можетъ принуждать къ исполненію наемнаго обязательства ту сторону, которая окончательно отъ этого отказывается». Судъ не долженъ имѣть права принуждать нанимателя держать работника, который его обворовалъ, соблазнилъ его жену или дочь, или сдѣлалъ другой поступокъ, послѣ котораго держать этого работника было бы для него мученіемъ; но точно также не долженъ онъ имѣть права принуждать наемника служить нанимателю, у котораго жизнь для него будетъ пыткой, деморализирующимъ или невыносимымъ страданіемъ. Въ этомъ отношеніи нужно сдерживать несправедливыя требованія и покушенія, а не идти дальше ихъ. Размѣры найма, съ условіемъ, что наниматель и наемникъ не могутъ прекратить дѣйствія

обязательства ранѣе срока, должны ограничиваться предѣлами необходимости. Срокъ долженъ быть назначаемъ только тогда, когда наемъ, отъ котораго и та и другая сторона могутъ отказаться во всякое время, повлечетъ за собою дѣйствительно важныя неудобства. Но если эти неудобства принимать въ соображенія когда они на сторонѣ нанимателя, то они должны быть приняты въ соображеніе и тогда, когда они на сторонѣ наемника. Если хозяинъ обставилъ какое-нибудь дѣло съ затратою капитала, за сотни или тысячи верстъ нанялъ работниковъ и доставилъ ихъ на свой счетъ въ безлюдное мѣсто, то работники, конечно, не должны нарушать условія по одному своему капризу и безъ всякаго повода. Однакоже въ дѣйствительности несравненно чаще бываетъ прямо противоположное. Работникъ на свой счетъ или на собственныя деньги или на счетъ полученнаго имъ задатка отправляется за сотни или тысячи верстъ; разсчитывая на его заработокъ, жена ведетъ хозяйство съ помощью дорогаго и невыгоднаго найма. Между тѣмъ хозяинъ, заманивъ сотни работниковъ въ отдаленныя мѣста, разсчитываетъ ихъ или по своему капризу или потому, что не ожидаетъ болѣе отъ работъ тѣхъ выгодъ, которыя ожидалъ, или, наконецъ, по другимъ причинамъ. Все хозяйство работника разстроивается окончательно и онъ съ семействомъ на многіе годы дѣлается нищимъ. Одностороннія правила, въ родѣ тѣхъ, которыя предполагаются въ настоящемъ проэктѣ и которыя ограждаютъ преимущественно однихъ только хозяевъ, въ высшей степени непрактичны.

Но едва-ли не самое непрактичное и несправедливое предположеніе проэкта, это—предоставленіе права удерживать у себя паспортъ наемника. Обычай удерживать у себя паспортъ наемника былъ прямымъ послѣдствіемъ того же стремленія къ закрѣпленію, которое сдѣлало рабами половину русскаго рабочаго населенія. Указъ, воспретившій переходы, оказался въ глазахъ высшихъ сословій еще слишкомъ недостаточной мѣрой для закрѣпленія и порабощенія; къ ней постоянно присовокуплялись новыя, самые паспорты были введены съ той же цѣлью обезпечить закрѣпленіе. Борьба тутъ шла непрерывная; лишь только отмѣнялась одна мѣра, способствовавшая порабощенію, на ея мѣсто являлась другая. Если помѣщики и удѣлъ старались закрѣпить за собою людей, воспрещая имъ жить безъ паспорта, приписываться къ другимъ состояніямъ, то наниматели старались достигнуть того же самаго, захвативъ паспортъ наемника и удерживая его въ своихъ рукахъ. Крѣпостное право дало намъ неспособныхъ сельскихъ хозяевъ,

задерживанье паспортовъ дало намъ неспособныхъ капиталистовъ и болѣе чѣмъ что-либо другое удерживало нашу промышленность на низкомъ уровнѣ развитія. Англичане, которые занимали мѣста на нашихъ фабрикахъ и заводахъ, печатаютъ въ Англіи, что наши капиталисты, будто бы, до такой степени неспособны, что совершенно не умѣютъ дѣлать капиталы свои доходными, не смотря на то, что они портятъ здоровье своихъ рабочихъ совершенно непосильной работой. Неспособность эта проистекаетъ именно отъ возможности вредить здоровью рабочихъ, а эта возможность является вслѣдствіе того, что работникъ, у котораго отобранъ паспортъ, находится въ полной зависимости отъ своего хозяина. Законодательство должно не поощрять, а противодѣйствовать такому обычаю на томъ же основаніи, на которомъ оно противодѣйствовало крѣпостному праву. У лицъ женскаго пола моложе тридцати пяти лѣтъ должно быть положительно запрещено отбирать паспорты. Относительно прочихъ лицъ должно быть постановлено общее правило: «Такъ какъ аттестатъ о службѣ, паспортъ, билетъ, или другой видъ не составляетъ имущества, то воспрещается его закладывать или давать въ обезпеченіе при заключеніи займовъ, найма или какого бы то ни было другого обязательства. Всякій обязанъ имѣть свой видъ для предъявленія его по требованію начальства при себѣ, а не у кого либо другаго». Всѣмъ понятно, какъ вредно дозволять закладывать свой видъ для полученія въ займы денегъ или крова и насущнаго хлѣба. Никто не будетъ отрицать, что подобный закладъ установляетъ крѣпостное право и долженъ подавать поводъ къ торговлѣ людьми. Нѣтъ ничего легче, какъ завладѣть видомъ человѣка, который находится безъ мѣста, не имѣетъ ни денегъ, ни крова, ни пищи, и затѣмъ продавать его услуги кому угодно. Если наша публика не знаетъ, что столь распространенный обычай представлять въ закладъ виды при заключеніи найма подаетъ поводъ къ торговлѣ людьми, то она этого не знаетъ только потому, что вообще знаетъ очень мало о положеніи рабочаго класса. Если въ этомъ случаѣ на первое время окажется необходимымъ сдѣлать какую нибудь уступку, то только относительно найма въ отдаленныхъ и глухихъ мѣстахъ, да и то только если не одни наниматели, но и наемники будутъ при этомъ обезпечены. Исключеніе это можетъ быть формулировано слѣдующимъ образомъ: «Если работники нанимаются болѣе чѣмъ за двѣсти верстъ артелями для работы въ глухихъ и ненаселенныхъ мѣстахъ и доставляются на мѣсто работъ хозяевами на

свой счетъ, то хозяевамъ предоставляется вносить въ мировой судъ залогъ процентными бумагами не менѣе чѣмъ по двадцати рублей на человѣка; изъ этой суммы вознаграждаются рабочіе, если отъ дѣйствія нанимателя они понесутъ убытки или раззореніе въ своемъ хозяйствѣ. Послѣ этого рабочій можетъ передать свой видъ тому же мировому судьѣ и мировой судья можетъ не выдать ему этого вида, если бы онъ вздумалъ оставить работы безъ всякаго повода до срока, обозначеннаго въ письменномъ обязательствѣ. Срокъ этотъ не можетъ однакоже простираться долѣе четырехъ мѣсяцевъ со дня заключенія найма».

Отношенія между хозяиномъ и работникомъ должны быть основаны на взаимномъ уваженіи, они должны быть самостоятельныя и нравственныя, они не должны пахнуть рабствомъ; но для этого необходимо, чтобы законы, которыми ограждается рабочій, были практическіе. Главный недостатокъ всего вообще нашего законодательства, касающагося найма, заключается въ мечтательномъ его характерѣ,— этотъ же недостатокъ практичности сохраняется у него и въ настоящемъ проэктѣ. Есть законы, которые существуютъ у насъ съ XVIII-го столѣтія, которые въ теченіи такого долгаго времени не вызвали даже и начала исполненія и которые, не смотря на это, вошли въ настоящій проэктъ съ еще болѣе слабой обстановкой. Такъ въ § 12 гл. IX устава цеховъ 12 ноября 1799 года говорится, что «мастеръ обязанъ ученика своего не только учить усердно, но и занимать должное время наукою». Въ ст. 146 настоящаго проэкта говорится, что хозяинъ «долженъ наблюдать за религіознымъ и умственнымъ образованіемъ учениковъ и отнюдь не препятствовать посѣщенію ими школы». И такъ, мы въ прошломъ столѣтіи установили обязательное обученіе съ тѣмъ, чтобы въ теченіи семидесяти трехъ лѣтъ не дать этому закону даже и начала исполненія и за тѣмъ издать законъ, который уже не рѣшается обязывать хозяевъ занимать несовершеннолѣтнихъ работниковъ «должное время наукою», а предписываетъ имъ только «не препятствовать посѣщенію школы»; да и это предписаніе ничѣмъ не обезпечено, такъ что оно опять можетъ остаться въ теченіи долгаго времени безъ начала исполненія. Таковъ характеръ почти всѣхъ законовъ для огражденія рабочихъ, помѣщенныхъ въ настоящемъ проэктѣ; всѣ они изданы уже болѣе или менѣе давно, но или вовсе не исполнялись, или исполнялись только случайно, когда злоупотребленія хозяевъ или особыя случайности вынуждали изслѣдованіе быта рабочихъ. 13 января 1720 г. (М. У. кн. V ст. 45) мы встрѣчаемъ законъ, который относится къ

современному проэкту точно также, какъ законъ объ обязательномъ обученіи 1799 г.; тутъ говорится, что «рядовымъ дозволяется служить своимъ мастерствомъ кому похотятъ въ свободное время» и только тогда, когда рядовой хотѣлъ служить своему офицеру, тогда онъ долженъ былъ *увѣдомить* своего начальника, «дабы тотъ наблюдалъ, чтобы ему исправно было заплачено». Право располагать по своему усмотрѣнію своимъ свободнымъ временемъ есть основное право всякаго свободнаго человѣка; если человѣкъ, находящійся на службѣ, не имѣетъ права располагать своимъ *свободнымъ отъ службы* временемъ по своему произволу даже и тогда, когда отъ этого не произойдетъ для службы никакого ущерба, тогда онъ не можетъ считаться свободнымъ человѣкомъ. Всякому извѣстно, до какой степени право, данное рядовымъ 13 января 1720 г., осуществлялось на дѣлѣ и дѣйствительно ли начальство наблюдало только за тѣмъ, чтобы рядовые за свою работу получали полное вознагражденіе. Въ ст. 11 настоящаго проэкта уже говорится, что безъ особаго дозволенія начальствъ не могутъ поступать въ услуженіе и на работы лица, состоящія, по особымъ обязанностямъ своего званія или служебному положенію, въ зависимости отъ начальства. Эта статья безъ всякаго сомнѣнія точно также не получитъ исполненія, но уже по радикально противоположной причинѣ, чѣмъ указъ 1720 г. Этотъ указъ не исполнялся потому, что выраженный имъ справедливый принципъ (рядовой имѣетъ право располагать своимъ свободнымъ временемъ) не ограждался въ своемъ исполненіи никакимъ практическимъ учрежденіемъ, а предположеніе ст. 11 проэкта не будетъ исполняться потому, что оно слишкомъ стѣснительно, и если бы изъ этого вышелъ законъ практическій, котораго исполненіе было бы обезпечено, то онъ очень скоро сдѣлался бы непопулярнымъ. Адвокатъ при какомъ нибудь судѣ по особымъ обязанностямъ своего званія находится въ зависимости отъ начальства, т. е. суда; неужели же безъ явной несправедливости можно принуждать его испрашивать разрѣшеніе на заключеніе найма? Это точно также несправедливо относительно всякихъ другихъ работниковъ, хотя несправедливость не представляется для насъ какъ для высшаго сословія такъ осязательно. 25 іюня 1781 года предписано на купеческихъ судахъ выдавать служителямъ въ недѣлю 7 чарокъ вина, 4 фунта крупъ, $2^1/_2$ ф. гороху, 9 ф. сухарей, 7 фунтовъ мяса, 1 ф. масла, 14 кружекъ полпива, $^1/_2$ кружки уксусу. Въ приложеніи къ ст. 977 т. XI уст. торг. назначается корабельнымъ служителямъ уже только $^1/_2$ ф.

мяса въ день, полпива не полагается, — это уже сдѣлалось роскошью, — а уксусу $^1/_2$ кружки на четыре недѣли. Въ § 56 указа 31 марта 1861 г. требуется еще, чтобы рабочіе были снабжаемы свѣжею, здоровою и обильною пищею. Въ ст. 164 проэкта требуется уже только, чтобы припасы не были вредны или *очевидно* недостаточны для пропитанія. Испорченность припасовъ еще можно доказать, но какъ доказать *до очевидности*, что они даются въ количествѣ недостаточномъ для пропитанія. Не лучше ли было бы предоставить самимъ рабочимъ рѣшать этотъ вопросъ и переходить по произволу отъ полученія припасовъ натурою къ полученію деньгами по справочнымъ цѣнамъ въ размѣрѣ указа 25 іюня 1781 года. Еще въ 1799 г. изданъ былъ законъ, который предписывалъ мастерамъ обращаться съ своими учениками человѣколюбиво и кротко. Законъ этотъ много лѣтъ не получалъ никакого исполненія; затѣмъ только въ новѣйшее время въ самыхъ видныхъ мѣстахъ нашего государства дѣлались изслѣдованія о положеніи малолѣтнихъ ремесленниковъ, и эти изслѣдованія каждый разъ обнаруживали разные ужасы. Не смотря на это, правило 1799 г. повторяется въ ст. 146 проэта и *только* (!) не создается никакого учрежденія, которое бы обезпечивало его исполненіе. Правило, что мастеръ не долженъ обращать своихъ учениковъ въ прислугу, съ 1799 г. фигурируетъ въ нашихъ законахъ въ видѣ изящнаго, правда, но совершенно безполезнаго украшенія. На осн. § 19 гл. IX указа 12 ноября 1799 г., ремесленники ни въ какомъ случаѣ не могутъ оставаться безъ мастера и если мастеръ, у котораго они нанялись, не только будетъ арестованъ, но сдѣлается боленъ и если дѣло не устроится добровольно, то управа назначаетъ мастера на счетъ больнаго, дабы дѣло не останавливалось. Въ уставѣ ремесл. (т. XI св. зак.) вмѣсто этого постановленія является другое, совершенно иного характера. Въ ст. 126 сказано, что если мастеръ занеможетъ и не имѣетъ подмастерьевъ и учениковъ, то цеховой старшина назначаетъ ему подмастерья или ученика, который бы его содержалъ своею работою. Это постановленіе направлено уже не къ тому, чтобы подмастерья и ученики не остались безъ работы по винѣ или по несчастью, постигшему мастера—оно написано прямо въ пользу мастера и для обезпеченья его интересовъ. Если вы хотите, читатель, составить себѣ понятіе о томъ, справедливо ли оно, то представьте себѣ, что васъ нарядили исполнять заказы въ пользу посторонняго вамъ больного человѣка; положимъ, что это очень человѣколюбиво, ну а если въ те-

ченіи этого времени дѣла ваши разстроются и семья ваша умретъ съ голоду? Настоящій проэктъ идетъ еще далѣе: въ ст. 152 говорится, что ученикъ обязанъ соблюдать по прежнему договоръ, если хозяинъ будетъ подвергнутъ заключенію менѣе чѣмъ на три мѣсяца. Тутъ возникаетъ одинъ юридическій вопросъ, который не мѣшало бы разъяснить въ примѣчаніи; если, имѣя въ этомъ случаѣ передъ собою перспективу голодной смерти, ученикъ покусится на свою жизнь, то не слѣдуетъ-ли его лучше отдать въ монастырь на прокормленіе вмѣсто того, чтобы подвергать его церковному покаянію на осн. ст. 1473 ул. о нак.? Мотивъ, вызвавшій ст. 152 проэкта, совершенно непонятенъ и побудительная причина тутъ отличается несравненно меньшею ясностью, чѣмъ въ ст. 68, гдѣ говорится: «Наниматель имѣетъ право прекратить договоръ съ рабочимъ, когда сей послѣдній находился подъ стражею долѣе *трехъ сутокъ*». Я полагаю, что во всѣхъ этихъ случаяхъ лучше всего, если не будетъ существовать никакого особаго закона, тѣмъ болѣе, что всѣ эти законы по всей вѣроятности не будутъ исполняться.

Еще въ XVIII вѣкѣ мы видимъ борьбу законодательства противъ закабаленія рабочаго народа посредствомъ долговъ. 9 января 1764 года послѣдовалъ указъ, который признавалъ всѣ векселя недѣйствительными, если удовлетвореніе по нимъ можетъ быть сдѣлано не чрезъ продажу имущества, а только чрезъ наемный трудъ векселедателя. Правило это подтверждено было 25 октября 1765 года. Не смотря на всю полезность и справедливость этихъ указовъ, они не успѣли войдти въ наши нравы въ теченіи болѣе чѣмъ цѣлаго столѣтія. Кому неизвѣстно политико-экономическое правило, что конкуренція всегда сдавливаетъ заработную плату до минимума удовлетворенія необходимыхъ потребностей рабочаго. Каждый разъ, когда работникъ дѣлаетъ долгъ, онъ долженъ уплачивать его или насчетъ своего здоровья, или насчетъ своей нравственности, онъ платитъ его или своей жизнью или воровствомъ. Кто хотя сколько нибудь читалъ о судьбѣ задолжавшихъ рабочихъ у насъ и на западѣ, тотъ очень хорошо это знаетъ. Кромѣ того, трудъ рабочаго, отрабатывающаго свой долгъ, точно также плохъ и не производителенъ, какъ и крѣпостной трудъ. Указы 1764 и 1765 г. остались къ несчастью, какъ и большая часть мѣръ, касающихся найма, прекрасной теоріей, на практикѣ же мы видимъ каждый день, какъ закабаляются рабочіе, какъ на нихъ записываются небывалые долги, какъ эти долги заставляютъ ихъ бродяжничать по всей Россіи, какъ полиція разъиски-

ваетъ и ловитъ ихъ точно также, какъ бѣглыхъ при крѣпостномъ правѣ, подвергаетъ взысканіямъ за передержательство тѣхъ, у кого они находятъ пріютъ и т. д. Именно этому положенію, при которомъ капиталистъ непремѣнно хочетъ удерживать работника силою, а работникъ мститъ ему за это дурной работой, побѣгами, поджогами, порчею машинъ, мы обязаны медленнымъ развитіемъ промышленнаго производства. Не смотря на это, мы не только имѣли слабость отступить отъ раціональныхъ началъ, высказанныхъ у насъ въ половинѣ XVIII вѣка, но не имѣемъ достаточно мужества, чтобы къ нимъ возвратиться. И въ настоящемъ проэктѣ предполагаются разныя мѣры, которыя навѣрное останутся безъ исполненія, и будетъ продолжаться старая ловля рабочихъ, какъ рабовъ, со всею ея грязной обстановкой и будетъ она по прежнему производить экономическій хаосъ. Чтобы прекратить все это зло, необходимо выразить въ законѣ одинъ общій принципъ: «Взысканія всякаго рода могутъ производиться только посредствомъ продажи имущества; никто не можетъ быть принуждаемъ отработывать долгъ или подвергаться за него заключенію». Если имущіе люди будутъ знать, что рабочаго человѣка безполезно запутывать въ долгахъ, потому что долги эти пропадутъ за неимѣніемъ средствъ взысканія, то они не будутъ этого дѣлать и очень скоро сами убѣдятся во всѣхъ выгодахъ такого образа дѣйствія. Никакъ нельзя отрицать, что проэктъ явно сознаетъ вредъ, который происходитъ отъ запутыванія рабочаго населенія въ долгахъ, и явно стремится сдѣлать въ этомъ отношеніи что нибудь, но онъ отступаетъ передъ рѣшительнымъ шагомъ отчасти потому, что всѣ его постановленія пропитаны извѣстной нерѣшительностью, а отчасти потому, что наниматели иногда, впрочемъ только болѣе въ отдаленныхъ и глухихъ мѣстахъ, чѣмъ въ центральной Россіи, уплачиваютъ за рабочихъ недоимки.

Извѣстно, что крестьяне гораздо аккуратнѣе уплачиваютъ слѣдующіе съ нихъ сборы, чѣмъ многіе, напр., изъ землевладѣльцевъ. Я полагаю, что было бы въ высшей степени справедливо усилить взысканіе съ имущихъ и освобождать, по возможности, отъ излишнихъ стѣсненій рабочіе классы. Рабочіе, запутавшіеся въ недоимкахъ, составляютъ незначительное меньшинство. Для громаднаго большинства совершенно достаточнымъ стимуломъ къ уплатѣ сборовъ служитъ то обстоятельство, что чрезъ неаккуратную уплату они могутъ создать себѣ затрудненіе при выправкѣ паспорта и лишиться

прочнаго положенія на работѣ. Что касается до меньшинства, у котораго накопляются недоимки, то нужно знать подкладку этого дѣла для того, чтобы понять, что именно система закабаленія крестьянъ капиталистомъ, уплачивающимъ за нихъ подати, служитъ главнымъ источникомъ накопленія недоимокъ. За исключеніемъ особыхъ случаевъ, или глухихъ, сѣверныхъ и крайне несчастныхъ деревень, недоимки на крестьянахъ накопляются не тамъ, гдѣ крестьяне бѣднѣе, а тамъ, гдѣ волостное и сельское начальство плутоватѣе. Чтобы судить объ этомъ, нужно видѣть въ интимной бесѣдѣ этихъ волостныхъ старшинъ и сельскихъ старостъ, которые съ раскраснѣвшимся отъ вина лицомъ посвящаютъ васъ въ тайны накопленія недоимокъ, хвалятся тѣмъ, какъ ихъ становой приставъ сажалъ подъ арестъ и какъ они потомъ еще прикопили, какъ они дѣлятся будто бы съ начальствомъ и т. д. Подобные пройдохи выбираютъ своими жертвами способныхъ къ работѣ, но безхарактерныхъ и глупыхъ крестьянъ. Они дѣлаютъ имъ различныя послабленія и запутываютъ ихъ въ недоимкахъ; когда эти крестьяне утратятъ нить своихъ разсчетовъ съ обществомъ, они насчитываютъ на нихъ недоимки вдвое, имъ приходится платить за пріятелей и родственниковъ сельскаго начальства. Наконецъ заключается условіе съ капиталистомъ или его агентомъ. По этому условію капиталистъ обязанъ всю слѣдующую имъ заработную плату вносить на покрытіе недоимки. Разсчетъ капиталиста основанъ на сознаніи работника, что ему заработной платы не получить ни копейки, а между тѣмъ капиталистъ, по стачкѣ съ волостнымъ начальствомъ, предлагаетъ ему кредитъ товаромъ. За товаръ, конечно, берется двойная цѣна и капиталистъ имѣетъ работника за полцѣны; но именно по этому недоимка не только не можетъ покрыться, но постоянно наростаетъ. Каждый разъ, когда капиталистъ или землевладѣлецъ или кулакъ платитъ за работника подати или недоимки, крестьянинъ работаетъ за полцѣны и недоимки наростаютъ; крестьянинъ раззоряется, здоровье и хозяйство его разстроивается, семейство его гибнетъ, а казна получаетъ одни убытки. Мало этого, конкуренція подобныхъ работниковъ сбиваетъ цѣны, дѣлаетъ всѣхъ появляющихся на рабочемъ рынкѣ и болѣе бѣдными, и менѣе способными къ уплатѣ сборовъ. Только при нашемъ невѣдѣніи положенія рабочаго класса можно дозволять отработку долговъ, одинаково вредную и для работниковъ, и для промышленности, и для казны. При большихъ заработкахъ крестьянинъ можетъ болѣе заплатить, чѣмъ при меньшихъ, не смотря на то, что и у него останется

больше. Хожденіе на заработки само по себѣ имѣетъ уже очень вредную сторону, потому что семейство остается безъ отца и мужа, семейныя связи разстроиваются и хозяйство гибнетъ. Поэтому необходимо, по крайней мѣрѣ, чтобы на заработки ходили только въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда они представляютъ дѣйствительныя выгоды, чтобы за это дѣло брались только люди солидные и разсчетливые; у вертопраха брошенное имъ семейство будетъ погибать даже и при самомъ выгодномъ заработкѣ. То заманиванье людей, которое производится теперь съ помощью принципа отработки долговъ, при которомъ они совершенно опутываются и окабаляются, гибельно и для народной нравственности, и для народнаго хозяйства. Если крестьянинъ такъ легкомысленъ, что получивъ паспортъ, не будетъ пользоваться своей отлучкой для добровольнаго очищенія слѣдующихъ съ него сборовъ, или такъ неразсчетливъ, что не въ состояніи будетъ это сдѣлать, то онъ не получитъ паспорта на слѣдующій годъ,—это гораздо лучше, чѣмъ запутывать его. Если же это случилось съ нимъ по несчастью, то общество всегда выдастъ паспортъ на выгодную работу, потому что при круговой порукѣ для него очень не разсчетливо держать дома крестьянъ, которые внѣ дома имѣли бы лучшіе заработки. Правило, воспрещающее окончательно отработку долговъ, при теперешнемъ состояніи нашего общества, достаточно практично и найдетъ себѣ примѣненіе. Теперь прошли уже времена крѣпостнаго права и взяточничества, когда рабочіе люди были совершенно безгласны и не было суда, куда бы они могли жаловаться; но наши учрежденія далеко еще не усовершенствовались настолько, чтобы сдѣлать возможнымъ примѣненіе правила, ограничивающаго отработку срокомъ; каждый разъ, когда работникъ пойдетъ въ судъ, ему будетъ доказано, что это новый долгъ, котораго отработка только начинается. Правила проэкта, безъ малѣйшаго сомнѣнія, останутся мертвою буквою.

Такимъ же недостаткомъ практичности постоянно страдали почти всѣ правила, издававшіяся для огражденія рабочихъ. Въ указѣ 4 февраля 1843 г., въ ноябрѣ, декабрѣ и январѣ число рабочихъ часовъ опредѣлялось отъ 6 до 8 часовъ въ сутки. Хотя это правило никогда не исполнялось, однако же оно было подтверждено указомъ 31 марта 1861 года. Въ ст. 159 уст. рем. установляется десятичасовая работа въ сутки и хотя эта статья заимствована изъ указа отъ 16 апрѣля 1785 года, однако же объ исполненіи этого предписанія въ теченіи ста лѣтъ никто никогда не думалъ. Это не мѣшаетъ проэкту повто-

рить постановленіе о десяти-часовой работѣ, не присовокупляя къ нему никакого учрежденія, обезпечивающаго исполненіе. Указъ, воспрещающій платить товарами вмѣсто денегъ, изданъ былъ 15 августа 1845 г. и съ того времени оставался мертвою буквою и будетъ оставаться ею и впредь.

Такой непрактическій и мечтательный характеръ законодательства, касающагося огражденія рабочихъ, не составляетъ исключительной особенности нашего права. Такъ было вездѣ, такъ было и въ Англіи до тѣхъ поръ, пока исполненіе законовъ не было обезпечено учрежденіемъ фабричныхъ инспекторовъ. Англійскіе фабричные инспекторы болѣе чѣмъ кто либо способствовали тому, что публика получила понятіе о злоупотребленіяхъ, которыя дѣлаются нанимателями по отношенію къ наемникамъ, имъ мы обязаны самыми драгоцѣнными данными въ этомъ случаѣ. Какъ трудно обезпечить исполненіе законовъ, ограждающихъ рабочихъ даже и при такомъ учрежденіи, какъ англійскіе фабричные инспекторы, можно видѣть изъ слѣдующаго примѣра. Чтобы обезпечить то обученіе дѣтей, занятыхъ въ ремеслахъ или на фабрикахъ, которое безплодно предписывалось нашими законами съ 1799 года, въ Англіи изданъ былъ законъ, который опредѣлялъ количество часовъ, какое фабричныя дѣти должны были проводить въ школѣ. На фабричныхъ инспекторовъ не только возложена была обязанность наблюдать за исполненіемъ этого правила, но имъ предоставлено было право, если въ школу назначенъ будетъ дурной учитель, смѣнить его и опредѣлить другаго, болѣе способнаго. Однакоже, и послѣ этого законъ остался мертвою буквою только потому, что палата лордовъ отвергла статью, которою дозволялось инспекторамъ облагать хозяевъ сборомъ для учрежденія школы и найма способнаго учителя. Все это прямо убѣждаетъ насъ, что если при извѣстныхъ обстоятельствахъ не возможно создать учрежденіе, которое бы обезпечивало исполненіе закона, то гораздо лучше вовсе не издавать новыхъ законовъ, чѣмъ пріучать народъ смотрѣть на законы какъ на слова, которыя или остаются въ области мечтаній, или только прикрываютъ дѣйствительность наружнымъ блескомъ нравственныхъ сентенцій.

Непрактичность закона можетъ заключаться не только въ томъ, что онъ не создаетъ учрежденія, обезпечивающаго его исполненіе, но и въ томъ, что онъ самъ, своими собственными предписаніями, сдѣлаетъ свое исполненіе невозможнымъ. Такое самоуничтоженіе произ-

водится путемъ непрактичнаго назначенія сроковъ. Всякій знаетъ, что наши рабочіе законовъ не читаютъ; поэтому каждый разъ, когда назначается срокъ для начатія иска, то срокъ этотъ равняется уничтоженію силы закона, кромѣ сроковъ очень продолжительныхъ, напр. десятилѣтняго. У насъ существуетъ законъ, который при взысканіи наемной платы даетъ различныя преимущества, но такъ какъ тотъ же самый законъ назначаетъ короткій срокъ для начала иска, то законъ этотъ вмѣсто того, чтобы помогать труженикамъ, обратился противъ нихъ, и извѣстно, что, благодаря его существованію, недоплаченная заработная плата всегда пропадаетъ. Въ проэктѣ установляется *трехдневный* срокъ для обжалованья суду рѣшеній полиціи между нанимателями и наемниками; чтобы дѣла рѣшались дѣйствительно судомъ, а не по произволу полиціи, нужно было бы установить срокъ *трехгодичный*. Срокъ можно еще допускать тамъ, гдѣ онъ объявляется тяжущемуся въ судѣ, да и то съ большой осторожностью, потому что нѣкоторые мировые судьи вовсе не объявляютъ сроковъ безграмотнымъ тяжущимся, хотя и пишутъ въ своихъ рѣшеніяхъ—«срокъ объявленъ».

Н. Ф.

АССОЦІАЦІЯ И АРТЕЛЬ.

Коренной переворотъ, совершонный въ 1861 г. въ экономической жизни русскаго народа освобожденіемъ его изъ крѣпостной зависимости, поставилъ его въ число тѣхъ элементовъ общества, въ которыхъ экономическіе законы получаютъ свободное примѣненіе и дѣйствуютъ неумолимо послѣдовательно въ дурную или хорошую сторону, смотря по тѣмъ условіямъ, которыя оказываютъ на его бытъ преобладающее вліяніе. Понятно, что изученіе этихъ условій и стремленіе измѣнить ихъ къ лучшему должно было войти въ кругъ дѣятельности представителей народной жизни, въ кругъ дѣятельности литературы и общественныхъ дѣятелей. Къ сожалѣнію, вопросы экономическіе принадлежатъ къ числу самыхъ сложныхъ вопросовъ общественнаго механизма; до сихъ поръ сама экономическая наука еще не сказала послѣдняго слова; какъ основанная пока еще болѣе на логическихъ построеніяхъ, чѣмъ на фактическихъ данныхъ, она не свободна отъ субъективныхъ взглядовъ, всегда находящихся подъ вліяніемъ преобладающихъ интересовъ или господствующихъ идей. Эта субъективность воззрѣній въ наукѣ и недостаточность фактическихъ основъ ея производитъ то, что наука политической экономіи не выработала еще безусловно вѣрныхъ аксіомъ относительно условій народнаго благосостоянія, подобныхъ тѣмъ аксіомамъ, какими обладаютъ въ настоящее время естественныя науки; нѣтъ почти ни одного научнаго положенія политической экономіи, которое бы не оспаривалось. Даже отрицательныя положенія, встрѣчающія наиболѣе сочувствія, въ родѣ свободы торговли, свободы труда, далеко еще не могутъ считаться окончательно рѣшенными. Это отсутствіе выработанныхъ непреложныхъ положеній, важность практическаго значенія въ непосредственномъ примѣненіи къ жизни добытыхъ путемъ или однихъ

теоретическихъ соображеній, или подкрѣпленныхъ односторонними фактами выводовъ, дѣлаетъ ихъ легко орудіями эгоистическихъ стремленій партій. Чѣмъ болѣе какой либо экономическій вопросъ затрогиваетъ интересовъ, тѣмъ труднѣе его безпристрастное разрѣшеніе, тѣмъ болѣе въ разработкѣ его отражается вліяніе господствующихъ интересовъ. Вопросы торговли, землевладѣнія, рабочій вопросъ затрогиваетъ сильнѣе всего дѣйствительные интересы жизни, и потому разрѣшеніе ихъ представляетъ наиболѣе трудностей, въ строго научномъ ихъ изслѣдованіи. Трудность эта увеличивается тѣмъ, что вопросы экономическіе составляютъ только часть цѣлой общественной науки; заблужденія и ошибки другой, болѣе обширной части, вносятся въ политическую экономію въ видѣ предвзятыхъ идей и отражаются во всѣхъ ея построеніяхъ. Поэтому, когда практически возникаетъ въ жизни народа какой либо экономическій вопросъ, то разрѣшеніе его всегда представляетъ наиболѣе трудностей; наука употребляется орудіемъ всевозможныхъ интересовъ и самые экономическіе вопросы на практикѣ скорѣе разрѣшаются не на основаніи научныхъ доводовъ, а достигнутымъ преобладаніемъ представителей той или другой партіи. Достигаетъ преобладанія партія, представляющая интересы большинства—вопросы разрѣшаются въ смыслѣ благопріятномъ для большинства; достигаетъ наоборотъ преобладанія партія, представляющая интересы какого либо отдѣльнаго класса—вопросы разрѣшаются въ смыслѣ благопріятномъ въ интересахъ этой партіи и въ ущербъ всему остальному населенію. Самая борьба интересовъ, злоупотребляющихъ наукою, бываетъ причиною увлеченія и доведенія до абсурдовъ. Жгучесть рабочаго вопроса въ западной Европѣ была безъ всякаго сомнѣнія причиною тѣхъ болѣзненныхъ явленій, которыми сопровождалась каждая попытка къ его разрѣшенію.

Это же стремленіе извѣстныхъ экономическихъ интересовъ или предвзятыхъ идей вліять на разрѣшеніе экономическихъ вопросовъ должно было проявиться и у насъ, въ виду цѣлаго ряда возникшихъ экономическихъ вопросовъ. Такіе вопросы, какъ община, устройство хозяйства на вольномъ трудѣ, развитіе промышленности и торговли, самое устройство вольнаго труда, участіе въ расходахъ по управленію государствомъ въ видѣ вопроса уравненія повинностей, затрогивая самые разнородные и противоположные интересы, естественно должны были вызвать борьбу и обратить несчастную науку въ простое средство защиты самыхъ узкихъ интересовъ. Понятно, что при такомъ

положеніи вещей безъ увлеченія обойдтись невозможно, а увлеченія еще болѣе запутываютъ вопросъ.

Къ числу такихъ увлеченій мы отнесемъ возникшій въ средѣ представителей интересовъ бѣднаго населенія вопросъ объ ассоціаціяхъ. Блуждая по совершенно неизвѣстной почвѣ экономическихъ условій труда въ Россіи, и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, поражаемые бросающеюся въ глаза нищетою народа, люди, желавшіе помочь народу, естественно не могли почерпнуть чего-либо, вытекающаго непосредственно изъ дѣйствительныхъ условій жизни. Они должны были искать средствъ на аналогической почвѣ другихъ странъ, болѣе разработанной и дающей готовые матеріалы. Сходство, невольно бросающееся въ глаза при самомъ поверхностномъ взглядѣ, русской артели съ западно-европейскою ассоціаціею, а также шумъ, съ которымъ пропагандировалась въ Европѣ ассоціація, возведенная тамъ многими на степень радикальнаго средства для доставленія человѣчеству общаго благоденствія, были причиною того, что какъ только явилась возможность экономическаго движенія въ народѣ, явились и идеи о распространеніи ассоціацій. Къ сожалѣнію, отличаясь необыкновенною довѣрчивостью ко всему иностранному, мы не задумывались о томъ, насколько формы западно-европейской ассоціаціи соотвѣтствуютъ условіямъ и потребностямъ нашего быта; усвоивъ себѣ дѣленіе ассоціацій на потребительныя, кредитныя и производительныя, мы стали наполнять журналы описаніями успѣховъ ассоціацій на западѣ, забавно низведя потребительныя и кредитныя ассоціаціи въ палліативы, и ставя на пьедесталъ радикальнаго средства общественнаго спасенія производительную ассоціацію. Сколько ни появлялось въ литературѣ статей и даже отдѣльныхъ сочиненій, мы нигдѣ не найдемъ указаній на необходимость изучить условія нашего экономическаго быта, нигдѣ не найдемъ экономическаго изслѣдованія развившагося самобытно артельнаго начала. Мы повѣрили на слово и сдѣлали введеніе формъ западно-европейской ассоціаціи въ русскую жизнь цѣлью своихъ стремленій. Преклоняясь предъ ассоціаціоннымъ движеніемъ въ Европѣ, мы часто даже не умѣли отдѣлить тѣ чисто случайныя, придаточныя явленія, которыми сопровождалось движеніе на Западѣ, и тѣмъ совершенно парализировали всякую возможность практическаго приложенія ихъ въ Россіи. Вопросъ объ ассоціаціяхъ спутался дотого, что въ большинствѣ публики, черпающей свои познанія изъ журнальныхъ статей, сложился взглядъ, что вопросъ объ ассоціаціяхъ есть вопросъ скорѣе

политическій, чѣмъ экономическій. Чувствуя сродство между артелью и ассоціаціей, мы съумѣли распространить такой же ложный взглядъ и на артели.

Печальнымъ результатомъ такого поверхностнаго отношенія къ столь серьезному вопросу было съ одной стороны то, что десятилѣтняя журнальная пропаганда ассоціацій осталась совершенно безплодною: попытки къ устройству ассоціацій дѣлались въ средѣ лицъ, неимѣющихъ дѣйствительной въ нихъ потребности и потому устроенныя ассоціаціи или весьма скоро распадались, или постепенно клонятся къ упадку, какъ образовавшіяся въ разныхъ городахъ потребительныя общества. Возникшія въ послѣднее время ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества не могутъ быть отнесены къ числу ассоціацій, возникшихъ изъ журнальной пропаганды; они возникли совершенно иначе. Успѣхомъ своимъ они обязаны именно тому, что они не были простымъ подражаніемъ западно-европейскимъ образцамъ, а были примѣнены къ дѣйствительнымъ потребностямъ и условіямъ сельскаго населенія. Съ другой стороны, поверхностное отношеніе къ вопросу ассоціаціи было причиною того, что самый вопросъ сдѣлался щекотливымъ вопросомъ. Стремленіе создавать ассоціаціи и артели стало многимъ казаться опаснымъ стремленіемъ; въ глазахъ многихъ оно сдѣлалось чуть не равнозначущимъ съ подкапываніемъ подъ основы общественнаго порядка.

Такимъ образомъ, эта поверхностная пропаганда оказала дѣлу ассоціаціи и артели медвѣжью услугу. Она скорѣе затруднила его, чѣмъ помогла. Поэтому въ настоящее время, чтобы поправить дѣло, необходимо по-возможности разъяснить его, поставить снова на ту чисто экономическую почву, которой оно безусловно и всецѣло принадлежитъ, и очистить отъ всего того, что сдѣлало его щекотливымъ. Безъ этого дальнѣйшее развитіе его, и въ особенности практическое примѣненіе его, невозможно.

Въ настоящей статьѣ мы не думаемъ принимать на себя эту трудную задачу; мы думаемъ, что разрѣшеніе ея возможно только совокупными усиліями лицъ, интересующихся вопросомъ; но мы хотимъ представить, по крайней мѣрѣ, хотя эскизъ того труда, который долженъ предшествовать практическому приложенію.

Говоря объ ассоціаціяхъ и артеляхъ, естественно прежде всего разъяснить самый вопросъ: какія причины обусловливаютъ возникновеніе ассоціацій и артелей.

Много уже было говорено и писано о томъ, какъ тяжело доставалась человѣку всякая его побѣда для дальнѣйшаго его развитія; со всѣхъ сторонъ онъ окруженъ враждебными элементами; каждый шагъ онъ долженъ завоевывать съ бою, и чѣмъ болѣе подвигается онъ впередъ къ побѣдѣ надъ внѣшними силами, тѣмъ сложнѣе и труднѣе становятся новыя препятствія, возникающія изъ среды болѣе утонченныхъ общественныхъ явленій; борьба съ природой уступаетъ мѣсто борьбѣ съ неблагопріятными общественными элементами. Послѣдніе столь же разрушительно, если еще не болѣе, дѣйствуютъ на отдѣльные части организма и требуютъ такой же энергіи воли и ума, какъ и борьба съ силами природы. Въ обоихъ случаяхъ единичныя усилія могутъ оказаться совершенно ничтожными въ виду силы напирающей бѣды, и могутъ быть по силамъ развѣ только цѣлой группѣ лицъ, соединившихся съ общею цѣлью самозащиты. Это сгруппированіе лицъ для экономической самозащиты и составляетъ главную основу ассоціацій и артелей. Въ чемъ заключается разница артели и существующихъ теперь въ западной Европѣ ассоціацій, я буду говорить ниже, но во всякомъ случаѣ разница эта касается только формы, въ которой проявляется одна и таже идея сгруппированія для экономической самозащиты.

Понятно, что еслибы можно было себѣ представить идеальное общество, въ которомъ каждый индивидуумъ пользуется полнѣйшимъ счастьемъ, свободой во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ и получаетъ все, что только захочетъ безъ всякихъ усилій, то въ такомъ обществѣ явленіе ассоціаціи немыслимо. Но коль скоро равновѣсіе нарушается, коль скоро является вслѣдствіе того или другаго препятствія необходимость борьбы (съ природой или съ результатами, вытекающими изъ общественнаго строя), коль скоро эта борьба не по силамъ одному человѣку, ассоціація является необходимымъ орудіемъ въ стремленіи человѣка къ достиженію благосостоянія. И на оборотъ, если мы представимъ общество, въ которомъ условія экономическаго быта постепенно улучшаются, въ которомъ экономическія препятствія болѣе и болѣе устраняются, то и самое стремленіе къ ассоціаціи, по мѣрѣ ослабленія силы препятствія, будетъ постепенно ослабѣвать. Эти общія соображенія еще нагляднѣе примѣнимы къ каждому отдѣльному виду ассоціацій; виды прежнихъ, существовавшихъ и уже исчезающихъ ассоціацій, какъ община, цехи и т. п., въ настоящее время тамъ, гдѣ они уже исчезли, немыслимы, вслѣдствіе измѣнившихся экономическихъ

условій, подобно тому какъ въ тѣ времена, когда цѣхи составляли прогрессивное явленіе, не были возможны ни производительныя, ни кредитныя ассоціаціи. Трудность борьбы сплачивала ассоціацію въ обязательную корпорацію, подобно тому какъ и въ настоящее время въ ассоціаціяхъ рабочихъ, для поддержанія цѣны заработной платы, трудность борьбы заставляетъ часто прибѣгать къ обязательному подчиненію рабочихъ волѣ союза. Съ исчезновеніемъ политическихъ неустройствъ и съ измѣненіемъ самыхъ способовъ производства, обязательная корпорація исчезаетъ и замѣняется свободной ассоціаціей, которая развивается, видоизмѣняясь въ самыя разнообразныя формы, соотвѣтственно существующимъ потребностямъ общества. Нельзя никогда сказать, который видъ ассоціаціи важнѣе; существующій взглядъ, что всѣ ассоціаціи въ родѣ потребительныхъ, кредитныхъ, и т. под. суть палліативы, а настоящее спасительное средство— производительная ассоціація, совершенно ошибоченъ. Мечта о возможности пересозданія общества по заранѣе начертаному плану возвела производительную ассоціацію въ генеральскій чинъ между другими суболтернъ-ассоціаціями. Но простой взглядъ на ассоціацію, какъ на орудіе самозащиты, долженъ дать преимущество въ каждомъ отдѣльномъ случаѣ тому виду ассоціаціи, который наиболѣе подходитъ къ цѣлямъ защищающихся; какъ ни разрушительно дѣйствіе митральезы, но она не принесетъ пользы, если вы будете употреблять ее противъ гранитныхъ стѣнъ крѣпости; средства борьбы должны соотвѣтствовать препятствію. Отдавать преимущество тому или другому виду можно только имѣя въ виду опредѣленное препятствіе.

Взглядъ на преимущество производительной ассоціаціи явился въ западной Европѣ подъ вліяніемъ препятствія, вызваннаго тамъ борьбой труда и капитала. Но самое это препятствіе распадается на столько отдѣльныхъ фазъ, что избирать при этомъ средствомъ для защиты труда одну производительную ассоціацію было бы слишкомъ односторонне. Борьба труда и капитала такое же общее выраженіе, какъ борьба съ непріятелемъ; и въ той, и въ другой средства защиты должны являться въ полномъ разнообразіи, и нельзя сказать, что вообще митральеза лучше тесака или наоборотъ. Разнообразіе экономическихъ препятствій и сила ихъ обусловливаютъ и разнообразіе самыхъ средствъ самозащиты, обусловливаютъ и разнообразіе нетолько видовъ ассоціаціи, но и самой внутренней организаціи каждой изъ нихъ.

Явленія, препятствующія свободному накопленію и развитію народнаго благосостоянія, съ одной стороны происходятъ отъ вліянія чисто внѣшнихъ силъ, отъ вліянія природы, съ другой—отъ условій общественнаго строя, составляющаго историческій результатъ жизни цѣлаго народа. Здѣсь нечего говорить, насколько естественныя условія вліяютъ на экономическій бытъ народа; значеніе этого вліянія уже признано, хотя оно не можетъ еще считаться достаточно разъясненнымъ. Вліяніе это или оказывается благопріятнымъ для развитія народнаго благосостоянія, или, наоборотъ, оно проявляется въ цѣломъ рядѣ препятствій, часто неодолимыхъ единичными усиліями человѣка. Препятствія, поставляемыя человѣку природою, являются въ самыхъ разнообразныхъ видахъ и прослѣдить ихъ едва-ли вполнѣ возможно; человѣкъ долженъ бороться съ силами природы даже за свое существованіе; экономическая самозащита есть только видъ этой борьбы за существованіе, борьбы противъ препятствій, поставляемыхъ природою для пріобрѣтенія средствъ къ существованію и улучшенія ихъ. Эти препятствія или побѣждаются единичнымъ трудомъ человѣка, или требуетъ соединенныхъ усилій цѣлой группы лицъ. Въ послѣднемъ случаѣ, ассоціація или артель является средствомъ самозащиты, доколѣ умъ человѣка не находитъ другихъ средствъ въ механическихъ или другихъ пріобрѣтеніяхъ.

Разнообразіе препятствій, представляемыхъ человѣку природою и устраняемыхъ только соединенными усиліями группы лицъ, обусловливаетъ и разнообразіе этого разряда ассоціацій. Въ самыя древнія времена, затруднительность выбора земель для удобнаго размѣщенія населенія на извѣстномъ пространствѣ земли заставляла людей группироваться въ ассоціаціи, въ общины, переходившія въ обязательныя, частью подъ вліяніемъ чрезмѣрной трудности борьбы съ природою, частью подъ вліяніемъ совершеннаго отсутствія гарантіи закона. Недостатокъ путей сообщенія и малонаселенность, поставляющія громадныя препятствія сообщенію со всѣмъ остальнымъ міромъ, всегда вызывали сгруппированія лицъ въ ассоціаціи. Эти препятствія имѣютъ громадное значеніе у насъ въ Россіи. Населеніе, разбросанное на громадныхъ пространствахъ и не имѣющее возможности сбывать свои мѣстныя произведенія, часто бываетъ не въ состояніи прокормить себя тѣми скудными дарами природы, которые оно можетъ добыть у себя дома; часть его вынуждена покидать свои родныя мѣста и отправляться за 1000 верстъ, чтобы искать себѣ только хлѣба. Понятно, что

люди, удаляясь въ дальнія страны для заработковъ, отправляются въ дорогу цѣлыми группами и, добравшись до цѣли, остаются соединенными въ группы земляковъ, для преодолѣнія трудностей, какія они естественно должны встрѣтить здѣсь, попадая въ совершенно новыя, неизвѣстныя имъ условія. Артели бурлаковъ, артели рабочихъ на золотыхъ пріискахъ, наконецъ рабочіи артели даже въ столицахъ, группируются по мѣсту происхожденія ихъ членовъ.

Перечислять всѣ тѣ препятствія, которыя создаетъ человѣку природа и которыя побѣждаются ассоціаціей, я здѣсь не буду; это моглобы составить предметъ цѣлаго сочиненія. Для меня важно только то положеніе, что ассоціація является орудіемъ человѣка нетолько въ одной сферѣ экономической борьбы съ капиталомъ, но что она является орудіемъ экономической самозащиты и противъ препятствій, поставляемыхъ человѣку природой.

Другая категорія экономическихъ препятствій заключаетъ въ себѣ всѣ тѣ препятствія, которыя поставляются человѣку экономическими условіями страны, составляющими результатъ общественной жизни народа. Въ этой категоріи наиболѣе чувствительными препятствіями, по крайней мѣрѣ въ наше время, должно признать съ одной стороны ничѣмъ не ограниченную конкурренцію, съ другой—неравномѣрное распредѣленіе капитала, а вслѣдствіе того и орудій борьбы съ другими препятствіями. Распространяться о томъ, что конкурренція не всегда дѣйствуетъ благотворно и что она часто вредно вліяетъ на условія производства, я не считаю нужнымъ; вліяніе конкурренціи разобрано весьма серьезно европейскими учеными; печальныя послѣдствія ея во многихъ случаяхъ признаются даже экономистами, полагающими принципъ свободы въ основу правильной экономической жизни. Одно изъ наиболѣе чувствительныхъ экономическихъ препятствій, вызываемыхъ конкурренціею, заключается въ пониженіи барышей предпринимателей или въ пониженіи заработной платы конкурренціею предпринимателей или лицъ, ищущихъ работы. Ассоціаціями, противодѣйствующими этому вліянію конкурренціи, явились въ давнія времена цехи, въ новѣйшія времена—стачки рабочихъ, а затѣмъ—такъ называемыя въ Англіи trades unions, во Франціи société de résistanse, имѣющія цѣлью нормированіе и поддержаніе заработной платы. Въ Россіи вліяніе конкурренціи точно также послужило основаніемъ къ образованію цѣлаго ряда артелей, правда, не имѣющихъ такого обширнаго значенія, какъ англійскія trades unions, но, тѣмъ не менѣе,

стремящихся путемъ соединенія въ группы пріобрѣсти перевѣсъ среди общей конкуррирующей массы. Сюда должны быть отнесены наши биржевыя и другія рабочія артели, пріобрѣтающія перевѣсъ предъ другими конкуррирующими въ предложеніяхъ работы представляемымъ ими ручательствомъ другъ за друга въ вѣрности работы; одна московская биржевая артель имѣетъ даже девизомъ «вѣрность и честность». Избраніе такого девиза прямо указываетъ, что именно матерьяльно гарантированными такими качествами она старается пріобрѣсти работу преимущественно передъ другими. Сюда же должна быть отнесена и интересная артель столяровъ и плотниковъ, состоящая изъ жителей пяти деревень, въ числѣ слишкомъ 900 душъ, въ 10 верстахъ отъ Ярославля, по вологодскому тракту. Крестьяне этихъ деревень въ зимніе и осенніе мѣсяцы занимаются вообще столярными работами и, въ особенности, изготовленіемъ ящиковъ для храненія и укладки винъ, бѣлилъ, табаку, свѣчь и пр. Чтобы уничтожить конкурренцію другъ передъ другомъ въ захватѣ работы, чтобы обезпечить за каждымъ полученіе этой работы, крестьяне означенной мѣстности заключили между собою союзъ; всѣ вмѣстѣ обсуждаютъ условія заказовъ, заключаютъ подряды и затѣмъ взятые подряды «всемірской сходъ» распредѣляетъ по возможности уравнительно по деревнямъ и такимъ образомъ гарантируетъ всѣмъ возможность участія въ выгодахъ подряда. Подобно конкурренціи передъ хозяевами, можетъ явиться конкурренція въ пользованіи какимъ-нибудь промысломъ, ограниченнымъ естественными предѣлами; въ предупрежденіе захвата одними передъ другими ассоціаціями является единственнымъ средствомъ гарантіи участіе всѣхъ въ этомъ промыслѣ. Сюда относятся рыболовныя артели на Уралѣ, гдѣ вся рыбная ловля распредѣляется на участки между соединившимися въ артели рыболовами. Сюда же, конечно, относится и артельный обычай, заведенный ломовыми извощиками, стоящими на биржахъ, — обезпечивать заработокъ каждому извощику жребіемъ въ принятіи работы.

Неравномѣрное распредѣленіе капитала представляетъ еще болѣе, чѣмъ конкурренція, препятствій къ свободному накопленію богатствъ. Однихъ оно надѣляетъ всѣми средствами производствъ, всѣми тѣми механическими изобрѣтеніями, которыми умъ человѣческій съумѣлъ достигнуть возможно большаго пользованія силами природы, и, такимъ образомъ, дѣлаетъ ихъ наибольшими участниками въ результатахъ общихъ усилій въ производствѣ; другихъ оно лишаетъ всѣхъ тѣхъ

необходимыхъ средствъ производства, безъ которыхъ немыслимо приниматься за работу, не рискуя подвергнуться напрасной тратѣ силъ, и такимъ образомъ устраняетъ ихъ отъ общаго участія въ пріобрѣтеніяхъ и дѣлаетъ ихъ простыми орудіями первыхъ. Чѣмъ неравномѣрнѣе распредѣленіе богатствъ и капиталовъ, тѣмъ неравномѣрнѣе и распредѣленіе средствъ производства и тѣмъ недоступнѣе для лишенныхъ ихъ участіе въ общихъ пріобрѣтеніяхъ. Эта неравномѣрность, поставляющая большинство въ необходимость отказаться отъ всякаго самостоятельнаго предпріятія, подчиниться участи человѣка, живущаго на одной задѣльной платѣ, какъ извѣстно, всегда опредѣляющейся въ размѣрахъ, достаточныхъ только для удовлетворенія первыхъ потребностей, дѣлаетъ единичныя попытки этой категоріи лицъ выйти изъ замкнутаго круга совершенно безсильными; рекомендуемое имъ средство—сбереженіе—до такой степени трудное и медленное, что оно едва-ли кого можетъ утѣшить; при возможности удѣлять изъ заработной платы только ничтожную часть, самое большее, что оно можетъ дать отдѣльному рабочему, это—накопить маленькую сумму про черный день; но оно никогда не въ состояніи дать ему возможности выйти изъ его замкнутаго круга.

Эта неравномѣрность въ распредѣленіи необходимыхъ элементовъ производства, конечно, не вездѣ одинакова; въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстностяхъ она достигла почти крайняго предѣла, въ другихъ она еще борется съ элементомъ мелкихъ производителей, въ третьихъ она коснулась только нѣкоторой части производства; но, во всякомъ случаѣ, тамъ, гдѣ она достигла той степени, при которой единичныя усилія противодѣйствующей стороны безсильны въ борьбѣ съ нею, тамъ ассоціація является однимъ изъ могущественныхъ средствъ самозащиты. Сила этого препятствія, конечно, обусловливаетъ и самый видъ ассоціаціи. Сюда должны быть отнесены всѣ ассоціаціи потребительныя, кредитныя и производительныя; сюда же относятся ассоціаціи для закупки оптомъ матерьяловъ, ассоціаціи для сбыта и т. п. Изъ сказаннаго мною выше уже видно, что я не считаю которую либо изъ нихъ панацеею, а другія палліативами; напротивъ, каждый видъ я считаю одинаково важнымъ и практическимъ въ каждомъ данномъ случаѣ, считаю важнѣйшимъ тотъ, который наиболѣе доставляетъ силы членамъ ассоціацій. Добиваться, напр., ради идеи, образованія производительныхъ ассоціацій тамъ, гдѣ кредитныя ассоціаціи могутъ дать настолько силы отдѣльному производителю, что онъ въ состояніи стать

въ равныя условія производства съ капиталистомъ, было бы напраснымъ трудомъ; точно также напраснымъ трудомъ было бы добиваться производительной ассоціаціи тамъ, гдѣ производство приняло уже такіе крупные размѣры, что для достиженія путемъ ассоціаціи равныхъ условій производства потребовалась-бы громадная ассоціація лицъ, которыя, однакоже, по количеству требующихся рукъ для этого производства, не могли бы всѣ участвовать своимъ трудомъ въ этомъ производствѣ и явились бы въ немъ не членами ассоціаціи, а простыми акціонерами, вкладчиками своего, хотя и ничтожнаго, капитала.

Указавъ основную причину возникновенія ассоціацій и самаго разнообразія ихъ, я долженъ, однакожъ, замѣтить, что на практикѣ ассоціаціи не могутъ представлять такого рѣзкаго дѣленія на категоріи; существованіе въ одно и тоже время нѣсколькихъ препятствій часто вводитъ въ ассоціацію нѣсколько различныхъ цѣлей и тогда, понятно, самая ассоціація является смѣшанною. Къ потребностямъ полученія предметовъ потребленія по болѣе дешевой цѣнѣ могутъ примѣшиваться удовлетвореніе потребностей кредита, покупки сырья и т. п.; къ производительной ассоціаціи могутъ примѣшиваться операціи ассоціацій потребительныхъ и кредитныхъ, вспомоществованія и т. п.

Очевидно, что ассоціаціи, представляя собою идею самозащиты, должны были существовать во всѣ времена; онѣ не составляютъ явленія новаго, измышленнаго XIX вѣкомъ, какъ многіе ошибочно полагаютъ. Еслибы мы имѣли настоящую исторію ассоціацій, которой мы, къ сожалѣнію, не имѣемъ, такъ какъ сочиненія, пытающіяся представить исторію ассоціацій, обыкновенно ограничиваются перечнемъ развившихся въ послѣднее время формъ, то мы убѣдились бы, что ассоціація далеко не новое явленіе. Всегда, когда экономическія препятствія были сознаваемы народомъ, когда народъ приходилъ къ убѣжденію, что единичныя усилія недостаточны для преодолѣнія ихъ и когда этому не противодѣйствовали общественныя постановленія и не вліялъ на общественную среду фанатизмъ, заставляющій считать эти препятствія неизбѣжными и неустранимыми, словомъ, гдѣ только являлась сознательная возможность преодолѣть экономическія затрудненія путемъ соединенныхъ усилій—вездѣ являлась ассоціація. Такъ, страховыя артели, общества для взаимной помощи существовали съ давнихъ временъ; съ давнихъ же временъ мы видимъ ассоціаціи на случай пожаровъ, градобитія, болѣзни и т. п. Въ древнемъ Римѣ существовали ассоціаціи; въ средневѣковой Европѣ мы видимъ гильдіи,

цехи, и затѣмъ встрѣчаемъ ассоціаціи, весьма подходящія къ современнымъ, такъ напр., основанныя на товариществѣ пасѣки, хлѣбопекарни, пивоварни, кузницы и т. п. Точно также и въ Россіи съ давнихъ поръ мы видимъ проявленіе артельнаго начала, проявленіе тѣхъ видовъ ассоціацій, которые существуютъ и въ настоящее время. Артели встрѣчаются въ Россіи въ самыя первыя времена ея исторіи.

Такимъ образомъ, ассоціаціи ни въ западной Европѣ, ни въ Россіи не составляютъ явленія новаго. Напротивъ, исторія показываетъ, что онѣ существовали всегда и вездѣ, и являлись только въ разнообразныхъ формахъ, соотвѣтственно тѣмъ препятствіямъ, для защиты отъ которыхъ онѣ возникали. Если же теперь въ западной Европѣ нѣкоторыя формы ассоціаціи приняли большіе размѣры и достигли болѣе юридическихъ формъ, то это съ одной стороны потому, что въ настоящее время народъ достигъ тамъ большаго умственнаго развитія, и, слѣдовательно, пріобрѣлъ способность къ болѣе сознательнымъ движеніямъ, а съ другой—потому, что самое значеніе нѣкоторыхъ препятствій значительно усилилось, вслѣдствіе измѣнившихся способовъ производства, потребовавшихъ болѣе значительныхъ капиталовъ, а также и вслѣдствіе переворота въ экономическихъ условіяхъ, произведеннаго движеніемъ конца прошедшаго столѣтія и новѣйшими изобрѣтеніями. Умственное развитіе народа для развитія ассоціацій имѣетъ весьма существенное значеніе; ассоціація возможна только тогда, когда является сознаніе о препятствіи и о возможности его преодолѣть соединенными усиліями. Послѣднее, впрочемъ, не требуетъ особеннаго умственнаго развитія, но сознаніе препятствія дается не такъ легко. Экономическія явленія вообще такъ сложны, что при поверхностномъ взглядѣ, часто самыя благопріятныя условія могутъ быть приняты съ перваго взгляда за препятствія и наоборотъ; чѣмъ дальше подвигается самая наука, тѣмъ болѣе она раскрываетъ связи въ явленіяхъ, тѣмъ глубже она отыскиваетъ причины явленій, тѣмъ невиннѣе представляются причины, непосредственно стоящія въ связи съ какимъ-либо послѣдствіемъ. Чѣмъ невѣжественнѣе масса, чѣмъ болѣе въ ней предразсудковъ, тѣмъ темнѣе самое понятіе о препятствіяхъ, тѣмъ непосредственнѣе оно связывается съ ближайшими причинами и искажается до приписыванія неудачъ и несчастій колдовству, вліянію неодушевленныхъ предметовъ и т. п. Поэтому, до появленія ассоціацій, дѣйствительно устраняющихъ экономическія препятствія, насколько они выяснились въ сознаніи на-

рода и въ наукѣ, возникаютъ самыя уродливыя попытки къ ассоціаціямъ, въ родѣ артельныхъ жертвоприношеній, артельныхъ наймовъ колдуновъ и т. п. Поэтому развитія болѣе правильно организованныхъ и достигающихъ цѣли ассоціацій естественно должно ожидать въ странахъ болѣе развитыхъ, и такъ какъ невозможно себѣ представить страну съ идеальнымъ экономическимъ устройствомъ, невозможно себѣ представить страну, въ которой не было бы экономическихъ препятствій, требующихъ ассоціаціи, то и естественно, что степень развитія ассоціацій можетъ служить однимъ изъ весьма замѣтныхъ указаній на умственное развитіе народа.

Недостаточно сознательное представленіе членовъ ассоціаціи о ея цѣляхъ, какъ самозащиты отъ извѣстнаго опредѣленнаго препятствія, имѣетъ послѣдствіемъ то, что самая ассоціація искажается, отступаетъ отъ непосредственной цѣли самозащиты и принимаетъ вредное направленіе. Можно привести примѣры ассоціацій, образовавшихся съ прямою цѣлью самозащиты и перешедшихъ къ совершенно другимъ цѣлямъ. Эти примѣры бросаются въ глаза и въ западной Европѣ, несмотря на все умственное развитіе народовъ. Прославленная Рочдэльская ассоціація во многихъ частяхъ своей широкой дѣятельности отступила отъ своей первоначальной цѣли и сдѣлалась ассоціаціей капиталистовъ, пользующихся доходомъ предпріятія, которое ведется наемными рабочими, неучаствующими въ барышахъ. Французскія производительныя ассоціаціи очень часто нанимаютъ по заработной платѣ рабочихъ, дѣйствуя сами на правахъ обыкновенныхъ хозяевъ, противъ которыхъ они сложились въ ассоціацію; наши биржевыя артели, выставляемыя многими за образецъ, очень часто дѣйствуютъ точно также... Кромѣ того, какъ въ европейскія ассоціаціи, такъ и въ наши артели, вслѣдствіе стремленія къ наживѣ, вкрадываются такого рода условія и правила, которыя точно также искажаютъ значеніе ихъ, какъ средствъ самозащиты; напримѣръ, во многихъ ассоціаціяхъ, а равно и въ нашихъ артеляхъ, часто можно замѣтить допущенное различіе членовъ по отношенію правъ ихъ на участіе въ выгодахъ, полученныхъ ассоціаціей; мы замѣчаемъ подручниковъ, въ отношеніи которыхъ остальные члены представляются лицами привилегированными, извлекающими себѣ выгоды болѣе или менѣе насчетъ поставленныхъ въ менѣе выгодныя условія подручниковъ. Наконецъ, въ нашихъ артеляхъ мы видимъ совершенно безобразныя явленія; напримѣръ, вмѣстѣ съ стремле-

ніемъ наблюдать за нравственностью своихъ членовъ, въ видѣ штрафовъ за нарушеніе артельныхъ правилъ и правилъ нравственности, мы видимъ штрафы въ видѣ поставки на артель ведра или полтора водки.

Изъ выраженнаго мною взгляда на ассоціацію, какъ на средство экономической самозащиты, дѣлается неизбѣжнымъ выводъ, что ассоціація не можетъ быть создана искусственно; усилія создать ассоціаціи могутъ дать только толчокъ къ развитію ихъ, но не могутъ навязать ихъ. Въ каждой мѣстности развитіе ассоціацій и самыхъ видовъ ихъ зависитъ вполнѣ отъ силы дѣйствующихъ экономическихъ препятствій и степени сознанія ихъ. Никакая пропаганда не въ силахъ укрѣпить тѣ виды, которые не нужны. Этотъ выводъ вполнѣ подтверждается даже самымъ поверхностнымъ взглядомъ на развитіе ассоціацій въ западной Европѣ, явившихся тамъ въ послѣднее пятилѣтіе. Несмотря на энергическую пропаганду всѣхъ видовъ ассоціацій въ каждой странѣ, нигдѣ попытки развить всѣ виды ихъ не удались; въ каждой странѣ онѣ развились своеобразно и въ каждой странѣ развившіяся оказались наиболѣе полезными, несмотря на горькія жалобы пропагандистовъ о неудачѣ въ другихъ; неудачи эти обыкновенно сваливаютъ на народный характеръ и этимъ характеромъ стараются объяснить, почему именно тотъ, а не другой видъ ассоціаціи развился въ данной странѣ. Такой способъ объясненія доказываетъ, что наука еще недостаточно разработала ассоціацію; всегда, когда наука наталкивается на вопросъ новый, неизслѣдованный, она прежде всего разрѣшаетъ его какой-нибудь пустой фразой, пока фраза эта не замѣнится дѣйствительнымъ изслѣдованіемъ. Въ рѣдкой книгѣ объ ассоціаціяхъ вы не встрѣтите выраженія: нѣмцы склонны къ экономіи, французы — къ широкимъ предпріятіямъ, а потому въ Германіи развился кредитъ, а во Франціи производительныя ассоціаціи. Если мы примемъ во вниманіе разницу экономическихъ условій каждой страны и проведемъ паралель съ тѣмъ, какіе виды ассоціаціи развились въ данной мѣстности, то мы увидимъ, что развитіе ассоціацій вовсе не было результатомъ народнаго характера, а было результатомъ самозащиты отъ преобладающихъ въ той странѣ экономическихъ препятствій и подвинувшагося нравственнаго развитія народа. Въ Англіи мы видимъ сильное развитіе потребительныхъ обществъ, обществъ взаимнаго вспомоществованія, friendly society, промышленныхъ союзовъ; въ

Германіи мы видимъ кредитныя ассоціаціи, во Франціи потребительныя и производительныя. Я попытаюсь обойти вопросъ о народныхъ склонностяхъ, и хотя въ кратцѣ указать, что причина этой разницы заключается именно въ экономическихъ препятствіяхъ и въ степени ихъ силы.

Въ Англіи болѣе половины населенія принадлежитъ къ городскимъ жителямъ. Это городское населеніе въ большинствѣ состоитъ изъ поденьщиковъ, рабочихъ, не имѣющихъ ни капитала, ни собственности; большая часть производствъ, вслѣдствіе громаднаго примѣненія механическихъ изобрѣтеній, изъ мелкихъ обратились въ крупныя и требуютъ большого капитала. Отчего это произошло и именно въ Англіи — это другой вопросъ; для насъ важенъ самый фактъ. Это сосредоточеніе капиталовъ и самостоятельныхъ производствъ, въ рукахъ сравнительно немногихъ лицъ создаетъ тѣ именно экономическія препятствія, которыя мы подвели подъ вторую категорію экономическихъ препятствій. Вопервыхъ, оно дѣлаетъ невозможнымъ для работника сдѣлаться самостоятельнымъ производителемъ и пользоваться происходящими отъ того выгодами, а во вторыхъ, обрѣкая его на участь человѣка, живущаго заработной платой, она ставитъ его въ положеніе, не обезпеченное ни передъ какими случайностями и дѣлаетъ его жертвой неизбѣжной конкурренціи въ опредѣленіи цѣны заработной платы, понижающейся при этомъ часто даже ниже удовлетворенія первыхъ потребностей. Чтобы побороть эти препятствія, англійскій рабочій дѣлаетъ всевозможныя усилія; сберегательныя кассы ломятся отъ мелкихъ сбереженій, удѣляемыхъ изъ заработной платы. Въ англійскихъ сберегательныхъ кассахъ находится до 300 милліоновъ вкладовъ; чтобы понять, до какой степени велика эта сумма, надо вспомнить, что во всѣхъ нашихъ сберегательныхъ кассахъ сумма вкладовъ едва достигаетъ 5 милліоновъ рублей. Но все-таки этихъ разрозненныхъ усилій недостаточно, чтобы бороться съ наличными препятствіями. Необходима ассоціація, необходимы дружныя усилія, чтобы хотя нѣсколько облегчить положеніе. Но при этомъ оказалось, что тѣ ассоціаціи, которыя съ такимъ усиліемъ пропагандировались, оказались наименѣе полезными или даже вовсе непримѣнимыми. Производительныя ассоціаціи оказались мечтой. Громадность капитала, требующагося для каждаго предпріятія, сдѣлала этотъ видъ недоступнымъ для рабочаго; если и были попытки создать производительныя ассоціаціи, то

эти самыя ассоціаціи весьма недолго сохраняютъ свой первоначальный характеръ и скоро обращаются въ акціонерныя компаніи, въ которыхъ акціонерами являются капиталисты-работники, а работниками — новые поденьщики. Напрасно нѣкоторые причисляютъ такія компаніи къ ассоціаціямъ; непремѣнное условіе ассоціаціи, — участіе членовъ трудомъ и капиталомъ и затѣмъ совершенное отсутствіе постороннихъ лицъ, на счетъ которыхъ извлекаются выгоды. Кредитныя ассоціаціи въ Англіи не существуютъ; кредитоваться можетъ только тотъ, кто имѣетъ нужду въ капиталѣ для производства, огромная же масса рабочихъ не имѣетъ ни собственности, ни капитала для самостоятельнаго производства и слѣдовательно неимѣетъ нужды въ кредитѣ. Ссудная операція для нихъ должна имѣть характеръ вспомогательный, т. е. срокъ и цѣна ссуды обусловливаются не временемъ оборота капитала, а возможностью постепеннаго возврата изъ сбереженій, вслѣдствіе чего она часто можетъ быть и безвозвратною. Не имѣя такимъ образомъ возможности пользоваться тѣми видами ассоціаціи, которые могли бы сдѣлать ихъ самостоятельными производителями, англійскіе рабочіе вынуждены искать защиту въ потребительныхъ обществахъ, въ обществахъ, имѣющихъ цѣлью взаимную помощь на случай болѣзни, смерти, недостатка работы и т. п., наконецъ, въ обществахъ огражденія заработной платы отъ чрезмѣрнаго пониженія, вслѣдствіе ли конкурренціи, возникшей изъ увеличенія числа ищущихъ работу, или вслѣдствіе стачекъ хозяевъ (Trades society Trades unions). Положеніе земледѣльческихъ классовъ въ Англіи немногимъ отличается отъ положенія большинства городскаго населенія. Вся поземельная собственность Англіи распредѣлена между 30,000 собственниками и 200,000 арендаторами; вся остальная масса сельскаго населенія такіе же рабочіе, какъ и городское, и слѣдовательно для нихъ точно также закрыта возможность группироваться въ производительныя или кредитныя ассоціаціи. Развитіе же ассоціацій преимущественно въ городскомъ населеніи дѣлается вполнѣ понятнымъ при значительно высшемъ умственномъ развитіи городскаго населенія сравнительно съ сельскимъ.

Въ Германіи развитіе крупнаго производства и поглощеніе мелкихъ производствъ далеко еще не достигло той силы, какъ въ Англіи; напротивъ того, 85% изъ всего числа промышленныхъ предпріятій принадлежатъ мелкимъ производителямъ; кромѣ нѣкоторыхъ фабричныхъ центровъ, здѣсь преобладаетъ еще мелкое ремесленное производство, хотя оно постепенно уже подвигается къ переходу въ болѣе крупныя формы.

Землевладѣніе во многихъ мѣстностяхъ Германіи преобладаетъ мелкое, какъ напримѣръ по Рейну. Понятно, что при такомъ положеніи дѣлъ борьба мелкаго самостоятельнаго производителя противъ поглощенія крупнымъ должна выразиться въ стремленіи усилить необходимый для производства капиталъ. Средствомъ для этого представляются кредитныя ассоціаціи, которыми Германія въ настоящее время покрыта. Нѣтъ сомнѣнія, что когда средства, доставляемыя мелкому производителю кредитомъ, окажутся недостаточными, то явятся производительныя ассоціаціи; до тѣхъ же поръ, пока кредитныя ассоціаціи будутъ удовлетворять потребностямъ мелкихъ производителей, до тѣхъ поръ всѣ стремленія развить производительныя ассоціаціи окажутся безплодными.

Франція представляетъ развитіе въ нѣкоторыхъ большихъ городахъ производительныхъ ассоціацій, около фабричныхъ центровъ развитіе потребительныхъ обществъ, société de resistance, соотвѣтствующихъ англійскимъ trade unions, и наконецъ вообще развитіе обществъ взаимнаго вспомоществованія. Говоря о Франціи, трудно останавливаться на однихъ экономическихъ условіяхъ. Толчокъ всему ассоціаціонному движенію въ Европѣ былъ данъ Франціею. Не говоря о попыткахъ устраивать фаланстеры, которыми думали передѣлать весь экономическій и соціальный строй, самая ассоціація была результатомъ строгаго обсужденія тяжелыхъ условій труда, и вышла изъ рукъ Бюшеза, именно какъ средство самозащиты. Мысль устройства ассоціаціи была встрѣчена съ увлеченіемъ и, конечно, это увлеченіе было главною причиною, что Франція, родина ассоціацій, болѣе всего дала громкихъ фразъ и менѣе всего ассоціацій. Экономическія условія остались безъ вниманія; ассоціаціи, и именно производительныя, были возведены въ радикальное средство спасенія, и къ сожалѣнію, въ концѣ концовъ значительная часть изъ нихъ рушилась и принесла разочарованіе. Изъ широкихъ стремленій захватить въ формы ассоціацій всѣ виды производства, производительныя ассоціаціи въ настоящее время ограничиваются предметами, большею частью, ремесленнаго труда и потихоньку пробиваютъ себѣ дорогу. Потребительныя общества во Франціи развились и дѣлаютъ успѣшные обороты въ большихъ фабричныхъ центрахъ, въ Парижѣ, въ Ліонѣ, въ Ліежѣ, Греноблѣ, Вьеннѣ. Такимъ образомъ изъ всего шума, который надѣлала во Франціи возродившаяся идея ассоціаціи, осталось весьма немного; тѣмъ не менѣе, экономическія условія Франціи представляютъ

весьма много условій, благопріятныхъ для развитія ассоціацій. Въ большихъ городскихъ центрахъ, гдѣ крупное производство уже поглотило мелкое и гдѣ условія труда немногимъ отличаются отъ условій англійскаго городскаго рабочаго, должны развиться ассоціаціи потребительныя и вообще формы, сходныя съ англійскими; въ мѣстностяхъ, гдѣ сохранилось мелкое ремесленное производство, должны развиться кредитныя и производительныя ассоціаціи, и наконецъ въ сельскомъ населеніи, представляющемъ почти восемь милліоновъ мелкихъ собственниковъ, развитіе ассоціацій должно встрѣтить самую добрую почву; въ послѣднемъ случаѣ главнымъ препятствіемъ является неразвитость сельскаго населенія. Уцѣлѣвшія отъ времени увлеченія ассоціаціи и возникающія вновь вполнѣ оправдываютъ эти соображенія: производительныя ассоціаціи ограничились трудомъ ремесленнымъ, потребительныя общества укрѣпились въ фабричныхъ центрахъ, кредитныя ассоціаціи для закупки машинъ, для сбыта—развиваются преимущественно между мелкими землевладѣльцами.

Такимъ образомъ сдѣланная мною параллель развитія ассоціацій въ трехъ государствахъ западной Европы показываетъ, что, несмотря ни на какія усилія пропаганды, ассоціація этимъ путемъ развиваться не можетъ; пропаганда даетъ только толчокъ дѣлу, укрѣпляются же ассоціаціи только тогда, когда избранныя формы соотвѣтствуютъ силѣ тѣхъ препятствій, противъ которыхъ выставляется въ данной мѣстности ассоціація.

Если развитіе различныхъ видовъ ассоціацій въ каждой отдѣльной мѣстности зависитъ вполнѣ отъ дѣйствующихъ въ той мѣстности экономическихъ условій, то точно также самая внутренняя организація каждаго вида ассоціацій не можетъ быть одинаковою для всѣхъ мѣстностей; она не можетъ быть создана по одному шаблону, а точно также должна измѣняться соотвѣтственно тѣмъ же причинамъ, какъ и развитіе самыхъ видовъ ассоціацій. Выдающіяся потребности бѣднаго населенія и существенная необходимость группироваться въ ассоціаціи и артели, были, конечно, причиной того, что на самую ассоціацію стали смотрѣть, какъ на форму, служащую спеціально бѣдному, а въ нѣкоторыхъ случаяхъ даже просто одному рабочему классу. Но, принимая главнѣйшею причиною возникновенія ассоціацій необходимость самозащиты, нельзя не согласиться съ тѣмъ, что эта причина вовсе не дѣлаетъ ассоціацію исключительнымъ достояніемъ только бѣднаго класса. Напротивъ того, неблагопріятныя

экономическія условія могутъ быть точно также неблагопріятны для богатыхъ классовъ и, слѣдовательно, между ними точно также можетъ возникнуть стремленіе къ защитѣ отъ этихъ неблагопріятныхъ условій посредствомъ сгруппированія въ ассоціаціи.

Правда, эта потребность къ сгруппированію не можетъ быть такъ сильна между богатыми классами, какъ между бѣдными, и самыя неблагопріятныя условія для нихъ не могутъ быть такъ разнообразны; тѣмъ неменѣе, отрицать существованіе ихъ для лицъ состоятельныхъ невозможно, и потому невозможно отрицать и доступность для нихъ ассоціаціи. Возникшія на практикѣ различныя общества взаимнаго кредита, взаимнаго страхованія и другія учрежденія, основанныя на взаимности, суть чистѣйшія формы ассоціаціи, доколѣ онѣ удовлетворяютъ только тѣмъ потребностямъ кредита или страхованія, для которыхъ онѣ образовались. Хотя незначительныя преимущества, доставляемыя этими ассоціаціями состоятельнымъ членамъ, легко заставляютъ ихъ забывать тѣ цѣли, которыя служили побужденіемъ къ образованію ассоціаціи, и хотя эти ассоціаціи легко переходятъ въ простыя коммерческія предпріятія съ цѣлью наживы, тѣмъ не менѣе отрицать характеръ ассоціаціи въ тѣхъ, которыя сохранили во всей чистотѣ удовлетвореніе только первоначальнымъ цѣлямъ, невозможно. Я уже указывалъ, что въ ассоціаціяхъ, возникающихъ среди бѣднаго населенія, стремленіе къ наживѣ и недостаточно сознательное отношеніе къ цѣлямъ ассоціацій точно также бываетъ причиною ихъ искаженія; слѣдовательно, отступленія, являющіяся среди ассоціацій, составившихся изъ лицъ состоятельныхъ, въ этомъ случаѣ не составляютъ какого-либо исключенія. Для послѣднихъ причиною искаженія часто служитъ еще то, что самыя ассоціаціи между состоятельными классами часто составляются безъ всякой дѣйствительной въ нихъ необходимости. Въ этомъ отношеніи отличный примѣръ представляютъ развившіяся въ послѣднее время у насъ въ Россіи общества взаимнаго кредита. Большая часть изъ нихъ группируются изъ лицъ болѣе или менѣе состоятельныхъ, имѣющихъ доступъ къ кредиту въ другихъ кредитныхъ учрежденіяхъ и, слѣдовательно, неимѣющихъ особенной нужды группироваться въ ассоціаціи. Когда образовывалось первое общество взаимнаго кредита, тогда еще почти не существовало другихъ кредитныхъ учрежденій, кромѣ государственнаго банка, гдѣ кредитъ доставался не легко; самое пользованіе кредитомъ многимъ изъ лицъ коммерческихъ было очень мало

извѣстно. Возникновеніе ассоціаціи съ цѣлью доставленія кредита лицамъ, хотя и состоятельнымъ, въ то время имѣло дѣйствительное значеніе. Но затѣмъ быстро развились частные банки, открывшіе широкій доступъ кредиту лицъ состоятельныхъ, они пополнили тотъ пробѣлъ, для котораго первоначально образовалось общество взаимнаго кредита. Причина, оправдывавшая сначала необходимость возникновенія кредитныхъ ассоціацій для лицъ состоятельныхъ, въ видѣ обществъ взаимнаго кредита, исчезла, и потому общества эти должны были или уничтожиться, или перемѣнить составъ членовъ, набравъ ихъ изъ лицъ менѣе состоятельныхъ, неимѣющихъ доступа въ частныя кредитныя учрежденія, или, оставляя прямую цѣль доставленія кредита своимъ членамъ, перейдти въ обыкновенныя банковыя учрежденія, имѣющія цѣлью доставленіе своимъ членамъ барышей. Они предпочли послѣднее; результатомъ этого явилось стремленіе къ расширенію операцій съ преимущественною цѣлью извлеченія барышей. Причина, которою многіе стараются оправдать существованіе обществъ взаимнаго кредита, удешевленіе кредита, едва ли можетъ быть признана дѣйствительною; цѣна денегъ опредѣляется существующею рыночною цѣною, и потому совершенно напрасно предполагали, что общества взаимнаго кредита могутъ давать кредитъ дешевле существующей въ другихъ банкахъ цѣны; если это иногда и возможно, то только какъ случайное явленіе. Остается еще одинъ мотивъ, оправдывающій ихъ существованіе, это — что они сохраняютъ своимъ членамъ тѣ барыши, которые на ихъ счетъ нажили бы частные банки; но одного этого мотива едвали достаточно, чтобы заставить людей рисковать своей отвѣтственностью, которая можетъ быть во всякомъ случаѣ болѣе сохраненныхъ барышей. Такимъ образомъ уничтоженіе причины, вызвавшей существованіе кредитныхъ ассоціацій между состоятельными лицами, было причиною перехода нашихъ обществъ взаимнаго кредита изъ чистыхъ ассоціацій въ обыкновенныя предпріятія для извлеченія барышей. Тоже самое можно сказать и относительно обществъ взаимнаго поземельнаго кредита; когда частная предпріимчивость создаетъ кредитныя учрежденія, дающія такой же кредитъ землевладѣльцамъ, какъ и взаимныя общества, когда причина, оправдывающая ихъ существованіе, исчезаетъ, они должны будутъ или исчезнуть, или точно также перейдутъ въ коммерческія предпріятія, имѣющія цѣлью извлеченіе барышей, а не удовлетвореніе кредитнымъ потребностямъ своихъ членовъ.

Доступность сгруппированія въ ассоціаціи нетолько бѣднымъ, но и богатымъ, очевидно уже обусловливаетъ различіе въ организаціи ассоціацій, служащихъ хотя бы одной и той же цѣли. Кредитная ассоціація, составленная изъ лицъ состоятельныхъ, совсѣмъ иная, чѣмъ кредитная ассоціація, образовавшаяся изъ лицъ, изъ которыхъ каждое можетъ представить только нравственное обезпеченіе въ вѣрности исполненія принятыхъ на себя обязательствъ. Какъ та, такъ и другая составляются для удовлетворенія одинаковой потребности въ кредитѣ; разница же, обусловливающая различіе въ организаціи ихъ, происходитъ отъ большихъ или меньшихъ препятствій въ пріобрѣтеніи кредита отдѣльно взятыми единицами, входящими въ составъ ассоціаціи.

Безъ всякаго сомнѣнія, составныя части каждой ассоціаціи, скелетъ ея, остаются всегда одни и тѣ же; въ уставѣ каждой ассоціаціи будетъ глава объ участіи членовъ, объ отвѣтственности, оборотѣ и т. п.: но разница внутренней организаціи заключается въ той оболочкѣ, которая придаетъ ту или другую физіономію скелету. Эта оболочка должна вполнѣ соотвѣтствовать тѣмъ препятствіямъ, для которыхъ создается ассоціація; каждая часть ея должна быть соразмѣрна съ силою противодѣйствующихъ ей элементовъ и съ самымъ способомъ проявленія этого противодѣйствія. Кредитная потребность и препятствія къ удовлетворенію ея, напримѣръ, могутъ проявляться въ самой разнообразной степени, переходя отъ потребности самой существенной до потребности побочной, вспомогательной. Потребность въ кредитѣ самостоятельнаго производителя, будетъ ли онъ мелкій или крупный, почти одинакова и трудно сказать, который изъ нихъ болѣе нуждается въ кредитѣ; но разница въ трудности пріобрѣтенія его тѣмъ и другимъ до такой степени велика, что создаетъ два существенно отличные типа кредитныхъ ассоціацій; для перваго полная круговая порука составляетъ единственное условіе возможности пріобрѣтенія его; для втораго кредитъ пріобрѣтается весьма легко при ограниченной отвѣтственности. Рабочій, неимѣющій никакого самостоятельнаго промысла, живущій заработной платой, точно также имѣетъ потребность въ кредитѣ; потребность эта не можетъ быть для него такъ сильна, какъ для самостоятельнаго производителя, она является только въ исключительныхъ случаяхъ; самый возвратъ ссуды не представляетъ въ себѣ той строгой періодичности, которая у самостоятельнаго производителя связывается съ его оборотомъ, и потому для рабочаго самостоятель-

ная кредитная ассоціація почти невозможна; удовлетвореніе кредитной потребности его должно входить, какъ добавочная цѣль, въ ассоціаціи, имѣющія для него болѣе важное значеніе, какъ напр., въ ассоціаціи потребительныя, страховыя, общества взаимнаго вспомоществованія, trades union и т. п. Но кромѣ этой главной причины, обусловливающей различіе организаціи каждаго вида ассоціацій, на внутреннюю организацію должны съ такою же силою имѣть вліяніе и другія условія, чисто мѣстныя. Степень развитія членовъ, естественные предѣлы для дѣятельности ассоціаціи, поставляемыя ей общественными или чисто физическими условіями, обычаями и т. п., должны быть принимаемы въ разсчетъ точно также, какъ и сила преодолѣваемаго препятствія. Всѣ эти вліянія были, конечно, причиною разнообразія видовъ потребительныхъ обществъ, развившихся своеобразно въ различныхъ мѣстностяхъ, начиная отъ простой харчевой артели до общества рочдэльскихъ піонеровъ. Выясненіе этихъ условій, дѣлающихъ наиболѣе примѣнимой ту или другую форму внутренней организаціи, также важно, какъ важно выясненіе экономическихъ условій, указывающихъ на необходимость примѣненія въ данной мѣстности того или другаго вида ассоціацій. Къ сожалѣнію, вопросъ о внутренней организаціи ассоціацій въ связи съ экономическими требованіями весьма мало разъясненъ и требуетъ еще серьезныхъ изслѣдованій.

Въ вопросѣ о внутренней организаціи ассоціацій, точно также, какъ и въ вопросѣ объ устройствѣ артелей, есть одинъ вопросъ, хотя и побочный, но тѣмъ неменѣе, благодаря усиленной дѣятельности пропагандистовъ, пріобрѣвшій особенное значеніе. Вопросъ этотъ заключается въ томъ, должны-ли ассоціаціи и артели служить средствомъ воспитанія въ народѣ тѣхъ или другихъ качествъ и стремленій, или, ограничиваясь только прямыми своими экономическими цѣлями, онѣ должны быть чужды всякихъ предвзятыхъ педагогическихъ цѣлей. Вопросъ этотъ пріобрѣлъ особенное значеніе въ западной Европѣ. Сила, заключающаяся въ ассоціаціи, конечно, не могла быть не замѣчена въ борьбѣ различныхъ политическихъ и религіозныхъ партій. Желаніе пріобрѣсти поддержку въ этой силѣ было причиною того, что каждая партія притягивала къ себѣ ассоціацію и соотвѣтственно своимъ спеціальнымъ цѣлямъ вводила въ нее тѣ чуждые ассоціаціи элементы, которые обращали ассоціацію въ послушное орудіе той или другой идеи. Ассоціаціей не пренебрегали ни клерикалы, ни радикалы, ни феодалы, ни самые умѣренные либералы. Результа-

томъ этого вышло то, что ассоціація сдѣлалась орудіемъ для проведенія тѣхъ или другихъ воззрѣній; педагогическому элементу придано было значеніе непремѣнной принадлежности ассоціаціи; развивающее, педагогическое значеніе ассоціацій поставлено выше ихъ значенія экономическаго. Нѣкоторые дошли на этомъ пути до абсурда, утверждая, что еслибъ ассоціація даже вредила экономическому быту рабочаго, то и тогда она полезна, какъ учрежденіе воспитывающее. Это смѣшеніе въ ассоціаціяхъ двухъ цѣлей, экономической и воспитательной, это предпочтеніе послѣдней передъ первою, конечно, прежде всего происходитъ отъ привычки смотрѣть на народъ свысока, какъ смотрятъ няньки на малаго ребенка, отъ привычки, дотого въѣвшейся въ большинствѣ, лицо ставить выше массы народа, что отъ нея часто бываютъ не въ силахъ освободиться даже самые искренніе друзья народа. Въ этомъ случаѣ съ ассоціаціей повторяется тоже самое, что повторялось и во всѣхъ другихъ случаяхъ, когда образованный классъ являлся помогать народу. Вспомнимъ, сколько безсмысленныхъ и безплодныхъ книжекъ написано по народному образованію единственно потому, что, вмѣсто сообщенія народу образовательныхъ данныхъ, старались навязывать ему тѣ или другія нравственныя сентенціи; вспомнимъ, что театръ только тогда пріобрѣлъ воспитательное значеніе, когда онъ оставилъ стремленіе воспитывать скучнѣйшими назидательными пьесами. Ассоціація имѣетъ свою непосредственную цѣль; достигая ее, она косвенно имѣетъ громадное воспитательное значеніе. Отрицать это невозможно, но вводить въ нее воспитательныя цѣли и подчинять имъ даже непосредственныя ея цѣли значитъ отрицать самую ассоціацію.

Воспитательный элементъ, примѣшиваемый къ ассоціаціи, до такой степени растяжимъ и измѣнчивъ, что при его помощи ассоціаціи могутъ сдѣлаться орудіемъ для проведенія самыхъ обскурантныхъ идей. Въ примѣрахъ существующихъ ассоціацій, не исключившихъ воспитательнаго элемента, можно указать ассоціаціи, воспитывающія духъ религіозной нетерпимости или національной вражды. Экспериментація экономическихъ и соціальныхъ теорій, при преобладаніи воспитательнаго элемента въ ассоціаціи, получаетъ широкое примѣненіе, въ ущербъ конечно безсознательныхъ жертвъ этихъ экспериментовъ; въ то время, какъ одни стараются путемъ ассоціаціи подготовлять революціонера, другіе смотрятъ на ассоціацію какъ на школу, изготовляющую кулаковъ. Такимъ образомъ ассоціація, представля-

ющая собою элементъ прогресса, движенія, благодаря примѣшиваемымъ воспитательнымъ цѣлямъ, утрачиваетъ это значеніе; польза ея дѣлается не только случайною, но часто сомнительною; а въ нѣкоторыхъ случаяхъ она можетъ сдѣлаться даже орудіемъ для проведенія самыхъ темныхъ, застарѣлыхъ идей. Введеніе воспитательнаго элемента въ ассоціацію объясняется многими тѣмъ, что экономическія цѣли ассоціаціи, съ такою силою выдвинутыя первыми проповѣдниками ассоціаціи, кажутся имъ недостаточными: увлекшись быстрымъ успѣхомъ развитія ассоціацій, они вообразили себѣ, что ассоціаціи могутъ искоренить всѣ соціальные недуги, въ которыхъ экономическій—только частица въ морѣ. Улучшеніе экономическаго быта рабочихъ путемъ ассоціаціи кажется имъ слишкомъ мелкою цѣлью, тогда какъ улучшеніе быта рабочихъ составляло и составляетъ всю суть соціальнаго вопроса, въ которомъ рознь, раздѣлявшая различныхъ представителей этой идеи, заключалась лишь въ средствахъ къ достиженію ея. Ассоціація была указана какъ одно изъ такихъ средствъ, но она отнюдь не должна считаться единственнымъ специфическимъ средствомъ. Выясните, что можетъ дать ассоціація, и требуйте отъ нея только то, что она можетъ дать. Если вы излечите человѣка отъ разстройства желудка, здоровье желудка отразится на всемъ его организмѣ, матерьяльномъ и нравственномъ; но не требуйте, чтобы лекарство, излечивающее желудокъ, направляло вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ и образъ мыслей человѣка.

Сила ассоціаціи, какъ средства самозащиты, имѣетъ свои предѣлы, далѣе которыхъ она оказывается безсильною въ борьбѣ съ противостоящими препятствіями. Вода, заливающая пожаръ, дѣйствуетъ только до тѣхъ поръ, пока сила огня не превыситъ силы воды; царская водка, растворяющая золото, безсильна, когда встрѣчается съ другими химическими тѣлами. Этотъ непреложный законъ природы, что все имѣетъ свои предѣлы, далѣе которыхъ всякое усиліе безплодно, часто забывается, когда переходятъ изъ области природы въ сферу явленій общественныхъ и экономическихъ. Между тѣмъ въ экономическихъ явленіяхъ законъ этотъ имѣетъ такое же непреложное значеніе, а въ вопросѣ объ ассоціаціяхъ онъ забывается чаще всего. Нѣкоторыя попытки выяснить эти предѣлы ассоціацій еще встрѣчаются въ экономической литературѣ, но строгаго изслѣдованія ихъ не существуетъ вовсе.

Притомъ, самыя попытки разъяснить предѣлы ассоціаціи были результатомъ не уясненія сферы дѣятельности ассоціаціи, а скорѣе

полемическимъ пріемомъ, употребляемымъ для защиты своихъ воззрѣній на ассоціацію. Такъ, Лассаль, указывая несостоятельность къ разрѣшенію соціальнаго вопроса ассоціацій, возникающихъ постепенно среди рабочаго класса на основаніи принципа самозащиты, указываетъ возможные предѣлы ихъ дѣятельности для того, чтобы въ той же самой ассоціаціи, но только проводимой посредствомъ государственнаго вмѣшательства, найти радикальное средство къ разрѣшенію соціальнаго вопроса. Начертивъ предѣлы первыхъ, онъ увлекся въ своемъ планѣ и забылъ, что и при государственномъ вмѣшательствѣ предѣлы дѣятельности каждаго вида асоціацій остаются тѣ же самые, что въ его теоріи разрѣшенія соціальнаго вопроса путемъ ассоціаціи и государственнаго вмѣшательства главная роль принадлежитъ послѣднему, съ цѣлымъ рядомъ другихъ мѣръ, идущихъ параллельно съ ассоціаціей, но не имѣющихъ съ нею ничего общаго. Съ другой стороны, экономисты, напуганные призракомъ соціальнаго переворота посредствомъ ассоціаціи, ограничиваютъ предѣлы и значеніе ассоціаціи только какъ учрежденія, пріучающаго рабочаго къ сбереженію и аккуратности, съ тѣмъ, чтобы въ концѣ концовъ сдѣлать изъ рабочаго миньятюрнаго капиталиста. Очевидно, что и они, ограничивая предѣлы ассоціацій, руководствуются не научными соображеніями, а увлеченіемъ въ противоположную сторону.

Лассаль рельефно указалъ предѣлы трехъ видовъ ассоціацій, основанныхъ на началахъ самопомощи, ассоціацій потребительныхъ, кредитныхъ и производительныхъ. Я приведу здѣсь эти указанія, хотя конечно они не могутъ считаться вполнѣ безспорными и исчерпывающими предметъ. Помимо предѣловъ, указываемыхъ Лассалемъ, есть предѣлы, лежащіе въ самыхъ ассоціаціяхъ, какъ напр. необходимость знанія другъ друга въ кредитныхъ ассоціаціяхъ, невозможность такихъ предпріятій для производительныхъ ассоціацій, которыя подвергаютъ все предпріятіе большому риску, требуютъ большой подвижности и т. п. Шефле въ своей книгѣ: «Капитализмъ и Соціализмъ» прекрасно выяснилъ невыгоды ассоціацій, какъ предпринимателей, въ сравненіи съ выгодами частнаго предпринимателя. Эти предѣлы признаетъ и Лассаль, когда говоритъ, что ассоціаціи «обнимутъ все рабочее сословіе лишь постепенно, съ теченіемъ времени. Имъ слѣдуетъ начаться въ такихъ отрасляхъ промышленности, которыя по природѣ своей требуютъ сравнительно большаго числа работниковъ и потому больше всего годятся для ассоціацій. Кромѣ того, имъ слѣдуетъ на-

чаться въ тѣхъ округахъ и мѣстностяхъ, которые способнѣе другихъ къ ассоціаціямъ по роду промышленной дѣятельности, по густотѣ населенія и по добровольному расположенію къ ассоціаціямъ».

Лассаль слѣдующимъ образомъ опредѣляетъ предѣлы дѣятельности трехъ видовъ ассоціацій, кредитныхъ и сырьевыхъ, потребительныхъ и производительныхъ.

1) Первыя, т. е. кредитныя и сырьевыя, могутъ сравнять положеніе неимущаго ремесленника съ положеніемъ имущаго ремесленника, имѣющаго маленькій капиталъ, достаточный для его мелкой промышленности. Стало быть, самое большее, что они могутъ сдѣлать, это дать неимущему ремесленнику возможность конкурировать съ хозяиномъ, обладающимъ собственнымъ капиталомъ, достаточнымъ для его ремесленной промышленности. Но дѣло въ томъ, что и хозяинъ, обладающій собственнымъ, достаточнымъ для ремесленнаго производства капиталомъ, не можетъ выдерживать конкуренціи съ крупнымъ капиталомъ и фабричнымъ производствомъ, потому что обширный размѣръ промышленности удешевляетъ всѣ расходы на производство, даетъ возможность довольствоваться меньшей прибылью съ каждаго отдѣльнаго продукта, и по многимъ другимъ причинамъ. Но кредитныя и сырьевыя общества по большей мѣрѣ только уравниваютъ неимущаго работника съ мелкимъ капиталистомъ, хозяиномъ мелкопромышленнаго заведенія; а такъ какъ капиталистъ этотъ не можетъ выдерживать конкуренціи съ фабричной крупной промышленностью, то и ремесленникъ, ведущій дѣла съ помощью этихъ обществъ, не можетъ выдержать ее.

2) Потребительныя общества —до тѣхъ поръ, пока въ нихъ будутъ вступать только отдѣльные кружки рабочихъ—не произведутъ никакихъ измѣненій въ общей рабочей платѣ, и слѣдовательно до тѣхъ поръ, вступившіе въ нихъ работники, благодаря удешевленію предметовъ потребленія, получатъ отъ нихъ слабое облегченіе своего стѣсненнаго положенія. Но какъ скоро потребительныя общества начнутъ все болѣе и болѣе обнимать все рабочее сословіе—законъ заработной платы (средній размѣръ заработной платы всегда сводится на безусловно необходимое содержаніе, требуемое привычками народа для поддержанія жизни и для размноженія) вступитъ въ дѣйствіе и необходимо понизитъ ее настолько же, насколько потребительныя общества удешевятъ средства существованія.

3) Непосредственная цѣль производительной ассоціаціи—сдѣлать

рабочихъ предпринимателями въ такихъ производствахъ, которыя не доступны единичнымъ личностямъ, замѣнить частнаго предпринимателя капиталиста и такимъ образомъ уничтожить различіе между рабочей платой и барышемъ предпринимателя и вознагражденіемъ труда сдѣлать самый продуктъ труда. Препятствія къ образованію и развитію производительныхъ ассоціацій путемъ самопомощи заключаются, по мнѣнію Лассаля, въ слѣдующемъ: «Успѣхи цивилизаціи именно въ томъ и состоятъ, что человѣческій трудъ съ каждымъ днемъ все больше замѣняется мертвой силой природы, т. е. машинами, стало быть, съ каждымъ днемъ возрастаетъ отношеніе величины затрачиваемаго капитала къ количеству человѣческаго труда. Слѣдовательно, если для фабрики піонеровъ потребовалось 1,600 работниковъ акціонеровъ, чтобы собрать капиталъ для 500 занятыхъ работниковъ, если, стало быть, тутъ оказывается отношеніе 3: 1, то у другихъ работниковъ, въ другихъ отрасляхъ, въ болѣе обширныхъ заведеніяхъ и для соблюденія условій ежедневныхъ успѣховъ цивилизаціи потребуются отношенія 1: 4, 1: 5, 1: 6, 1: 8, 1: 10, 1: 20 и т. д. Но положимъ даже, что достаточно отношенія 1: 3. Слѣдовательно, чтобы получить капиталъ, нужный для основанія фабрики, дающей занятіе 500 работникамъ, надо собрать 1,600 работниковъ акціонеровъ. Пока рѣчь идетъ объ одной, о двухъ, о трехъ и т. д. фабрикахъ, это не представляетъ затрудненій въ воображеніи; вѣдь все это происходитъ въ воображеніи, въ мечтахъ, а на дѣлѣ вышло бы совсѣмъ иное. Но если вздумать распространить ассоціацію на все рабочее сословіе—а вѣдь рѣчь идетъ о немъ, а не о частныхъ лицахъ, желающихъ вылѣзть въ люди,—если, съ теченіемъ времени, хотятъ основать столько фабрикъ, чтобы все рабочее сословіе нашло въ нихъ занятіе, откуда же возьмется тройной, четверной, 5-й, 10-й, 20-й комплектъ всего рабочаго сословія, необходимый, сверхъ занятыхъ работниковъ, въ качествѣ работниковъ акціонеровъ, чтобы основать эти фабрики?»

Эти предѣлы для нѣкоторыхъ видовъ ассоціацій, указываемые Лассалемъ съ цѣлями полемическими, для того, чтобы доказать несостоятельность системы, основанной на началахъ самопомощи, тѣмъ неменѣе сохраняютъ свое значеніе и тогда, если мы отбросимъ всякій полемическій характеръ. Вопросъ самопомощи или государственнаго вмѣшательства въ дѣлѣ ассоціаціи—вопросъ во всякомъ случаѣ придаточный; разница вліянія того или другаго принципа въ дѣлѣ раз-

витія ассоціацій выражается въ простомъ разсчетѣ времени, въ болѣе или менѣе быстромъ распространенія ихъ; предѣлы каждаго вида ассоціацій остаются одними и тѣми же, какъ при самопомощи, такъ и при государственномъ вмѣшательствѣ, пока вмѣшательство это ограничивается только простымъ содѣйствіемъ къ развитію ассоціацій. Предполагаемая безпредѣльность развитія производительныхъ ассоціацій при помощи государственнаго вмѣшательства до преобразованія помощью ихъ всего соціальнаго строя происходитъ отъ смѣшенія результатовъ ассоціаціи и государственнаго вмѣшательства; и то, и другое имѣетъ свою сферу дѣятельности, имѣетъ свои предѣлы; вліяніе послѣдняго, конечно, несравненно шире вліянія ассоціацій и даже не можетъ быть съ нимъ сравниваемо. Государственное вмѣшательство всегда давало то или другое направленіе соціальному строю страны, оно обладаетъ могущественною силою, путемъ самыхъ разнообразныхъ мѣръ, вліять на всѣ стороны общественныхъ условій жизни народа и, безъ всякаго сомнѣнія, въ силахъ, при желаніи, раззорить народъ, отдавъ его на расхищеніе группѣ лицъ, или, наоборотъ, оно можетъ содѣйствовать преимущественному развитію благосостоянія народа, уничтожая всякую возможность эксплуататорскихъ захватовъ. Но подобныя цѣли никогда не могутъ быть достигнуты какою нибудь одною мѣрою; утверждать это можно только въ увлеченіи, забывая всю сложность общественнаго механизма, въ которомъ дѣйствуютъ съ одинаковою силою физическіе, нравственные и общественные законы. Ассоціаціи имѣютъ свои непосредственныя экономическія цѣли; доля участія ихъ въ общемъ прогрессѣ можетъ ограничиваться только достиженіемъ этихъ цѣлей и еще тѣмъ косвеннымъ вліяніемъ, которое связано вообще со всякимъ учрежденіемъ, въ которомъ проявляется свободная, самостоятельная дѣятельность народа. Видѣть въ нихъ общественную панацею отъ всѣхъ золъ невозможно.

Непосредственныя экономическія цѣли ассоціацій, имѣя въ своемъ основаніи самозащиту отъ экономическихъ препятствій, обусловливаются развитіемъ понятій о самыхъ препятствіяхъ и подлежатъ развитію, предѣлы котораго предсказывать невозможно, въ особенности въ виду того, что многіе экономическіе вопросы въ самой наукѣ политической экономіи остаются еще нерѣшенными. Эта послѣдовательность въ развитіи ассоціацій, признаваемая и защитниками государственнаго вмѣшательства, устраняетъ самый вопросъ о возможности одновременнаго разрѣшенія соціальныхъ вопросовъ путемъ ассо-

ціацій, устраняетъ и самое значеніе какого-либо отдѣльнаго вида ассоціаціи, какъ радикальнаго средства въ стремленіи пересоздать общественный строй. Нѣкоторые защитники производительныхъ ассоціацій преимущественно предъ другими видами ставятъ на второй планъ ихъ непосредственныя экономическія цѣли и убѣждаютъ ихъ дѣйствовать во имя общей идеи, стоящей выше мелкихъ единичныхъ интересовъ. Они призываютъ ихъ къ дѣятельности во имя общей цѣли освобожденія труда отъ гнета капитала, утѣшаютъ личныя неудачи и потери роковою необходимостью убитыхъ въ сраженіи и доходятъ даже до увѣреній, что непосредственныя экономическія цѣли ассоціаціи скорѣе вредятъ, чѣмъ помогаютъ общему дѣлу. Понятно, что такое несерьезное отношеніе къ вопросу съ одной стороны вызываетъ шумныя проявленія и громкія фразы о значеніи ассоціацій, какія мы нерѣдко видимъ и слышимъ въ западной Европѣ, съ другой— распространяетъ невольный, хотя и совершенно неосновательный страхъ во всѣхъ тѣхъ, которые стоятъ внѣ интересовъ рабочаго сословія, возбуждая тѣмъ самымъ ничѣмъ неоправдываемую вражду. Еслибъ ассоціація не составляла самостоятельнаго экономическаго явленія, а была только случайно придуманнымъ символомъ или формою какого-либо общества съ другими цѣлями, какъ напр., молотокъ у франкъ-масоновъ, тогда совершенно естественно было бы требовать, чтобы ассоціація, прикрываясь экономическими цѣлями, служила своимъ главнымъ, общимъ цѣлямъ; смѣшно было бы, еслибы франкъ-масонъ смотрѣлъ на свой молотокъ какъ на орудіе для вбиванья гвоздей. Но такъ какъ ассоціація представляетъ собою чисто экономическое явленіе, имѣющее свои опредѣленныя цѣли и предѣлы, то смѣшно требовать отъ ассоціаціи, чтобы она служила не этимъ цѣлямъ, а какимъ-то другимъ, общимъ цѣлямъ, невыяснившимся достаточно даже для самихъ пропагандистовъ. Напротивъ того, ассоціація, достигая своихъ непосредственныхъ цѣлей, сама въ себѣ заключаетъ столько задатковъ прогресса, что можно не ошибаясь сказать, что еслибы сознаніе о ея силѣ въ устраненіи экономическихъ препятствій раньше проникло въ народъ, то самыя препятствія не могли бы разростись до такихъ размѣровъ, передъ которыми ассоціація дѣлается безсильною. Ассоціація, какъ и образованіе, имѣетъ въ себѣ столько живаго элемента, что ненужно примѣси никакихъ постороннихъ цѣлей для того, чтобы она была полезна.

То особенное значеніе, которое придаютъ въ послѣднее время въ

какую другую ассоціацію, дѣлаешься спасителемъ общества, можетъ только человѣкъ, неимѣющій яснаго представленія о самомъ обществѣ.

Но если государственное вмѣшательство въ смыслѣ соціальнаго переворота не имѣетъ ничего общаго съ ассоціаціей и если тутъ она является только однимъ изъ факторовъ, то съ другой стороны государственное вмѣшательство въ смыслѣ содѣйствія ассоціаціямъ къ достиженію ихъ непосредственныхъ, экономическихъ цѣлей имѣетъ особенное значеніе. Тутъ является вопросъ, должно ли предоставить развитіе ассоціацій, какъ орудія самозащиты, естественному ходу, по мѣрѣ уясненія въ самомъ обществѣ понятія объ экономическихъ препятствіяхъ и возможности бороться съ ними сгруппированіемъ силъ, или государство должно заботиться о томъ, чтобы понятія эти развивались скорѣе. Однимъ словомъ, это вопросъ — самопомощи и государственнаго вмѣшательства. Я не буду разъяснять здѣсь, что самопомощь и самозащита два различныя понятія; самозащита — цѣль, самопомощь — способъ достиженія этой цѣли. Государственное вмѣшательство въ этомъ случаѣ имѣетъ существенное отличіе отъ того государственнаго вмѣшательства, о которомъ я говорилъ выше. Послѣднее является въ роли реформаторской, преобразующей исторически сложившійся строй по заранѣе начертанному плану; вторая является только въ роли регулятора, уравновѣшивающаго эгоистическія стремленія отдѣльныхъ классовъ и открывающаго доступъ къ развитію матерьяльному и нравственному для большинства населенія.

Сравнивая два принципа, самопомощи и государственнаго вмѣшательства, и разъясняя, въ чемъ заключается ихъ противорѣчіе, необходимо прійдти къ заключенію, что самопомощь, заключая въ себѣ отрицаніе всякаго реформаторскаго стремленія, не представляетъ понятія, противоположнаго теоріи государственнаго вмѣшательства Лассаля; она принимаетъ настоящее экономическое положеніе какъ фактъ и стремится путемъ ассоціацій только помочь тѣмъ, которые поставлены въ немъ въ невыгодныя условія, нисколько не претендуя измѣнять соціальнаго устройства страны. Вторая прямо признаетъ настоящее соціальное устройство противнымъ справедливости и отвергаетъ его, считая, вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, всякое улучшеніе безъ кореннаго переустройства скорѣе вреднымъ, чѣмъ полезнымъ. Очевидно, что эти два различные принципа стоятъ на совершенно различной почвѣ; одинъ имѣетъ задачей только облегчать страданія больнаго, другой

стремится освободить больнаго отъ болѣзни, хотя бы при этомъ ему пришлось вынести тяжелую операцію.

Поэтому противопоставленіе двухъ представителей этихъ двухъ совершенно различныхъ и неподлежащихъ сравненію принциповъ, Шульце Делича и Лассаля, приводимое въ большинствѣ книжекъ объ ассоціаціяхъ, не имѣетъ серьезнаго значенія. Если и существовало противорѣчіе между Шульце Деличемъ и Лассалемъ, то оно заключалось не въ теоріяхъ, представителями которыхъ они явились, а въ самыхъ цѣляхъ того и другаго. Самыя же теоріи, построенныя на совершенно различныхъ основаніяхъ, не должны быть и сравниваемы.

Принципъ самопомощи, не представляя понятія, противоположнаго понятію государственнаго вмѣшательства въ смыслѣ теоріи Лассаля, представляетъ, однакоже, прямое противоположеніе принципу государственнаго вмѣшательства въ смыслѣ болѣе тѣсномъ, въ смыслѣ со дѣйствія къ урегулированію экономическихъ отношеній. Здѣсь эти два крайніе принципа представляются въ слѣдующемъ: слѣдуетъ ли предоставить свободу усиленію существующихъ въ извѣстное время и въ извѣстной мѣстности экономическихъ препятствій, предоставивъ вполнѣ на волю терпящихъ бороться противъ нихъ, или, преклонивъ выю, все болѣе и болѣе удаляться отъ всякой возможности улучшенія, или въ интересахъ государства—положить предѣлъ усиленію зла, указать терпящимъ на причину ихъ бѣдствій, если, по недостаточному ихъ развитію, препятствія эти остаются незамѣченными, и, вооруживъ ихъ средствами бороться съ этими препятствіями, тѣмъ самымъ ограничить и постепенно устранить ихъ. Шульце Деличъ, безусловно отрицающій вмѣшательство,—представитель ученія самопомощи. Вторая система, прямо противоположная теоріи самопомощи (но не самодѣятельности — эти два понятія опять различны; понятіе, противоположное самодѣятельности — опека, понятіе, противоположное самопомощи — государственная помощь, неимѣющая ничего общаго съ понятіемъ государственной опеки), не имѣетъ еще выдающагося представителя, подобно Шульце Деличу, Лассалю или Луи Блану, и не можетъ считаться вполнѣ выясненной. Но достаточно самаго бѣглаго взгляда для того, чтобы убѣдиться, что теорія самопомощи въ развитіи ассоціацій должна уступить мѣсто теоріи государственной помощи. Въ томъ видѣ, въ какомъ представляются въ настоящее время народныя массы, даже если ихъ взять въ самыхъ передовыхъ государствахъ, далеко не

представляютъ такого развитія, чтобы быть въ состояніи понять тѣ дѣйствительныя экономическія препятствія въ ихъ экономической дѣятельности, устраненіемъ которыхъ путемъ ассоціаціи можетъ быть только открытъ путь къ ихъ дальнѣйшему развитію. Экономическія препятствія дѣйствуютъ вообще не только въ матерьяльномъ отношеніи, создавая нищету и голодъ, но и воздвигаютъ почти неодолимыя преграды развитію умственному и нравственному. Возможно ли ожидать какихъ благотворныхъ результатовъ отъ самопомощи массы, поставленной экономическими препятствіями въ матерьяльные и нравственные тиски? Теорія самопомощи, предполагающая необходимо сознаніе о препятствіяхъ и возможности преодолѣнія ихъ путемъ ассоціаціи и, вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, не открывающая возможности къ пріобрѣтенію этого сознанія, дѣлаетъ тѣмъ самымъ ассоціацію новымъ средствомъ преобладанія лицъ, поставленныхъ въ болѣе счастливыя условія, и недоступнымъ большинству. Сколько бы ни твердили о самопомощи утопающему, неумѣющему плавать, онъ все-таки утонетъ, если не будетъ ему дана возможность за что-либо ухватиться. Несостоятельность теоріи самопомощи лучше всего проявилась въ самой дѣятельности представителя ея, Шульце Делича: проповѣдуя самопомощь, онъ, однакоже, посвятилъ всю свою дѣятельность на пропаганду ассоціацій, на ознакомленіе рабочаго класса съ тѣми выгодами, какія можетъ ему представить ассоціація, на руководство въ образованіи самыхъ ассоціацій, на ходатайство предъ правительствомъ о признаніи за ними юридическихъ правъ, на составленіе наконецъ банка, имѣющаго цѣлью поддержаніе ассоціацій. Замѣняя достойною уваженія дѣятельностью своею и лицъ, преданныхъ интересамъ народа, дѣятельность государства, онъ тѣмъ самымъ живымъ примѣромъ доказалъ несостоятельность принципа самопомощи и подтвердилъ необходимость помощи извнѣ.

Поэтому, считая ассоціацію однимъ изъ могущественныхъ дѣятелей въ экономической жизни народа и не считая возможнымъ разсчитывать на то, что ассоціація можетъ развиться путемъ одной самопомощи, нельзя не признать государственную помощь въ этомъ дѣлѣ необходимою въ прямомъ интересѣ народа. Въ чемъ должна быть эта помощь, это вопросъ другой, который можетъ выясниться только при серьезномъ изученіи экономическихъ условій каждой отдѣльной страны, и при самомъ разъясненіи экономическаго значенія и силы ассоціацій.

Все, сказанное мною объ ассоціаціяхъ вообще, должно имѣть без-

условное примѣненіе и къ Россіи. Зависимость того или другаго вида ассоціацій и внутренней организаціи ихъ отъ чисто мѣстныхъ, физическихъ и соціальныхъ условій необходимо заставляетъ прійти къ убѣжденію, что формы развившихся въ западной Европѣ ассоціацій не могутъ служить обязательными образцами для ассоціацій въ Россіи; что формы эти, какъ достигшія уже извѣстнаго развитія, должны только служить руководствомъ, при вырабатываніи формъ, на основаніи дѣйствительныхъ экономическихъ потребностей, вытекающихъ изъ чисто мѣстныхъ условій народнаго быта. Къ этому заключенію должно прійти еще тѣмъ рѣшительнѣе, что самыя условія, какъ физическія, такъ и соціальныя, Россіи во многомъ рѣзко отличаются отъ условій, преобладающихъ въ западной Европѣ. Недостаточность населенія, огромныя пространства земель, трудность сообщенія, климатъ, бѣдность природы, съ другой стороны—огромная масса населенія, занимающагося самостоятельнымъ производствомъ, земледѣльческимъ или промышленнымъ, и ничтожное, сравнительно съ ремесленнымъ трудомъ, развитіе фабричной промышленности, едва занимающей милліонъ рабочихъ, рѣзко отличаютъ условія быта нашего народа отъ условій соціальнаго европейскаго быта. Освобожденіе крестьянъ съ землей сдѣлало Россію въ соціальномъ смыслѣ tabula rasa, на которой еще открыта возможность написать ту или другую будущность. Эта возможность начать съ начала и положить зародыши будущаго развитія возлагаетъ на представителей умственной жизни въ Россіи широкую задачу: руководствуясь опытомъ другихъ странъ, избѣжать тѣхъ ошибокъ, исправленіе которыхъ теперь составляетъ тамъ заботу всѣхъ передовыхъ дѣятелей. Важность этой задачи, выпавшей на долю дѣйствующихъ поколѣній, требуетъ отъ нихъ напряженія всѣхъ умственныхъ силъ, самой добросовѣстной работы, недопускающей никакихъ предвзятыхъ идей, никакого обезьянничества. Все сдѣланное теперь отзовется на всей будущей жизни Россіи; всякій промахъ, всякое легкомысленное рѣшеніе падетъ тяжелымъ проклятіемъ на теперешнее поколѣніе.

Развитіе экономическихъ условій страны составляетъ корень соціальной жизни всякой страны, а потому и въ Россіи экономическіе вопросы должны стоять въ настоящее время на первомъ планѣ. Правда, они принадлежатъ къ числу вопросовъ наиболѣе трудныхъ и можетъ быть не столь блестящихъ, какими представляются другіе вопросы; но неужели сознанія важности задачи недостаточно для того,

чтобы блескъ предпочесть дѣлу; неужели въ насъ не найдется настолько энергіи, чтобы не уподобиться лѣнтяямъ, откладывающимъ трудную работу на завтра и забывающимъ, что завтра можетъ-быть уже будетъ поздно?

Въ числѣ экономическихъ вопросовъ, стоящихъ въ настоящее время на очереди въ Россіи, безъ всякаго сомнѣнія вопросъ о развитіи ассоціацій имѣетъ весьма важное значеніе. Едва ли кто будетъ отрицать существованіе въ Россіи препятствій къ развитію благосостоянія въ народѣ, препятствій, являющихся какъ со стороны внѣшней природы, такъ и со стороны ея соціальнаго устройства. Безсиліе въ борьбѣ съ этими препятствіями единичныхъ личностей уже съ давняго времени привело народъ къ самозащитѣ путемъ сгруппированія силъ, въ видѣ первобытной формы артелей, не основанныхъ на какомъ либо формальномъ договорѣ, а на совѣсти и на сложившихся обычаяхъ. Эта первобытная форма народныхъ артелей сохранилась до сихъ поръ; ее часто противоставляютъ ассоціаціямъ и на основаніи существованія артелей отрицаютъ возможность развитія у насъ ассоціацій. Чтобъ отвѣчать на этотъ вопросъ, надо указать, въ чемъ именно заключается различіе артелей отъ ассоціаціи. По содержанію своему они представляютъ одинъ и тотъ же принципъ самозащиты; разница между ассоціаціей и артелью чисто внѣшняя; въ то время, какъ артель только терпится закономъ и основывается большею частью на взаимномъ довѣріи членовъ и уваженіи сложившихся въ этомъ отношеніи обычаевъ, ассоціація представляетъ собою форму юридическую, основанную на письменномъ договорѣ или уставѣ, и пользуется правами юридическаго лица. Очевидно, что здѣсь вся разница заключается только въ развитіи. Какъ переходная форма отъ артели къ правильно организованной ассоціаціи, являются артели, основанныя на письменномъ договорѣ, или ассоціаціи, имѣющія уставы, не утвержденные правительствомъ. Этотъ переходъ отъ обычной формы къ формѣ юридической обусловливается общимъ юридическимъ развитіемъ народа. Въ этомъ западно-европейскіе народы далеко опередили насъ, а потому самыя формы сгруппированія силъ приняли тамъ болѣе правильный видъ договоровъ или уставовъ. Эта чисто внѣшняя разница артели и ассоціаціи, стоящая въ связи съ юридическимъ развитіемъ народа, указываетъ на неизбѣжность, вмѣстѣ съ развитіемъ юридическихъ понятій въ народѣ, перехода артелей изъ того вида, въ какомъ онѣ существуютъ въ настоящее время, въ формы

болѣе усовершенствованныя, въ формы, подходящія къ западно-европейскимъ ассоціаціямъ. Одно изъ весьма замѣтныхъ послѣдствій введенія гласнаго суда въ Россіи, — быстрое распространеніе въ народѣ понятія о необходимости письменнаго договора, — указываетъ, что время перехода всѣхъ сдѣлокъ и договоровъ, дѣлавшихся до сихъ поръ на слово, въ формы правильныхъ договоровъ приближается, а съ тѣмъ вмѣстѣ приближается и время перехода артелей къ формамъ болѣе юридическимъ. Необходимость этого перехода въ настоящее время уже чувствуется всѣми, сколько нибудь интересующимися благосостояніемъ народа.

При этомъ одни, увлекаясь успѣхомъ развитія ассоціацій въ западной Европѣ, считаютъ достаточнымъ для рѣшенія этой задачи простое заимствованіе образцовъ ассоціацій изъ западной Европы и распространеніе ихъ въ Россіи, не справляясь ни съ мѣстными потребностями, ни съ условіями развитія народа; другіе же, не отвергая опыта, представляющагося въ исторіи западно-европейскихъ ассоціацій, признаютъ необходимымъ предварительно выяснить тѣ потребности народа, которыя могутъ быть удовлетворены ассоціаціей, чтобы затѣмъ выработать такія формы, которыя бы, тѣсно стоя въ связи съ экономическими условіями страны, тѣмъ самымъ дали живой толчокъ развитію народнаго благосостоянія. Безусловные поклонники запада во что бы то ни стало придерживаются перваго взгляда и поражаютъ доводами космополитичности науки. Въ подтвержденіе своего довода они ссылаются на тѣ попытки къ ассоціаціямъ, которыя уже сдѣланы въ Россіи, и указываютъ преимущественно на ссудосберегательныя товарищества, устроившіяся у насъ по образцу, подходящему къ европейскому. Доводы эти однакоже весьма шатки и только распространяютъ совершенно ложныя воззрѣнія о необходимости безусловнаго подражанія. О космополитичности науки едвали можно говорить, когда дѣло идетъ не о принципахъ науки, а о практическомъ примѣненіи ихъ, въ особенности же въ вопросахъ, непосредственно стоящихъ въ связи съ соціальными явленіями, далеко не соотвѣтствующими наукѣ. Примѣръ развитія ссудо-сберегат. товариществъ нисколько не можетъ служить подтвержденіемъ доводовъ въ пользу безусловнаго подражанія. Во 1-хъ, ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества удовлетворяютъ потребность такую, которая не можетъ представить особеннаго разнообразія и проявляется почти одинаково вездѣ. Сходство уставовъ развившихся въ Россіи ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ съ герман-

скими доказываетъ только, что потребности народнаго кредита въ Россіи болѣе или менѣе сходны съ германскими, не болѣе. Во 2-хъ, хотя ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества въ основаніяхъ своихъ сходны съ германскими кредитными ассоціаціями, тѣмъ не менѣе въ нихъ отразилась одна черта, которая отличаетъ ихъ отъ германскихъ и вноситъ въ нихъ колоритъ чисто мѣстный, русскій. Черта эта—безусловное равенство въ правахъ членовъ на одинаковый кредитъ, вытекающее изъ особенностей распредѣленія состоятельности въ нашемъ сельскомъ населеніи. Село или волость не представляетъ широкаго разнообразія состоятельностей; за исключеніемъ нѣсколькихъ богачей-кулаковъ и извѣстной части совершенно нищихъ, остальная часть населенія подходитъ подъ одинъ уровень одинаково нуждающагося населенія. Необходимость открыть доступъ въ товарищество этому главному большинству населенія и необходимость гарантировать имъ пользованіе кредитомъ отъ захвата нѣсколькихъ, часто господствующихъ въ селѣ кулаковъ заставили ввести одинаковый кредитъ для всѣхъ членовъ, что составляетъ коренное отступленіе отъ германскихъ кредитныхъ товариществъ, гдѣ права членовъ на кредитъ измѣняются сообразно нравственной и матерьяльной оцѣнкѣ состоятельности ихъ.

При этомъ мы считаемъ необходимымъ напомнить, до какой степени печально окончилась попытка водворенія въ Россіи потребительныхъ обществъ по образцу нѣмецкихъ; изъ 60 образовавшихся въ Россіи потребительныхъ обществъ, едва ли наберется нѣсколько, которымъ удалось достигнуть значительнаго развитія, а главное, ихъ существенной цѣли—удешевленія продуктовъ. Такимъ образомъ практика, нисколько не подтверждая безусловной примѣнимости къ условіямъ нашего быта формъ европейскихъ ассоціацій, скорѣе подтверждаетъ доводъ противный. Ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества успѣхомъ своимъ обязаны именно тому, что они принаровлены къ потребностямъ и развитію большинства.

При отрицаніи возможности безусловнаго подражанія европейскимъ образцамъ и при признаніи существованія потребности къ сгруппированію силъ и необходимости перехода нашей первобытной формы артели въ формы, болѣе соотвѣтствующія современному развитію общества, естественно возникаетъ вопросъ, какія же формы могутъ быть предложены для удовлетворенія этой потребности? Отвѣтъ на этотъ вопросъ вытекаетъ самъ собой. Не зная достаточно дѣй-

ствительныхъ нуждъ народа, экономическихъ условій его производства, препятствій, представляющихся ему со стороны физическихъ и соціальныхъ условій страны, мы не можемъ предложить теперь какую-либо форму, которая бы имѣла значеніе серьезнаго отвѣта на вопросъ. Только запасшись необходимыми свѣдѣніями, мы будемъ имѣть возможность разрѣшить задачу, какіе виды ассоціаціи возможны въ Россіи и въ какой формѣ. Свѣдѣній этихъ, къ сожалѣнію, литература даетъ намъ очень мало. Поэтому всякая попытка облеченія артелей въ какую-либо обязательную форму и вообще навязываніе въ настоящее время какой-либо обязательной формы для проявляющагося стремленія къ ассоціаціи не только не можетъ считаться желательнымъ, но должно быть признано положительно вреднымъ. Оно не только помѣшало бы правильному разрѣшенію задачи, но могло бы, не создавъ ничего живаго, погубить и то, что уже существуетъ. Для того же, чтобы прійти къ разрѣшенію поставленнаго вопроса, необходимо серьезное и строгое изслѣдованіе экономическихъ условій труда и производства въ Россіи, необходимо выясненіе препятствій, встрѣчаемыхъ народомъ къ достиженію благосостоянія, и возможности преодолѣнія ихъ путемъ сгруппированія разрозненныхъ силъ. Только такимъ путемъ будетъ положено основаніе прочному развитію ассоціаціоннаго начала въ Россіи, только такимъ путемъ ассоціація и артель— сдѣлаются дѣйствительнымъ регуляторомъ неравенства экономическихъ условій.

Оканчивая настоящую статью, я позволю себѣ снова повторить, что я не имѣлъ претензіи создавать теоріи ассоціаціи; цѣль моя заключалась въ томъ, чтобы показать, что ученіе объ ассоціаціяхъ далеко еще не представляетъ собою вопроса исчерпаннаго, въ которомъ бы все слагалось въ извѣстныя формулы и подчинялось извѣстнымъ законамъ; что, напротивъ того, оно представляетъ еще цѣлый рядъ вопросовъ, требующихъ серьезнаго изученія. Я хотѣлъ показать, что настало и у насъ время, кромѣ простаго ознакомленія съ европейскою жизнью, заняться изученіемъ нашей собственной жизни.

А. Яковлевъ.

ССУДО-СБЕРЕГАТЕЛЬНЫЯ

ТОВАРИЩЕСТВА ВЪ РОССІИ *).

Въ настоящей статьѣ я имѣю въ виду представить краткій, но по возможности полный очеркъ настоящаго положенія дѣла ссудныхъ товариществъ въ Россіи. Я опасаюсь только, что статья эта покажется до нѣкоторой степени одностороннею, такъ какъ я не коснусь, или по крайней мѣрѣ коснусь очень слегка, общаго вопроса о народномъ кредитѣ. Я считаю себя въ правѣ обойти эту сторону вопроса по слѣдующимъ двумъ причинамъ: во-первыхъ, потому, что, говоря откровенно, я не считаю себя въ столь важномъ и сложномъ вопросѣ, какъ народный кредитъ, вполнѣ компетентнымъ судьею; во вторыхъ, потому, что я считаю избранный мною способъ изложенія, если можно такъ выразиться, эмпирическій, болѣе полезнымъ въ настоящемъ положеніи дѣла—не потому, чтобы я считалъ практику выше науки, но потому собственно, что сомнѣнія, возраженія противъ этого дѣла, по крайней мѣрѣ въ началѣ его, исходили не изъ среды людей науки, но большею частію изъ той среды людей мнительнаго, подозрительнаго нрава, которые сами себя—нѣсколько, впрочемъ, самовластно—именуютъ людьми практическими. Я имѣю главнымъ образомъ въ виду убѣдить этихъ людей въ возможности примѣненія ассоціаціоннаго начала къ народному кредиту въ Россіи. Такъ какъ возраженія противъ

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возможности примѣненія ассоціаціи къ народному кредиту въ Россіи почти всегда исходили изъ точки зрѣнія практической, то я и прибѣгну къ положительнымъ, практическимъ выводамъ, извлеченнымъ изъ данныхъ и фактовъ нынѣ дѣйствующихъ ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ. Впрочемъ, я долженъ измѣнить только-что данному слову не касаться теоріи; я все-таки долженъ коснуться научной стороны вопроса, но коснусь ее лишь настолько, насколько это необходимо для того, чтобы очертить рамку настоящаго изложенія.

Главное значеніе ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ состоитъ въ томъ, что они пополняютъ огромный пробѣлъ, который до послѣдняго времени, не смотря на всѣ успѣхи экономической науки, все-таки оставался непополненнымъ. Пробѣлъ этотъ — совершенное пренебреженіе какъ къ теоріи народнаго кредита, такъ и къ осуществленію его на практикѣ. Наука и практика внимательно и глубоко разработали всѣ многоразличные вопросы о кредитѣ поземельномъ, коммерческомъ, торговомъ; но кредитъ народный, доступный большинству населенія, оставался нетронутымъ. Правда, поименованные мною другіе виды кредита назывались иногда также народными, но это названіе приписывалось имъ по злоупотребленію словомъ, такъ какъ въ дѣйствительности они удовлетворяли только потребностямъ счастливыхъ избранныхъ. Вообще слово *«народный»*, мнѣ кажется, употреблялось и употребляется весьма часто всуе. *Народнымъ* зовутъ и просвѣщеніе, хотя оно до новѣйшаго времени исключительно обращалось къ образованію средняго и высшаго сословія; *народнымъ* называютъ и продовольствіе, хотя мѣропріятія по этому предмету большею частію доставляли очень скудныя средства и очень незначительному меньшинству населенія; *народнымъ* называли и здравіе, хотя медицинскія пособія до простаго народа весьма рѣдко достигали; наконецъ, *народнымъ* называли и кредитъ, хотя онъ давался только подъ залогъ такого имущества, движимаго и недвижимаго, какого у народа нѣтъ, или подъ учетъ такихъ бумагъ, какихъ въ простомъ народѣ въ обращеніи не существуетъ. Я далекъ отъ мысли осуждать и отвергать пользу всѣхъ этихъ спеціальныхъ кредитовъ; я полагаю, что всѣ они нужны для полнаго понятія о народномъ кредитѣ. Но точно такъ, какъ въ тѣлесномъ организмѣ кровь выработывается въ сердцѣ, но вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ есть и жилы, артеріи, которыя проводятъ эту кровь во всѣ части тѣла, точно также я полагаю, что и мелкія кредитныя общества, въ родѣ ссудо-сберегательныхъ товари-

ществъ, должны существовать для проведенія кредита изъ центральныхъ банковъ—государственнаго и частныхъ—въ низшіе слои народа. Мнѣ кажется, что только тамъ, гдѣ эта цѣль будетъ достигнута, гдѣ это свободное обращеніе вполнѣ будетъ устроено, только тамъ, въ той благословенной странѣ, гдѣ это преобразованіе совершится, можно будетъ сказать, что народный кредитъ основанъ.

Затѣмъ я считаю нужнымъ перейти и къ опредѣленію этого понятія, которое въ такихъ общихъ выраженіяхъ могло представиться нѣсколько темнымъ. Я полагаю, что условія, которыя характеризуютъ народный кредитъ, суть слѣдующія: онъ долженъ быть мѣстнымъ, онъ долженъ быть личнымъ, онъ долженъ быть мелкимъ. И только при этихъ трехъ условіяхъ онъ достигнетъ своей цѣли—быть общедоступнымъ, что я и называю народнымъ. Кредитъ этотъ долженъ быть мѣстнымъ потому, что за извѣстнымъ разстояніемъ расходы и неудобства передвиженія такъ стѣснительны для бѣднаго класса народа, что поглощаютъ всѣ выгоды полученной ссуды. Онъ долженъ быть личнымъ потому, что личныя способности, личный трудъ и нѣкоторыя нравственныя качества—трудолюбіе, добросовѣстность суть единственныя гарантіи, какія простой народъ представляетъ для своего кредита. Наконецъ этотъ кредитъ долженъ быть мелкимъ, потому что опытъ всѣхъ кредитныхъ учрежденій указываетъ, что тамъ, гдѣ крупный кредитъ совмѣщается съ мелкимъ и становится съ нимъ на однихъ правахъ, тамъ онъ немедленно его подавляетъ и поглощаетъ въ свою исключительную пользу тѣ свободныя суммы и средства, которыя имѣются въ кассахъ банка. На этомъ послѣднемъ условіи—необходимости сохраненія въ народныхъ кредитныхъ учрежденіяхъ только мелкаго кредита, я считаю нужнымъ нѣсколько остановиться, такъ какъ условіе это недостаточно оцѣнивается и потому забывается. При первоначальномъ введеніи ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ многіе изъ учредителей пренебрегли этимъ условіемъ и допущеніемъ различныхъ паевъ и различныхъ размѣровъ ссудъ отступили отъ этого кореннаго условія, допустивъ смѣшеніе операцій мелкаго кредита съ операціями сравнительно крупнаго. Предположеніе о пользѣ такого смѣшенія совершенно ошибочно; я думаю, что точно также, какъ напр., въ нашихъ земскихъ собраніяхъ, сліяніе сословій еще не достигается тѣмъ, что въ однихъ и тѣхъ же покояхъ сходятся и садятся на однихъ и тѣхъ же скамьяхъ люди и въ нѣмецкихъ платьяхъ, и въ простыхъ русскихъ кафтанахъ, точно также

сліяніе экономическихъ интересовъ еще не достигается тѣмъ, что всевозможные виды и роды кредита смѣшиваются, перетасовываются и накрываются общею фирмою взаимнаго кредита. Найти ту нить, по сю пору еще не уловленную, которая соглашаетъ и примиряетъ крупную торговлю и промышленность, крупный кредитъ съ мелкою торговлею, промышленностію и мелкими нуждами народа, — найти эту нить, которую до сихъ поръ, къ сожалѣнію, серьезно и не искали — вотъ главная задача экономическихъ обществъ и современной науки Смѣю думать, что ссудныя товарищества нѣсколько подвинули эту задачу къ разрѣшенію, не потому, чтобъ они могли удовлетворить всѣмъ потребностямъ и нуждамъ народа—до этого имъ, разумѣется, еще далеко, но потому, что они открываютъ для изслѣдованія дѣйствительнаго экономическаго быта простого народа такой обильный и вѣрный источникъ, какого, я думаю, наука сама по себѣ найти не можетъ. Съ этой точки зрѣнія я бы и хотѣлъ представить въ моей статьѣ сводъ свѣденій, выводъ изъ фактовъ и данныхъ, взятыхъ изъ народной жизни; ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества выражаютъ цифрами и положительными данными дѣйствительныя насущныя потребности народа, со всѣми ихъ оттѣнками и условіями.

Здѣсь представляется вопросъ о томъ, въ какой степени ассоціаціонное начало, которое уже процвѣтаетъ въ Европѣ, можетъ быть примѣнимо къ нашему народному быту? Когда нѣсколько лицъ дѣлали попытки примѣненія ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ къ нашему сельскому населенію, то часто слышались упреки, что будто бы они только подражаютъ нѣмецкимъ ферейнамъ, развившимся въ Германіи подъ руководствомъ Шульце-Делича и непригоднымъ для Россіи. Когда уже въ самомъ началѣ дѣла ставили въ непремѣнную обязанность измѣнить эти основы и принять другія, своеобразныя формы, то я прежде всего старался обратиться къ изслѣдованію вопроса, въ чемъ именно наша русская натура, нашъ славянскій бытъ такъ глубоко различаются отъ иноплеменнаго быта, и почему мы должны a priori измѣнить условія учрежденій народнаго кредита въ Россіи? Я пришелъ въ этомъ отношеніи къ убѣжденію, что всѣ народы проходили въ экономическомъ своемъ развитіи почти одинъ и тотъ же путь, что они встрѣчали почти одинаковыя препятствія къ этому развитію и преодолѣвали ихъ средствами, очень подобными тѣмъ, которыя и нынѣ предлагаются. Поэтому, я никогда не видѣлъ положительнаго основанія съ самаго начала дѣла уже прибѣгать къ

своеобразнымъ формамъ въ дѣлѣ народнаго кредита, въ то время, когда въ другихъ странахъ для удовлетворенія той же потребности кредита выработались уже извѣстныя формы и представляли очень удовлетворительные результаты. Но есть, однакоже, —я въ этомъ долженъ сознаться,—одна радикальная и глубокая черта различія между нашимъ народнымъ бытомъ и всѣми иноплеменными: это—преобладаніе въ Россіи сельскаго населенія, и въ этомъ населеніи—осѣдлаго, домовитаго сословія крестьянъ-домохозяевъ. Это различіе составляетъ, дѣйствительно, хотя узкую и незамѣтную, но глубокую межу, живое урочище, отдѣляющее русское крестьянство отъ иностраннаго пролетаріата; оно-то, по моему мнѣнію, и имѣетъ вліяніе на всѣ учрежденія сельско-хозяйственныя кредитныя, предлагаемыя въ нашемъ отечествѣ. Это вліяніе обнаруживается въ слѣдующихъ главныхъ явленіяхъ: 1) если кредитъ въ той формѣ, въ которой я его старался опредѣлить, какъ кредитъ общедоступный, признается нужнымъ и полезнымъ въ другихъ странахъ, гдѣ большинство населенія состоитъ изъ фабричныхъ, бездомныхъ и безземельныхъ рабочихъ, то во сто кратъ болѣе онъ представляется необходимымъ въ Россіи, гдѣ огромное большинство населенія состоитъ изъ крестьянъ землевладѣльцевъ, эксплуатирующихъ свои собственныя земли. Одна изъ элементарныхъ истинъ въ наукѣ народнаго хозяйства есть та, что никакая промышленность не нуждается столько въ затратахъ, какъ земледѣліе, что никакое сельско-хозяйственное преуспѣяніе не мыслимо безъ нѣкоторыхъ авансовъ. И такъ какъ для бѣднаго класса затраты невозможны безъ ссудъ, то очевидно, что первое условіе преуспѣянія сельскаго хозяйства есть дарованіе ему кредита. 2) Переходя къ формамъ кредитныхъ ассоціацій, выработаннымъ въ Германіи, я не только нахожу, что формы эти пригодны для нашего отечества, но даже позволяю себѣ выразить мысль, что онѣ гораздо лучше приспособляются къ нашему сельскому быту, чѣмъ къ быту рабочихъ классовъ средней и западной Европы. Извѣстно, что въ наше время возникло противъ ассоціацій по образцу Шульце-Делича весьма сильное противодѣйствіе въ самой Германіи, именно отъ извѣстнаго дѣятеля Лассаля. Онъ упрекалъ эти товарищества въ томъ, что они не достигаютъ цѣли своей, именно въ томъ отношеніи, что фабричные рабочіе не имѣютъ ни своего капитала, ни имущества, а потому не имѣютъ къ чему примѣнить ссуды и авансы, имъ предлагаемые; что для нихъ нужны не кредитныя ассоціаціи, а образованіе произво-

дительныхъ ассоціацій, путемъ сбереженія и государственной помощи; что это условіе составленія собственнаго самостоятельнаго капитала и есть единственное средство для фабричныхъ рабочихъ достичь самостоятельности и выйти изъ-подъ кабалы капиталистовъ-фабрикантовъ. Хотя я не вполнѣ раздѣляю это мнѣніе, но не могу не признать въ немъ нѣкоторой весьма разумной основы. Но дѣло въ томъ, что у насъ въ Россіи этотъ вопросъ представляется въ совершенно обратномъ смыслѣ. Если въ Германіи, при многочисленности фабричнаго класса, кредитныя ассоціаціи не могутъ удовлетворять потребностямъ значительной части населенія, то у насъ, напротивъ, при преобладаніи въ населеніи класса самостоятельныхъ мелкихъ крестьянъ землевладѣльцевъ и земледѣльцевъ, ссудныя операціи, удовлетворяемыя кредитными ассоціаціями, получаютъ первенствующее значеніе. Кредитныя ассоціаціи въ Россіи настолько нужнѣе для народа, сравнительно съ потребностью въ нихъ въ Германіи, насколько нашъ классъ мелкихъ крестьянъ-собственниковъ и хозяевъ многочисленнѣе, чѣмъ въ средней Европѣ. 3) Наконецъ, фактъ почти исключительнаго преобладанія у насъ земледѣльческихъ промысловъ указываетъ на тотъ предметъ, на который прежде всего нужно обратить вниманіе при организаціи народнаго кредита. Мнѣ кажется, что необходимо вникнуть на самыхъ мѣстахъ въ тѣ условія, которыя въ каждой мѣстности для кредита наиболѣе пригодны; нужно уразумѣть и изслѣдовать, какіе именно сроки, какіе размѣры паевъ, ссудъ, вкладовъ наиболѣе требуются для нашего крестьянства. Этихъ указаній ни опытъ германскихъ ферейновъ, ни теорія a priori дать не могутъ; только положительный опытъ долженъ быть руководителемъ въ этомъ отношеніи; только онъ можетъ вѣрно указать требуемыя для народнаго кредита условія.

Вотъ собственно тѣ немногія слова, которыя я хотѣлъ предпослать, чтобы обрисовать мой общій взглядъ на этотъ предметъ.

Затѣмъ постараюсь представить краткій, весьма бѣглый историческій очеркъ ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ въ Россіи. Первая заслуга по этому дѣлу принадлежитъ человѣку нынѣ покойному, и если голоса людей, глубоко убѣжденныхъ въ великихъ послѣдствіяхъ его скромныхъ начинаній, достигнутъ до него, то я считаю долгомъ упомянуть здѣсь о Святославѣ Федоровичѣ Лугининѣ, первомъ учредителѣ перваго ссудо-сберегательнаго товарищества въ Россіи, въ селѣ Рождественскомъ, Костромской губерніи, Ветлужскаго уѣзда.

Вторая заслуга принадлежитъ гг. Яковлеву *) и Колюпанову **), которые изданными ими сочиненіями въ 1869 и 1870 г. объяснили этотъ предметъ популярно и наглядно, обратили вниманіе нашего общества на этотъ весьма важный предметъ, который до того времени мало былъ извѣстенъ. Они, можно сказать, пустили все дѣло въ ходъ. Далѣе открывается періодъ промежуточныхъ дѣйствій, о которыхъ лучше было бы вовсе умолчать: были разные опыты, соглашенія, доклады, коммисіи, опыты болѣе или менѣе удачные, но скорѣе, можно сказать, неудачные. Самое начало практическаго осуществленія должно отнести къ лѣту 1870 г., когда одновременно г. Вл. Ф. Лугининъ, братъ учредителя перваго рождественскаго товарищества, и г. Яковлевъ издали популярную брошюру: «Сельскія ссудныя товарищества», послужившую руководствомъ къ практическому устройству кредитныхъ товариществъ, и когда по иниціативѣ предсѣдателя новгородской губернской управы Н Н. Фирсова и по постановленію губернскаго собранія былъ выработанъ первоначальный, впрочемъ весьма грубый еще проэктъ устава для ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ Новгородской губерніи, и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ назначены были отъ новгородскаго земства ссуды для образованія основнаго капитала ссудныхъ товариществъ. Затѣмъ въ теченіи осени 1870 г. открыто было 5 ссудныхъ товариществъ въ Новгородской губерніи. Къ декабрю 1870 г. въ Россіи уже существовало 16 товариществъ.

Въ декабрѣ 1870 года на бывшемъ въ Москвѣ сельско-хозяйственномъ съѣздѣ былъ представленъ А. В. Яковлевымъ докладъ о ссудныхъ товариществахъ ***), и вслѣдствіе этого учреждена была коммисія при московскомъ обществѣ сельскаго хозяйства, которой поручено было выработать нормальный уставъ ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ и вообще заняться разработкой вопроса о ссудныхъ и промышленныхъ товариществахъ и артеляхъ, и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ выработать уставъ постояннаго комитета о ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществахъ при имп. моск. общ. сел. хоз. Въ настоящее время коммисія эта обратилась уже въ утвержденный правительствомъ комитетъ. Я, какъ предсѣдатель этой коммисіи и затѣмъ комитета, не

*) «Очеркъ народнаго кредита въ западной Европѣ и въ Россіи.»

**) «Практич. руководство къ устройству сельскихъ банковъ въ Россіи».

***) Протоколъ засѣданія 27 декабря 1870 г. 2 съѣзда сельскихъ хозяевъ, бывшаго при Имп. моск. общ. сел. хоз. Ц. 15 к.

считаю себя въ правѣ описывать ея дальнѣйшія дѣйствія. Я желалъ бы только, чтобы дѣйствія эти выяснились изъ тѣхъ фактовъ, которые я въ настоящей статьѣ представлю *).

Къ настоящему времени открыто и утверждено уже 66 товариществъ; число членовъ въ этихъ товариществахъ по меньшей мѣрѣ нужно предполагать въ 15 тысячъ человѣкъ, хотя положительныхъ свѣденій объ этомъ еще нѣтъ. Я вывожу эту сумму 15 тысячъ изъ средней сложности числа членовъ тѣхъ товариществъ, которыя представили уже свои отчеты по 1-е января 1872 г. Кромѣ того, въ разныхъ мѣстахъ Россіи открылись другія народныя кредитныя общества, которыя существуютъ въ совершенно разнообразныхъ и, къ сожалѣнію, неудовлетворительныхъ формахъ. Такъ напр., на Уралѣ, въ приуральскихъ заводахъ, Пермской губерніи, имѣются такъ называемыя горнозаводскія товарищества, числомъ около 17, съ капиталомъ въ 61,430 рублей.

Прежде чѣмъ говорить о выводахъ, которые представляютъ отчеты товариществъ, я остановлюсь на нѣкоторыхъ вопросахъ, которые, такъ сказать, представляются сами собою и на которые опытъ даетъ уже довольно положительные отвѣты. Первый представляющійся вопросъ состоитъ въ томъ, въ какомъ районѣ разстоянія и въ какомъ составѣ членовъ всего удобнѣе и полезнѣе могутъ дѣйствовать ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества. Въ этомъ отношеніи самымъ естественнымъ и самымъ удобнымъ предѣломъ для операцій ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ есть все-таки волость или церковный приходъ. Я вовсе не разумѣю подъ этимъ опредѣленіемъ территоріальный округъ, именно соотвѣтствующій волости или приходу; но я полагаю, что волость, какъ центръ, къ которому народъ привыкъ сходиться для судебныхъ и мірскихъ разбирательствъ, и церковь, куда народъ ходитъ для исполненія своихъ религіозныхъ обязанностей, что это составляетъ уже такой центръ, который заводитъ между прихожанами или членами одной волости такія связи, знакомства, которыя ничѣмъ другимъ замѣнены быть не могутъ и кото-

*) Коммисія выработала образцовый уставъ для ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ, который одобренъ министромъ финансовъ по соглашенію съ мин. вн. дѣлъ. Товарищества, принимающія этотъ уставъ, получаютъ утвержденіе въ двѣ недѣли, тогда какъ до этого утвержденіе уставовъ требовало три и четыре мѣсяца; уставъ этотъ напечатанъ вмѣстѣ съ объясненіями въ отдѣльной брошюрѣ: «Сельскія ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества». Брошюра эта издана коммисіею и разослана безплатно во всѣ управы.

рыя для успѣха товарищества имѣютъ существенное значеніе. Я полагаю, что только въ видѣ исключенія можно допустить составъ этихъ ссудныхъ товариществъ изъ двухъ или болѣе волостей или, лучше сказать, только ближайшихъ деревень этихъ волостей, находящихся отъ центра ссудныхъ товариществъ на разстояніи отъ 20 до 25 верстъ. Это разстояніе я тоже принимаю не произвольно; я полагаю, что въ сельскомъ быту сообщеніе удобно и возможно только на томъ разстояніи, которое пѣшеходъ можетъ пройти безъ особенныхъ усилій въ теченіи одного дня взадъ и впередъ. Условіе закладывать лошадь и выѣзжать на ней такъ стѣснительно для крестьянина, что онъ часто отказывается отъ значительныхъ выгодъ, чтобы только избѣгнуть этой крайности—въ будни потому, что лошадь работаетъ, въ праздникъ потому, что крестьянская лошадь въ эти дни только и возобновляетъ свои силы, истраченныя въ теченіи тяжелой шестидневной работы. Поэтому, районъ дѣйствій товарищества естественно опредѣляется возможностью пѣшеходнаго сообщенія.

Что касается состава членовъ ссудныхъ товариществъ, то и здѣсь нормы волостнаго населенія приблизительно совпадаютъ съ удобствами товарищества. Примѣрный разсчетъ я дѣлалъ такимъ образомъ: такъ какъ въ средней сложности, по крайней мѣрѣ въ нѣкоторыхъ сѣверныхъ губерніяхъ, въ волости оказывается около 2,000 ревизскихъ душъ и по среднему статистическому выводу приходится около $3^1/_4$ ревизскихъ душъ на одинъ дворъ, т. е. на одного домохозяина, то и можно принять населеніе волости среднимъ числомъ въ 600 человѣкъ домохозяевъ. Изъ этихъ 600 человѣкъ я—тоже нѣсколько гадательно, однако приблизительно вѣрно, по опыту дѣйствующихъ нынѣ товариществъ—принимаю, что около $^2/_3$ этого количества могутъ и должны быть постепенно приняты въ члены ссудныхъ товариществъ. Затѣмъ дѣйствительно, я думаю, что остальная $^1/_3$ останется внѣ круга дѣйствія этихъ учрежденій и что эта $^1/_3$ должна подраздѣлиться еще на 2 половины: $^1/_6$ состоитъ изъ домохозяевъ, которые въ томъ размѣрѣ кредита, который даютъ товарищества, не нуждаются, т. е. изъ крестьянъ зажиточныхъ, а другая $^1/_6$ будетъ состоять изъ такихъ лицъ, которыя или впали уже въ совершенную нищету, исключающую для нихъ возможность помощи кредитомъ, или, не имѣя самостоятельнаго производства, не имѣютъ потребности въ кредитѣ, или которыя, наконецъ, не могутъ быть приняты въ товарищество по своей нравственной несостоятельности. Та-

кимъ образомъ каждая волость среднимъ числомъ можетъ дать 400 членовъ, что для успѣшности операцій ссудо-сберегательнаго товарищества совершенно достаточно. При большемъ числѣ членовъ значительно затруднится успѣшность дѣйствій правленія и едва-ли будетъ возможно знакомство членовъ между собою, что составляетъ, между тѣмъ, главную основу товарищества.

Здѣсь представляется самъ собою вопросъ: будетъ-ли кредитъ, открываемый ссудными товариществами, доступенъ бѣднѣйшему классу крестьянскаго населенія и достигнутъ-ли эти учрежденія предполагаемой цѣли, именно оказать помощь и кредитъ массѣ народа?

На первый вопросъ я отвѣчаю отрицательно, а на второй всетаки утвердительно, хотя я и сказалъ, что извѣстная часть населенія, по той или другой причинѣ, не можетъ пользоваться услугами кредитныхъ товариществъ. Дѣло въ томъ, что за исключеніемъ этой части, остается громадная масса народа, которой ссудосберегательныя товарищества должны принести дѣйствительную и несомнѣнную пользу. Я старался уловить ту черту, при которой, по понятію самихъ крестьянъ, прекращается состоятельность крестьянина и довѣріе къ нему членовъ товарищества, я подслушивалъ разговоры ихъ, иногда происходящіе даже вполголоса, при пріемѣ и шарованіи новыхъ членовъ. Я пришелъ къ слѣдующему заключенію, которое было подтверждено и другими лицами, дѣлавшими наблюденія. Если при предложеніи новаго кандидата по справкамъ оказывается, что у него есть хотя бы одна лошадь и одна корова, то онъ всегда имѣетъ много шансовъ быть принятымъ въ члены, если только за нимъ нѣтъ другихъ пороковъ и недостатковъ. Но если тутъ же заявляется, что онъ продалъ послѣднюю коровенку и заморилъ лошадь, или что онъ землю запродалъ въ чужія руки, т. е. когда онъ теряетъ значеніе самостоятельнаго производителя, тогда дѣйствительно пріемъ его дѣлается сомнительнымъ и большая часть этихъ кандидатовъ забаллотировывается безпощадно.

На этомъ основаніи я уже слышалъ и читалъ упреки, дѣлаемые товариществамъ, что они вращаются исключительно въ кругу зажиточныхъ крестьянъ, не достигая бѣднѣйшаго класса, бѣднѣйшихъ слоевъ сельскаго населенія, и одинъ даже очень прогрессивный журналъ пришелъ къ тому заключенію, что ссудныя товарищества имѣютъ только цѣлію или могутъ имѣть только одно послѣдствіе,—подготовленіе фермеровъ, съемщиковъ для помѣщичьихъ земель. Но уже одни

размѣры ссудъ, которыя получаютъ заемщики въ ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществахъ, показываютъ, насколько этотъ намекъ справедливъ. Если бы существовалъ такой умыселъ, то существовало бы и стремленіе къ возвышенію размѣровъ ссудъ и паевъ; нельзя допустить, чтобы ссудою въ 50 р.,—каковой размѣръ, вообще говоря, и не достигается въ настоящее время,—можно было пріобрѣсти какого нибудь надежнаго фермера или съемщика для значительной запашки. Затѣмъ я соглашаюсь съ упомянутымъ журналомъ и его единомышленниками, что кредитъ этотъ остается недоступнымъ для извѣстнаго меньшинства сельскаго населенія, что онъ не вполнѣ достигаетъ цѣли, потому что человѣку совершенно бездомному, не имѣющему самостоятельнаго промысла, не къ чему прикладывать даруемый ему кредитъ, не изъ чего возвращать получаемыя ссуды.

Но мнѣ кажется, что въ Россіи недоступность кредита въ ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществахъ для нѣкоторой части населенія не имѣетъ такого серьезнаго значенія, чтобы отрицать вслѣдствіе этого самую пользу ихъ. Пролетаріатъ, къ сожалѣнію, дѣйствительно зарождается въ Россіи; можно сказать даже, что онъ ростетъ довольно быстро; но онъ далеко еще не имѣетъ тѣхъ ужасающихъ размѣровъ, которые онъ принялъ въ другихъ странахъ. Мы допускаемъ, что извѣстное, но незначительное меньшинство останется исключеннымъ изъ дѣйствій кредитныхъ операцій; но мы полагаемъ, что если какая нибудь незначительная часть и будетъ оставлена въ сторонѣ, то все-таки польза этихъ товариществъ заключается въ томъ, что они могутъ выручить и спасти остальное огромное большинство, что они могутъ предупредить и остановить дальнѣйшее обѣднѣніе земледѣльческаго класса и вообще предотвратить язву пролетаріата, свирѣпствующую въ Западной Европѣ и угрожающую въ будущемъ Россіи. Излѣченіе этой язвы мнѣ казалось всегда такою тяжолою задачею, которая, по крайней мѣрѣ, моему уму, моимъ понятіямъ не по силамъ. Но въ тоже время я убѣжденъ, что предупрежденіе ея возможно, если только мѣры будутъ приняты во время. Къ числу ихъ я отношу и ставлю на первомъ мѣстѣ ассоціаціи всякаго рода, и въ томъ числѣ кредитныя.

И такъ, хотя мы не можемъ утѣшаться надеждой, что ссудосберегательныя товарищества помогутъ и спасутъ отъ бѣдности все сельское населеніе Россіи, но смѣло можемъ разсчитывать на то, что они оставятъ въ сторонѣ самое незначительное меньшинство. Эти надежды подкрѣпляются и положительными фактами. Мнѣ кажется, что

лучшимъ доказательствомъ въ этомъ отношеніи можетъ служить размѣръ ссудъ и паевъ. Ибо очевидно, что еслибы эти учрежденія дѣйствовали въ кругу крестьянъ, преимущественно зажиточныхъ, то размѣръ ссуды, положенный по уставамъ, именно отъ 80 до 100 р.— клонился бы къ повышенію, къ достиженію того maximum'а, который допускается по уставу. Между тѣмъ, отчеты ссудныхъ товариществъ, которые представлены, и наблюденія тѣхъ лицъ, которыя занимаются этимъ дѣломъ, указываютъ, что размѣръ ссудъ клонится къ пониженію, т. е. что въ большей части товариществъ средній размѣръ ссудъ не только не достигаетъ maximum'а, но не доходитъ даже до $^1/_2$ высшаго размѣра. Въ одномъ товариществѣ Костромской губерніи средній размѣръ, правда, довольно крупный—103 р. 50 к.; въ другомъ, череповскомъ, гдѣ мѣстность очень торговая и промышленная, онъ нѣсколько превышаетъ $^1/_2$ высшаго размѣра и равняется 58 р. 9 к.; въ Выскатскомъ товариществѣ, Гдовскаго уѣзда, средній размѣръ кажется довольно крупный—62 р., но такъ какъ высшій размѣръ, положенный здѣсь—150 р., то все-таки онъ ниже $^1/_2$. Во всѣхъ прочихъ товариществахъ размѣры останавливаются на слѣдующихъ числахъ: въ одномъ на 28 р., въ другомъ—45 р., въ третьемъ—37 р., въ четвертомъ—23 р., въ пятомъ—39 р. Средній же размѣръ по всѣмъ товариществамъ выходитъ 39 р. 77 к. Я думаю, что эти цифры достаточно указываютъ, что люди, пользующіеся кредитными ссудо-сберегательными товариществами, принадлежатъ къ сословію среднему или едва-ли не бѣдному, ибо 39 рублями человѣкъ торговый и промышленный не удовольствуется.

Теперь я считаю возможнымъ перейдти къ главному предмету статьи — къ выводамъ и заключеніямъ, исходящимъ изъ дѣйствій товариществъ и выражающимся въ цифрахъ отчетовъ, представленныхъ ими. Къ сожалѣнію, эти свѣденія весьма ограничены; я имѣю пока отчеты по 1 января только отъ 10 товариществъ *). Поэтому, я не хочу преувеличивать значеніе этихъ выводовъ; я соглашаюсь, что опытъ былъ слишкомъ кратокъ и ограниченъ, чтобы можно было сдѣлать изъ него положительные выводы; но все-таки я думаю, что указанія эти могутъ быть полезны для дальнѣйшаго веденія

*) Отчеты представлены отъ слѣдующихъ товариществъ: 1-го Череповскаго, 6 Череповскаго, Шереховскаго, Дворецкаго, Боровенскаго, Комковскаго (всѣ Новгородской губ.), Пыщугскаго (Костромской), Нестеровскаго (Тамбовской), Быстрецевскаго (Псковской) и Воиновскаго (Тульской).

дѣла. Отчеты представлены отъ 10 товариществъ; при томъ изъ этихъ 10 отчетовъ только 5 относятся къ полному году, такъ какъ остальныя товарищества открыли свои дѣйствія въ теченіи года и потому отчеты ихъ не представляютъ полныхъ заключеній о всей годовой операціи.

Отъ другихъ товариществъ тоже есть отчеты, но они составлены не на столько удовлетворительно, чтобы изъ нихъ можно было извлечь какія либо заключенія. Главныя статьи, на которыя я желалъ бы обратить вниманіе, такъ какъ онѣ послужатъ основаніемъ для дальнѣйшихъ выводовъ, слѣдующія: въ теченіи перваго года въ этихъ 10 товариществахъ, при первоначальномъ капиталѣ 13,900 р., обороты достигли 76,062 руб.; число членовъ возрасло до 2,474 и сумма частныхъ займовъ до 14,855 р., паевые взносы составляли сумму 8,590 р., изъ этого числа полныхъ паевъ внесено 47, на сумму 2,350 р. и паевыхъ долей, т. е. не полныхъ паевъ, на сумму 5,246 р., что составляетъ на одного члена около 3 р. 44 к.

Но самый главный фактъ, на который я обращаю вниманіе, есть то, что ссуды, выданныя товариществами своимъ членамъ, простирались на сумму 66,879 р., изъ которыхъ по наступившимъ уже срокамъ уплачено 25,978 р. и считается отсроченными, но не просроченными, 32 ссуды, на сумму 1,008 р.; во всѣхъ 10-ти отчетахъ убытковъ никакихъ не показано; пени за отсрочки составляютъ тоже очень незначительныя суммы. Все это показываетъ уже быстрое развитіе дѣятельности ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ и довольно прочное довѣріе, которымъ они пользуется у частныхъ лицъ и у мѣстныхъ жителей.

Разсматривая размѣры паевыхъ взносовъ, мы встрѣчаемъ фактъ, бросающійся въ глаза и какъ бы свидѣтельствующій о значительной достаточности членовъ товарищества. Размѣръ паевыхъ взносовъ довольно значительно превышаетъ обязательный по уставамъ размѣръ этихъ взносовъ; именно, въ большей части товариществъ положено вносить 1 р. 80 к. въ годъ, въ треть 60 коп., а между тѣмъ въ 10-ти товариществахъ внесено отъ 1 р. 30 коп. до 7 р. 69 к.; въ средней сложности на одного члена выходитъ паевыхъ взносовъ 3 р. 44 к., значитъ противъ обязательнаго взноса болѣе на 1 р. 64 к. Но тутъ представляется маленькое недоразумѣніе. Изъ числа этихъ взносовъ нѣкоторые, но весьма немногіе, были полные и значитъ нужно бы вычесть полные взносы изъ имѣющагося количества паевыхъ взносовъ, и затѣмъ

раздѣлить эту сумму на остальное число членовъ; тогда пропорція паевыхъ взносовъ нѣсколько уменьшится и выйдетъ на одного члена паевыхъ взносовъ, только въ одинъ годъ 2 р. 53 к., — болѣе все-таки обязательнаго взноса на 73 к. Все это могло бы быть принято какъ признакъ нѣкоторой зажиточности членовъ, если бы съ другой стороны не представлялось слѣдующее, нѣсколько странное, но характеристическое соображеніе. Акуратность, эта высшая добродѣтель нѣмецкаго племени, такъ несвойственна, такъ противна нашей русской, широкой, если позволено будетъ такъ выразиться, нѣсколько неряшливой натурѣ, что крестьянинъ предпочитаетъ стѣснить себя взносомъ денегъ впередъ, чѣмъ дать себѣ трудъ вспоминать сроки и соблюдать ихъ. Въ этомъ я убѣдился по личному опыту. Мнѣ случалось видѣть крестьянъ, вступающихъ въ члены товарищества. На вопросъ, сколько онъ долженъ внести, я ему считалъ долгомъ объяснить, что на основаніи устава съ него слѣдуетъ получить 60 к. и затѣмъ вносить каждую треть по стольку же; — но товарищи начинаютъ тутъ же настаивать, чтобы онъ внесъ полный годовой взносъ, объясняютъ ему, что ему иначе придется приходить по нѣскольку разъ въ годъ, что если онъ просрочитъ взносомъ, то его исключатъ изъ числа членовъ и тогда онъ потеряетъ право получать ссуду. Такимъ образомъ крестьянинъ часто вноситъ деньги сполна или за нѣсколько сроковъ впередъ только для того, чтобы не приходить два или три раза и чтобы не вспоминать подходящаго срока платежа. Но по той или другой причинѣ, оказывается, что въ нѣкоторыхъ товариществахъ образовались съ перваго года довольно значительные собственные фонды. Въ одномъ товариществѣ, на 50 членовъ 617 руб. паевыхъ взносовъ, въ другомъ на 44 члена 900 р., въ третьемъ на 609 членовъ 2,516 р. Полныхъ же паевыхъ взносовъ очень немного: въ 10 товариществахъ ихъ поступило отъ 47 членовъ 2,350 р. Вычтя это число изъ общаго итога паевыхъ взносовъ, получимъ 6,157 р. на 2,437 членовъ, что и составитъ на одного члена 2 р. 53 к. Эти числа и указываютъ соотношеніе между крестьянами, нѣсколько зажиточными и другими крестьянами, бѣднѣйшими. Мнѣ кажется, что эти 47 членовъ, внесшихъ полные паи, принадлежатъ къ классу крестьянъ, уже стоящихъ нѣсколько выше общаго средняго уровня зажиточности нашихъ домохозяевъ, и что остальные 2,437 относятся къ тому среднему классу крестьянъ, которые занимаютъ деньги для насущныхъ, самыхъ крайнихъ своихъ

потребностей; мнѣ кажется, что это ихъ состояніе именно и выражается довольно опредѣлительно двумя числами: среднимъ размѣромъ паевыхъ взносовъ 2 р. 53 к. и среднимъ размѣромъ ссудъ 39 р. 70 к.

Одинъ изъ фактовъ, наиболѣе рисующихъ бѣдное экономическое положеніе народа, есть слабое поступленіе вкладовъ: отъ 2,474 членовъ поступило вкладовъ всего только 375 р., тогда какъ въ тоже время отъ постороннихъ лицъ представлено вкладовъ 1,006 руб. Общая сумма сбереженія членовъ вкладами относится къ общему итогу полученныхъ ими ссудъ какъ 1:179. Это можно бы было приписать недовѣрію къ самому дѣлу, потому что при открытіи дѣйствій ссудныхъ товариществъ опасаются еще довѣрять имъ денежные вклады, еслибъ такое заключеніе не противорѣчило другому, слѣдующему факту: въ то время, какъ отъ 2,474 членовъ накопилось всего вкладовъ 375 р., въ тоже время отъ постороннихъ лицъ поступило вкладовъ 1,006 р. и занято товариществами у частныхъ лицъ, большею частью крестьянъ же, безъ всякаго другого обезпеченія, кромѣ круговой поруки членовъ, 14,885 р. — Изъ сопоставленія этихъ двухъ данныхъ, ясно обозначается явленіе, которое, къ сожалѣнію, уже было подмѣчаемо часто въ Россіи: весь нашъ простой народъ состоитъ изъ двухъ главныхъ разрядовъ, именно изъ крестьянъ зажиточныхъ, промышленныхъ и торговыхъ, составляющихъ сословіе кулаковъ-аферистовъ, мелочныхъ торговцевъ, и изъ другой огромной части, которая находится въ крайне бѣдномъ положеніи. Очевидно, что эти займы, дѣлаемые товариществами большею частію у мѣстныхъ жителей, поступаютъ только отъ перваго незначительнаго меньшинства, очень зажиточныхъ домохозяевъ; незначительность же вкладовъ и множество мелкихъ ссудъ показываютъ, что всѣ прочіе еще только нуждаются въ ссудахъ, не имѣя еще никакой возможности изъ своихъ трудовыхъ копѣекъ откладывать что либо въ ссудныя товарищества въ видѣ вкладовъ.

Обращаюсь теперь къ операціи ссудъ. Въ этомъ отношеніи самое замѣчательное и вмѣстѣ утѣшительное явленіе, выдающееся въ отчетахъ, мною просмотрѣнныхъ, есть исправное возвращеніе ссудъ. Въ теченіе перваго года (я повторяю, что все исчисленіе относится къ періоду, менѣе годичнаго, потому что половина ссудныхъ товариществъ открылась въ теченіи 1871 года) въ теченіи перваго года, число выданныхъ ссудъ простиралось до 1864, на сумму 66,879 р.; изъ нихъ возвращено по наступленію сроковъ 25,978 р. и отсрочено всего въ

10 товариществахъ 32 ссуды на сумму 1,008 р. Процентовъ за отсрочку получено 39 р. 59 к. и пени за просрочку 28 р. 1 к. Если вывести отношеніе ссудъ возвращенныхъ къ итогу выданныхъ, то возвращенныя ссуды составятъ 38% общаго итога ссуженныхъ суммъ. Эти 38% возвращены въ теченіи нѣсколькихъ мѣсяцевъ, потому что они были выдаваемы въ теченіи цѣлаго года, такъ что 38% успѣли оборотиться въ теченіи уже этого года. Отсрочено, какъ я сказалъ, 32 ссуды; остальныя не возвращены, потому что сроки не подошли. Такимъ образомъ просроченныхъ ссудъ нѣтъ. По уставу, отсрочка допускается на 3 мѣсяца, а послѣ 3 мѣсяцевъ производится взысканіе. До сихъ поръ не было еще ни одного взысканія, не понесено ни одного рубля убытку, по крайней мѣрѣ въ 10 имѣющихся отчетахъ не показано ни одного рубля. Въ нѣкоторыхъ товариществахъ, напр. въ Череповскомъ, возвращено 13,819 р., т. е. болѣе $^1/_2$, отсрочено ссудъ на 340 р., а прочимъ не подошли сроки. Въ Доворецкомъ товариществѣ, гдѣ я состою попечителемъ, изъ 5,818 ссудъ поступило въ возвратъ 3,147; въ другомъ товариществѣ изъ 6,879 поступило 4,417; въ третьемъ изъ 2,594 возвращено 2,184. Я привелъ эти данныя потому, что попечители этихъ товариществъ мнѣ лично знакомы и я достовѣрно знаю, что у нихъ никакихъ потерь или просрочекъ не было.

Уже въ началѣ статьи я упомянулъ о тѣхъ сомнѣніяхъ и опасеніяхъ, которыя встрѣтило это дѣло при самомъ его началѣ. Эти опасенія относились преимущественно къ двумъ главнымъ статьямъ. Сомнѣніе относилось во первыхъ къ тому, что неисправность нашихъ сельскихъ хозяевъ положительно свидѣтельствуется многочисленными недоимками и просрочками во всѣхъ ихъ платежахъ, поэтому трудно представить, чтобы дѣло личнаго кредита, не обезпеченнаго никакимъ залогомъ, могло пойти въ народѣ, извѣстномъ своею неисправностію въ платежахъ. Во вторыхъ, къ тому, что въ нашихъ глухихъ мѣстахъ, въ провинціальномъ нашемъ быту весьма трудно будетъ найти людей, способныхъ для веденія счетоводства и письмоводства, при томъ ограниченномъ вознагражденіи, которое изъ мелкихъ кредитныхъ операцій можетъ быть удѣлено на вознагражденіе этого труда.

Сомнѣнія, заявленныя на счетъ состоятельности дѣйствій ссудныхъ товариществъ, имѣли повидимому очень твердыя основанія. Сомнѣнія относились къ двумъ сторонамъ вопроса: 1) къ шаткости лич-

наго кредита, основаннаго на одномъ довѣріи и добросовѣстности членовъ, и 2) ко всеизвѣстной и, къ сожалѣнію, дѣйствительной неисправности и безпорядочности всѣхъ нашихъ русскихъ хозяевъ, какъ частныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, такъ и крестьянскихъ общинниковъ. Что касается понятія о шаткости личнаго кредита, то на это много вліяли существовавшія доселѣ преимущественно формы кредита, кредита поземельнаго гипотечнаго подъ залогъ недвижимаго имущества; они составляли почти единственную форму кредита въ Россіи, и мы другой не знали и не признавали. Когда я и нѣсколько другихъ лицъ говорили о необходимости кредита для народа, то насъ спрашивали, какія обезпеченія можетъ представить народъ, и когда мы при этомъ отвѣчали, что ссуды могутъ обезпечиваться круговою порукою крестьянъ, безъ всякаго другаго обезпеченія, то финансисты спеціалисты, къ которымъ мы сначала имѣли слабость обращаться, отвѣчали намъ улыбкою жалости къ такимъ превратнымъ экономическимъ и финансовымъ понятіямъ. Правда, тутъ же явились и другіе финансисты съ болѣе практическими или спекулятивными соображеніями, которые предлагали въ этомъ случаѣ свои услуги для основанія центральнаго банка въ помощь ссуднымъ товариществамъ и, разумѣется, съ участіемъ въ ихъ барышахъ и убыткахъ. Когда мы имѣли дерзость отвѣчать, что не только такую помощь не признаемъ въ настоящее время нужною, но что участіе въ барышахъ и убыткахъ крупнаго банка только повредитъ нашему дѣлу, то улыбка жалости превращалась въ улыбку презрѣнія. Дѣйствительно, былъ ли вѣренъ разсчетъ практическихъ финансистовъ? Правда, что едва ли при другихъ операціяхъ банки и банкиры могли бы заработать такіе проценты, какіе обнаруживаются въ отчетахъ ссудныхъ товариществъ. Въ одномъ изъ нихъ прибыль составляетъ 82% на паевой капиталъ, въ другомъ 39%, въ третьемъ 48%, въ четвертомъ 33%, въ пятомъ 24%. Наконецъ въ одномъ, именно въ Гдовскомъ, Петербургской губерніи, по отчету, полученному мною только на дняхъ, оказывается чистой прибыли 79%. Въ средней сложности всѣхъ товариществъ отношеніе чистой прибыли къ собственному, паевому капиталу составляетъ 31—32%. Очевидно, что центральный банкъ нашелъ бы выгоды отъ участія въ такихъ барышахъ, но едва ли бы барыши эти не исчезли отъ участія крупныхъ капиталистовъ, поглощаясь ими соразмѣрно ихъ благотворительному содѣйствію. Что касается втораго соображенія — обычной и вошедшей въ пословицу не-

исправности нашихъ русскихъ хозяевъ, то, дѣйствительно, достаточно вспомнить прежнія продажи помѣщичьихъ имѣній по объявленіямъ опекунскаго совѣта или даже прочитать цѣлыя страницы объявленій о продажѣ имущества поземельными банками, херсонскимъ или петербургскимъ, чтобы убѣдиться, что, дѣйствительно, русскій человѣкъ, какъ говоритъ пословица, не перекрестится, пока громъ не грянетъ, что неисправность платежа происходитъ часто не отъ несостоятельности, не отъ недостатка средствъ, а отъ нашей безпечности, которая какъ будто ожидаетъ понужденія и угрозы, чтобы исполнить свои долговыя обязательства; мы постоянно видимъ примѣры, что имѣнія выкупаются и остаются въ рукахъ прежняго владѣльца въ самые послѣдніе сроки передъ продажей. Какъ же объяснить это неожиданное явленіе исправности возвращенія ссудъ въ ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществахъ, ссудъ, выданныхъ безъ всякаго залога и не подлежащихъ никакому вмѣшательству или понужденію со стороны какихъ бы то ни было властей?

Я позволю себѣ приписать это слѣдующимъ двумъ причинамъ, кроющимся въ самомъ устройствѣ товариществъ: 1) удобство, выгода пользоваться не единовременными, а постоянными ссудами, — изъ товарищества, находящагося вблизи мѣстожительства крестьянина, и пользоваться этими ссудами не по милости начальства, а по праву, это удобство для крестьянина такъ велико въ сравненіи съ тою ограниченною и скромною суммою, которую онъ долженъ возвратить, что онъ, разумѣется, опасается потерять навсегда это право отъ единовременной своей неисправности и потому напрягаетъ всѣ свои силы, чтобы внести сумму долга въ срокъ и остаться членомъ товарищества, имѣя въ виду, что, внеся ее въ сроки, онъ всегда будетъ имѣть возможность вновь ею воспользоваться. Я думаю, что это побужденіе, можетъ быть, не имѣетъ такого значенія въ населеніи, какое преобладаетъ въ Европѣ, гдѣ каждый по своимъ занятіямъ можетъ легко перемѣнять свое мѣстожительство, и, оказавшись несостоятельнымъ въ одномъ мѣстѣ, можетъ надѣяться воспользоваться кредитомъ въ другой отдаленной мѣстности, куда онъ переходитъ. Но это побужденіе всесильно при осѣдломъ нашемъ сельскомъ населеніи, прикрѣпленномъ къ землѣ; оно нравственно дѣйствуетъ на крестьянъ, дорожащихъ правомъ постоянной срочной ссуды, которая имъ дается въ извѣстное время года, въ которое они наиболѣе въ ней нуждаются. Вторая причина, которая вліяетъ на исправность платежей и возвра-

щеніе ссудъ, есть чисто практическая, выходящая изъ круга всякихъ научныхъ и экономическихъ соображеній. Кассы ссудныхъ товариществъ обыкновенно круглый годъ, исключая немногихъ осеннихъ мѣсяцевъ, остаются пустыми; это одинъ изъ экономическихъ фактовъ, которые наглядно рисуютъ намъ сельскій бытъ; деньги накопляются только въ октябрѣ, ноябрѣ, декабрѣ. Когда я въ ноябрѣ мѣсяцѣ предлагалъ крестьянамъ помѣстить эти свободныя деньги въ процентныя бумаги, то они на это не согласились, объяснивъ при этомъ, что они теперь не берутъ ссудъ потому, что срокъ взятымъ теперь ссудамъ, считая срокъ девятимѣсячный, придется въ лѣтнюю пору, когда они не имѣютъ еще никакой возможности выручить что-либо для уплаты долга; но что, какъ только наступитъ декабрь (отъ котораго срокъ девятимѣсячныхъ ссудъ будетъ приходиться уже въ августѣ, послѣ сбора хлѣба), то сейчасъ деньги начнутъ разбирать и къ 1 февраля ихъ не останется. Такъ дѣйствительно и случилось: около 4,000 р. было разобрано въ декабрѣ и январѣ, а 1 февраля принуждены были заключить новый заемъ. Когда въ кассахъ ссудныхъ товариществъ есть деньги, то происходитъ слѣдующая процедура: является въ засѣданіе человѣкъ 20—40 крестьянъ за ссудами; имъ отвѣчаютъ, что денегъ мало. Нѣкоторые изъ нихъ, по мѣрѣ возможности, разбираютъ наличныя суммы и въ концѣ концовъ остается извѣстное число заемщиковъ неудовлетворенныхъ, которые должны уйти, не получивъ ссуды. Эти-то люди немедленно отправляются, когда ожидаются первыя слѣдующія затѣмъ поступленія, спрашиваютъ имена плательщиковъ, которые первые должны возвратить ссуды, и тогда эти лица, желающіе получить ссуду, становятся добровольно стражами и опекунами надъ тѣми лицами, которыя должны возвратить ссуду. Ожидая отъ нихъ денегъ, они слѣдятъ шагъ за шагомъ за всѣми ихъ дѣйствіями и хозяйственными операціями. Эта неуловимая связь между плательщиками и лицами нуждающимися въ ссудахъ составляетъ второе не матеріальное побужденіе къ исправному возвращенію ссудъ. Мнѣ случалось видѣть, что крестьяне, приходящіе просить отсрочки, какъ-бы прогоняются сквозь строй, на нихъ сыплются нарѣканія, упреки, что вотъ мы ждемъ уплаты, а вы просите отсрочки; тѣ кланяются обществу, просятъ какъ-бы пощады, хотя уставъ дозволяетъ имъ требовать отсрочку и, наконецъ, добиваются если не слезами, то, по крайней мѣрѣ, обильнымъ потомъ.

Въ числѣ затрудненій, мѣшающихъ образованію въ Россіи ссудо-

сберегательныхъ товариществъ, указываютъ на необходимость для нихъ сложнаго счетоводства и письмоводства. Но вопросъ объ этомъ затрудненіи нужно раздѣлить на двѣ части. Если говорится о трудности первоначальнаго устройства дѣла, то, дѣйствительно, безъ инициативы образованныхъ и добросовѣстныхъ лицъ, стоящихъ выше уровня простого народа, первоначальное введеніе ссудныхъ товариществъ немыслимо. Прежде всего инициатива требуется для составленія устава и еще болѣе для истолкованія его малограмотнымъ крестьянамъ; далѣе, для выбора первыхъ членовъ-учредителей, наконецъ для нѣкотораго руководства при первыхъ собраніяхъ и совѣщаніяхъ общества. Но если затѣмъ полагаютъ, что и дальнѣйшее веденіе дѣла требуетъ усидчиваго, постояннаго труда попечителей и особеннаго знанія бухгалтеріи, то я думаю, что это мнѣніе совершенно ошибочно. Главная отличительная черта всѣхъ операцій ссудныхъ товариществъ состоитъ въ ихъ простотѣ и однообразіи, въ особенности однообразіи операцій. Дѣло представляется въ слѣдующемъ видѣ: операціи этихъ обществъ состоятъ исключительно въ ссудахъ; вкладовъ поступаетъ весьма немного, текущихъ счетовъ нѣтъ, учетовъ векселей не производится, гипотечныхъ залоговыхъ операцій тоже не полагается; значитъ всѣ дѣйствія ограничиваются одними ссудными операціями. Далѣе, размѣры ссудъ почти всегда одинаковы и всегда выражаются въ круглыхъ числахъ: 25, 30, 40, рѣдко 50. Сроки ихъ также по временамъ года, довольно однообразны. Такъ напр., зимою крестьяне занимаютъ на продолжительные сроки до будущаго урожая, т. е. на 8—9 мѣсяцевъ; весенніе сроки нѣсколько сокращаются, лѣтомъ дѣлаются еще короче; такъ что въ извѣстное время года правленію приходится выдавать почти одинаковую сумму и все на одинъ и тотъ же срокъ. Засѣданія правленія бываютъ только по воскресеньямъ, послѣ обѣдни и продолжаются до 2—3 часовъ, пока желаніе пообѣдать не разгонитъ и заемщиковъ и членовъ правленія. Лѣтомъ, въ рабочую пору, всѣ операціи этихъ сельскихъ банковъ прекращаются; по крайней мѣрѣ въ земледѣльческихъ мѣстностяхъ кассы остаются пустыми, члены заняты своею страдою и засѣданія правленія почти отмѣняются. Опасеніе, что расходы по счетоводству и письмоводству будутъ поглощать значительно прибыли товариществъ также не оправдались. По имѣющимся отчетамъ, расходы эти въ 10 товариществахъ простираются всего на 650 р.; самое крупное изъ существующихъ товариществъ, Череповское, которое имѣло до 27 т. обороту, издер-

жало 192 р. на управленіе и счетоводство. Отношеніе расходовъ по управленію къ оборотамъ выражается по разнымъ товариществамъ въ слѣдующихъ цифрахъ: въ одномъ оно составляетъ 0,65, въ другомъ 0,75, въ третьемъ $1^1/_2{}^0/_0$, въ средней сложности $0,85^0/_0$, т. е. менѣе $1^0/_0$. Вообще надо замѣтить, что крестьяне очень скупы на вознагражденіе всякаго умственнаго и письменнаго труда; положеніе лицъ, занимающихся счетоводствомъ и письмоводствомъ въ судо-сберегательныхъ товариществахъ, до того стѣснительно, что нужно желать, чтобы трудъ этотъ вознаграждался съ большею щедростью.

Такимъ образомъ, всѣ тѣ сомнѣнія, которыя пугали людей нерѣшительныхъ, въ настоящее время опровергаются положительными фактами; успѣхъ кредитныхъ товариществъ доказалъ, что крестьяне живо интересуются дѣломъ и безъ особенныхъ затрудненій ведутъ его, коль скоро они находятъ въ немъ дѣйствительную помощь.

Но первый успѣхъ еще не всегда доказываетъ необходимость дальнѣйшихъ успѣховъ; поэтому я долженъ теперь остановиться на вопросѣ, что необходимо для того, чтобы обезпечить дальнѣйшее развитіе народныхъ кредитныхъ учрежденій.

Мнѣ кажется, что вопросъ о народномъ кредитѣ тѣсно, неразрывно связанъ съ другими вопросами этого рода и составляетъ только одну изъ вѣтвей общаго ассоціаціоннаго вопроса. Народный бытъ едва ли улучшится, народное хозяйство едва ли достигнетъ процвѣтанія при помощи одного кредита; самый кредитъ не можетъ утвердиться на прочномъ основаніи, если рядомъ не будетъ дано помощи и труду, производительности. Всякая ссуда предполагаетъ возвращеніе и возвращеніе съ процентами; значитъ, всякое возвращеніе предполагаетъ также усиленіе труда, усиленіе производительности, изъ котораго на данный рубль накопляются копѣйки, которыя составляютъ приростъ. Если производительность, усиленная кредитомъ, не даетъ этого прироста, то самый кредитъ, вмѣсто пользы, ляжетъ на заемщика новою тягостью. Поэтому, съ вопросомъ о ссудныхъ товариществахъ долженъ быть тѣсно и неразрывно связанъ вопросъ о производительныхъ ассоціаціяхъ или производительныхъ артеляхъ. Устройство этого рода ассоціацій представляетъ собою весьма трудную и совершенно самостоятельную задачу, а потому я не считаю возможнымъ касаться ея въ статьѣ о кредитныхъ товариществахъ. Но я желалъ бы здѣсь упомянуть о нѣкоторыхъ общихъ вопросахъ, которые относятся одинаково какъ къ другимъ видамъ артелей, такъ и къ кредитнымъ.

Я убѣжденъ, что какъ ссудо-сберегательныя товарищества, такъ

и другія артели и ассоціаціи не могутъ обойтись безъ посторонней помощи и что эта помощь должна быть раздѣлена на три главныя части: помощь должна быть дана отъ частныхъ лицъ, отъ земства и отъ правительства. Частныя лица должны помочь первоначальному введенію товариществъ и артелей, направить ихъ и дать имъ общее руководство. Земство должно помочь ссудами для образованія первоначальнаго капитала. Правительство можетъ помочь двумя главными мѣрами: облегченіемъ и упрощеніемъ формальностей при утвержденіи уставовъ и гарантіей, которая можетъ быть дана отъ правительства кредиту ассоціацій и товариществъ. Затѣмъ самое веденіе дѣла можетъ и должно быть предоставлено дѣятельности самихъ товариществъ.

Здѣсь представляется уже вопросъ, столько разъ обсуждавшійся во всѣхъ возможныхъ видахъ и формахъ—вопросъ о преимуществахъ исключительной самодѣятельности народа, самопомощи, предъ какимъ бы то ни было содѣйствіемъ правительства. Я не считаю нужнымъ повторять здѣсь доводовъ за и противъ, которые сдѣлались уже почти общими мѣстами и избитыми фразами, но хочу обратить вниманіе на одно странное обстоятельство, которое обыкновенно встрѣчается какъ только начинаютъ говорить объ этомъ вопросѣ. Крайности, дѣйствительно, всегда сходятся, и въ этомъ дѣлѣ, какъ и во многихъ другихъ, мы видимъ два крайнія противоположныя мнѣнія, которыя, однако, въ нѣкоторыхъ отношеніяхъ приходятъ къ одному и тому же заключенію. Извѣстно, что въ глазахъ такъ-называемыхъ осторожныхъ и мнительныхъ консерваторовъ всякій актъ народной самодѣятельности принимается съ нѣкоторыми опасеніями, и съ ихъ стороны я признаю это совершенно послѣдовательнымъ и раціональнымъ. Но труднѣе объяснить, что лица, выдающія себя за сторонниковъ полноправности народа, какъ будто приходятъ къ тому же убѣжденію, что самодѣятельность народа въ экономическихъ дѣлахъ оказывается несостоятельною и несбыточною.

Когда на сельско-хозяйственномъ съѣздѣ въ Москвѣ А. В. Яковлевъ держалъ свой докладъ о ссудныхъ товариществахъ, то мы увидѣли предъ собою густой строй юныхъ воспитанниковъ одного учебнаго заведенія, которые заявили слѣдующій взглядъ на этотъ предметъ. Они говорили, что инициатива частныхъ лицъ въ этомъ дѣлѣ была бы вредною, ибо могла бы подчинить дѣйствія кооперативныхъ обществъ исключительно вліянію этихъ лицъ; они утверждали, что земства не имѣютъ

ни матеріальныхъ средствъ, ни довольно нравственной силы, чтобы удѣлить что-либо изъ своихъ остатковъ на поддержаніе народнаго кредита, и пришли къ тому заключенію, что все дѣло должно быть предоставлено исключительно администраціи или, по крайней мѣрѣ, иниціативѣ государственной власти. Я останавливаюсь на этомъ взглядѣ въ особенности потому, что взглядъ этотъ, какъ кажется, раздѣляется весьма многими лицами, совершенно искренно преданными народному благу. Этотъ взглядъ едва ли, однакоже, справедливъ. Онъ исходитъ изъ одной, нѣсколько ошибочной мысли или представленія о какой-то идеальной администраціи, выбираемой изъ ревнителей народной пользы, народныхъ нуждъ; и мнѣ кажется, исходитъ изъ тѣхъ странъ, гдѣ администрація болѣе или менѣе къ этому идеалу приближается. Дѣйствительно, совершенно понятно, что англійскій экономистъ Д. С. Милль въ странѣ, гдѣ администрація почти слилась съ общественнымъ мнѣніемъ, защищаетъ теорію постепенной централизаціи всѣхъ кредитныхъ и хозяйственныхъ учрежденій въ рукахъ правительственной власти. И это ученіе, мнѣ кажется, составляетъ историческій результатъ того, что въ теченіе вѣковъ эта страна жила подъ законами самоуправленія и посредствомъ своихъ свободныхъ учрежденій достигла, наконецъ, почти полнаго соглашенія администраціи съ мѣстными земскими нуждами и мнѣніями. Но есть французская пословица, что самая любезная дѣвушка можетъ дать только то, чѣмъ сама обладаетъ — la plus jolie fille ne peut donner que ce qu'elle a, — точно также отъ всякаго общества, администраціи, земства можно требовать только то, что они могутъ дать. Поэтому и всѣ наши требованія должны ограничиться самыми умѣренными размѣрами. Я полагаю, что частныя лица могутъ посвятить этому дѣлу часть своего досуга, потому что это дѣло не требуетъ постояннаго, усидчиваго труда, потому что оно не заставитъ хозяина бросить свое хозяйство, администратора—службу; словомъ, что при постоянномъ жительствѣ на одномъ мѣстѣ человѣкъ образованный и желающій помочь общему дѣлу найдетъ возможнымъ исполнить обязанности, которыя на него будутъ возложены въ этомъ отношеніи. Затѣмъ земство можетъ удѣлить часть своихъ капиталовъ для образованія основнаго фонда ссудныхъ товариществъ, потому что для этого не требуются такія значительныя суммы, которыхъ не имѣли бы земства. Если товарищество получитъ 1 тысячу рублей, то подобная сумма обезпечитъ его первоначальныя дѣйствія по крайней

мѣрѣ на 1-й годъ почти вполнѣ, при помощи, разумѣется, другихъ оборотовъ и частныхъ займовъ. Что земство можетъ дать эту помощь, на то я могу представить фактическія, положительныя данныя. Большая часть остаточныхъ земскихъ капиталовъ состоитъ въ капиталахъ народнаго продовольствія и въ капиталахъ общественнаго призрѣнія. Не говоря о первыхъ, которые имѣютъ спеціальное назначеніе, одинъ капиталъ общественнаго призрѣнія могъ бы вполнѣ удовлетворить этимъ ссудамъ. Капиталъ этотъ лежитъ какъ неприкосновенный фондъ, котораго проценты идутъ на содержаніе приказовъ, богадѣленъ и т. п. богоугодныхъ заведеній; въ настоящее время онъ приноситъ 4—4½%, потому что весь помѣщенъ въ облигаціи главнаго общества россійскихъ желѣзныхъ дорогъ. Еслибы этотъ капиталъ былъ обращенъ на ссуды товариществамъ, то они могли бы давать 6% безъ затрудненія, съ обоюдною выгодою какъ для себя, такъ и для земства. Опытъ перваго и втораго года дѣйствій ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ доказываетъ, что изъ 6% занять въ частныхъ рукахъ довольно трудно; заемщики требуютъ 7—8%, даже до 10%. Затѣмъ отъ правительства, отъ администраціи, какъ я уже высказалъ, должно ожидать, во 1-хъ, облегченія самаго хода дѣла, а не прямого вмѣшательства, облегченія тѣхъ затрудненій, которыя могли бы быть противопоставлены дѣлу разными частными агентами и представителями центральнаго правительства въ губерніяхъ и уѣздахъ; чѣмъ непосредственнѣе будетъ сообщеніе между товариществами и центральною властію, тѣмъ, я думаю, скорѣе и легче будетъ достигаемо утвержденіе уставовъ; во 2-хъ, въ виду недовѣрія частныхъ капиталистовъ, являющагося частью отъ незнакомства ихъ съ самымъ характеромъ товариществъ, частью по новизнѣ дѣла, правительство могло бы помочь товариществамъ, давъ имъ необходимую для кредита гарантію. Какъ въ томъ, такъ и въ другомъ отношеніи правительство уже оказало помощь дѣлу народнаго кредита. Уставы ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ въ настоящее время утверждаются въ двѣ недѣли, тогда какъ прежде требовалось 3—4 мѣсяца; въ настоящее же время составляются правила, имѣющія въ виду еще болѣе облегчить утвержденіе этихъ уставовъ; затѣмъ, по представленію с.-петербургскаго отдѣленія комитета о ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществахъ, основаннаго при московскомъ обществѣ сельскаго хозяйства, и по ходатайству г. министра финансовъ, котораго благосклонное вниманіе постоянно слѣдитъ за ходомъ этого дѣла, послѣ-

довало 25-го февраля Высочайшее повелѣніе, имѣющее чрезвычайно важное и существенное значеніе для развитія ссудо-сберегательныхъ товариществъ. На основаніи этого Высочайшаго повелѣнія, открывается въ государственномъ банкѣ и во всѣхъ его конторахъ и отдѣленіяхъ кредитъ подъ прямые векселя всѣмъ ссудо-сберегательнымъ товариществамъ, по истеченіи года со дня ихъ открытія.

Теперь остается пожелать, чтобы со стороны частныхъ лицъ и современнаго общества было оказано такое же вниманіе къ этому дѣлу и, позволю себѣ выразиться, снисхожденіе. Я говорю—снисхожденіе, потому что дѣйствительно нельзя ожидать, чтобы люди, посвятившіе себя этому новому дѣлу, избѣгли невольныхъ ошибокъ. Къ сожалѣнію, именно въ послѣднее время стали появляться противъ нѣкоторыхъ дѣятелей нареканія, которыя я позволю себѣ назвать черезчуръ строгими. Еслибы самыя основныя начала всего этого дѣла, еслибы свобода сходокъ, свобода совѣщаній, право ассоціацій были бы также безспорно признаны въ Россіи, какъ это признается въ Америкѣ, Англіи, Швеціи, то я могъ бы себѣ представить, что люди, согласные въ главныхъ основаніяхъ, не встрѣчая противодѣйствія и отрицанія, вступаютъ въ пренія о второстепенныхъ вопросахъ самаго примѣненія этого благотворнаго начала. Но когда мы видимъ, что самое начало колеблется, что значительная часть общества еще отвергаетъ пользу и нужду ассоціацій, когда на каждомъ шагу мы встрѣчаемъ монополію, крупную торговлю, крупный кредитъ, которые отвергаютъ всякое право мелкихъ капиталовъ и личнаго труда конкурировать съ ними, уже издавна обставившими себя формальными установленіями и гарантіями; когда, словомъ, самыя основанія еще не утвердились въ сознаніи общества, то я полагаю, что люди, раздѣляющіе одни и тѣ же убѣжденія, не должны были бы расходиться въ мелочахъ и подробностяхъ. Я полагаю, что куда бы ни пошли ссуды, выдаваемыя изъ ссудныхъ товариществъ — на покупку сѣмянъ, лошади, коровы, на уплату повинностей, или куда бы ни шло молоко, добываемое въ артельныхъ сыроварняхъ — на питаніе дѣтей или дѣланіе сыра, я думаю, что все-таки объ этомъ вопросѣ весьма трудно судить изъ химическихъ лабораторій и административныхъ канцелярій. Я думаю, что самыя потребности народа укажутъ, пригодны ли ему эти учрежденія и выяснятъ факты лучше, чѣмъ можно ихъ разъяснить изъ такихъ дальнихъ мѣстностей, какъ наша первопрестольная столица. Мы по крайней мѣрѣ принялись за это дѣло,—я говорю мы,

какъ членъ комитета, котораго имѣю честь состоять предсѣдателемъ,— мы принялись за это дѣло съ единственнымъ желаніемъ указать возможность примѣненія ассоціаціоннаго начала къ нашему сельскому быту. Разумѣется, мы не могли увлекаться дотого, чтобы думать, что мы выработаемъ окончательную и совершенную форму подобнаго рода кредитныхъ учрежденій; но уже въ теченіе перваго года значеніе ихъ начинаетъ выясняться. По настоящее время возникло 66 товариществъ, въ 23 губерніяхъ, большею частью великороссійскихъ *) и 43 уѣздахъ; учреждены они безъ всякаго участія и вмѣшательства начальства, власти; авансы, сдѣланные земствомъ и частными лицами, не могутъ считаться значительными **); одиннадцать товариществъ устроены даже безъ всякаго первоначальнаго капитала; никакія власти не пекутся о нихъ; тѣмъ неменѣе, они достигаютъ уже значительнаго развитія. Собственный капиталъ ихъ, составляющійся изъ паевыхъ взносовъ, возросъ почти до суммы первоначальнаго капитала, полученнаго отъ земства или частныхъ лицъ. Займы у частныхъ лицъ превосходятъ первоначальный фондъ; наконецъ, обороты товариществъ превышаютъ въ 6 разъ сумму ихъ первоначальнаго капитала. Товарищества дѣйствуютъ въ средѣ не спекулятивной, а въ средѣ нуждающихся крестьянъ. По уставу, въ 4 товариществахъ размѣръ паевъ—100 рублей, въ 55 товариществахъ высшій размѣръ паевъ 50 руб., а въ 7 онъ ниже 25 руб. Maximum ссудъ въ 17 товариществахъ по уставу 100 руб. и болѣе, въ остальныхъ 49—отъ 50 до 80 руб. Если сравнить эти размѣры съ размѣрами ссудъ въ Германіи, то оказывается, что наши товарищества дѣйствуютъ въ средѣ менѣе зажиточной, чѣмъ германскія; притомъ они дѣйствуютъ исключительно въ средѣ сельскаго населенія.

Вообще кредитныя ассоціаціи въ Россіи имѣютъ гораздо большее значеніе для народнаго благосостоянія, чѣмъ они могутъ имѣть въ западной Европѣ. Кредитъ нужнѣе для нашихъ крестьянъ, эксплуатирующихъ свою землю, чѣмъ для фабричнаго населенія западной Европы. Трудно себѣ представить, чтобы нашъ экономическій бытъ и на-

*) Въ Новгородской 18, въ С.-Петербургской 4, Московской 5, Псковской 4, Тамбовской 3, Тульской 3, Костромской 3, Тверской 3, Лифляндской 3, Подольской 3, Полтавской 2, Херсонской 2, Вятской 2, Пермской 2, Рязанской 1, Кіевской 1, Самарской 1, Пензенской 1, Волынской 1, Екатеринославской 1, Курской 1, Эстляндской 1, Уфимской 1.

**) Всего отъ земства и частныхъ лицъ выдано 54 товариществамъ для составленія первоначальнаго капитала 60,292 р.

ше сельское хозяйство могли когда-нибудь выдти изъ того застоя, въ который они погружены, если имъ не будетъ данъ кредитъ въ той формѣ, о которой я говорю, именно въ формѣ общедоступной, т. е. кредитъ мелкій, мѣстный и личный. Поземельный кредитъ въ Россіи долженъ считаться кредитомъ привилегированнымъ; онъ не имѣетъ этого характера въ другихъ странахъ, гдѣ государственная территорія подѣлена между частными землевладѣльцами, крупными и мелкими. Но въ Россіи поземельный кредитъ гипотечный относится только къ одной половинѣ территоріи и къ самому незначительному меньшинству частныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, т. е. къ 300 или 400 тысячъ хозяевъ, составляющихъ весь итогъ частнаго землевладѣнія въ Россіи. Другая половина территоріи принадлежитъ всей массѣ крестьянъ; хотя они и эксплуатируютъ свою землю въ количествѣ 85 мил. десятинъ, какъ самостоятельные хозяева, тѣмъ неменѣе этимъ поземельнымъ кредитомъ пользоваться не могутъ, потому что земля крестьянъ состоитъ въ общинномъ владѣніи и не подлежитъ ни залогу, ни продажѣ. По этой причинѣ личный взаимный кредитъ составляетъ въ нашемъ отечествѣ для всей этой массы хозяевъ не только предметъ всенародной пользы, но conditio sine qua non, вопросъ — быть или не быть. Можетъ быть на это нѣкоторые строгіе судьи отвѣтятъ: не быть народному кредиту, покуда существуетъ община; пусть же, скажутъ намъ, разсѣютъ эти общины, существованіе коихъ противно здравымъ экономическимъ понятіямъ, пусть крестьяне-общинники разорвутъ эту связь, которою стѣсняются, и для нихъ откроются всѣ тѣ блага, которыя такъ щедро расточаются во всѣхъ образованныхъ странахъ частнымъ землевладѣльцамъ!

Нѣтъ — такъ нѣтъ. Но мнѣ кажется, что ставить вопросъ такъ категорически было бы неразумно и даже нѣсколько опасно. Я говорю—неразумно, потому что опытъ другихъ странъ, не говоря о нашемъ кратковременномъ опытѣ, показываетъ, что кредитъ доступенъ и возможенъ даже для сословій, не владѣющихъ никакимъ имуществомъ и промышляющихъ своей оборотливостью и своимъ трудомъ. Если такъ, то немыслимо, отчего бы онъ не могъ быть примѣнимъ къ нашему сельскому быту, къ нашимъ крестьянамъ, которые представляютъ ту же гарантію личнаго труда и, вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, другую гарантію, хотя неполную, но имѣющую вѣсъ, именно гарантію общинныхъ земель и угодьевъ. Затѣмъ, я признаю такую постановку вопроса опасною въ экономическомъ отношеніи. Расторженіе общины—

это изреченіе, которое повторяется у насъ также настойчиво, какъ изреченіе Катона: Carthago delenda est, есть вопросъ спорный, загадочный и, по крайней мѣрѣ, вопросъ, разрѣшеніе котораго весьма далеко въ будущемъ. Между тѣмъ, оскудѣніе нашихъ сельскихъ обществъ, обѣднѣніе нашихъ крестьянъ есть фактъ и фактъ положительный, современный и, къ сожалѣнію, весьма быстро развивающійся. Приписывать это обѣднѣніе исключительно формѣ общиннаго владѣнія, мнѣ кажется, было бы пристрастно, односторонне. Я спрашиваю, еслибы другіе виды собственности, личнаго землевладѣнія, торговли, промышленности, акціонерныхъ компаній, желѣзно-дорожныхъ обществъ были поставлены въ тѣ же условія, подъ которыми живутъ крестьяне, т. е. еслибы имъ безусловно отказано было во всякомъ кредитѣ, во всякихъ авансахъ, ссудахъ, въ состояніи ли они были бы выдержать этотъ кризисъ лучше, чѣмъ наше крестьянское общество? Стоитъ вспомнить, какой вопль неудовольствія, негодованія—и вопль справедливый—поднялся со всѣхъ концовъ Россіи, когда, послѣ освобожденія крестьянъ, временно, на короткій срокъ былъ пріостановленъ залогъ помѣщичьихъ имѣній; вскорѣ этотъ кризисъ былъ побѣжденъ, открыты были частные банки, общества взаимнаго поземельнаго кредита; банкирскія деньги вновь потекли къ этому обильному источнику весьма крупныхъ барышей, явились Ротшильды и Френкели на спасеніе русскаго землевладѣнія. Но подъ этимъ неумолимымъ закономъ, подъ которымъ прожило частное землевладѣніе въ Россіи въ теченіе 3—4 лѣтъ, русское крестьянство живетъ споконъ вѣка; ему отказываютъ въ довѣріи, въ кредитѣ, по той будто бы причинѣ, что общинное владѣніе не представляетъ никакой гарантіи, никакого обезпеченія. Но если это не такъ, если опытъ другихъ странъ и успѣхъ нашихъ собственныхъ попытокъ создать народныя кредитныя учрежденія, если этотъ опытъ указываетъ противное; если крестьяне безъ всякой потери или съ самымъ незначительнымъ содѣйствіемъ земскими капиталами успѣли въ первый годъ своего существованія занять изъ частныхъ рукъ сумму больше той, которая была имъ ссужена отъ земства, если ихъ обороты и ссуды превзошли почти въ 10 разъ ихъ собственный капиталъ, если съ другой стороны оказывается, что изъ 1,652 выданныхъ ссудъ потребовалось отсрочекъ только по 32, если наконецъ въ отчетахъ 10 товариществъ никакихъ убытковъ не показано, а напротивъ, означено прибылей около 31—32%, то я думаю, что не остается больше никакихъ не-

только причинъ, но и благовидныхъ предлоговъ, откладывать или отсрочивать дальнѣйшее разрѣшеніе этихъ важнѣйшихъ экономическихъ задачъ.

Въ заключеніе позволю себѣ высказать слова, которыя составляютъ мое глубокое и коренное убѣжденіе: отказывать народнымъ массамъ въ кредитѣ составляетъ такую же экономическую ошибку и—скажу болѣе—такое же общественное преступленіе, какъ отказывать народу въ правосудіи.

Князь А. Васильчиковъ.

КАССАЦІОННЫЙ СУДЪ
и
НАШЕ ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬСТВО.

I.

Не разъ уже было замѣчено, что ни одна изъ реформъ настоящаго царствованія —за исключеніемъ, конечно, крестьянской—не обратила на себя въ такой степени общественное вниманіе у насъ, какъ реформа судебная. Въ то время, какъ, напр., земскія собранія давно уже привыкли къ полному равнодушію публики къ ихъ засѣданіямъ, а дѣятельность ихъ дѣлается предметомъ общественныхъ толковъ только тогда, когда прямо и непосредственно затрогиваетъ тѣ или другіе частные интересы, залы судебныхъ засѣданій не перестаютъ привлекать многочисленныхъ посѣтителей повсемѣстно.

Юридическія сочиненія и изданія представляютъ собою чуть-ли не единственный оживленный отдѣлъ современной русской литературы. Книги юридическаго содержанія, не въ примѣръ всѣмъ прочимъ, имѣютъ у насъ теперь довольно значительный сбытъ, быстро переживаютъ по нѣскольку изданій; чуть-ли не ежедневно выходятъ новыя произведенія по этой части, начиная отъ перепечатокъ нашихъ законовъ извѣстныхъ московскихъ фабрикацій, и кончая дѣльными руководствами, компиляціями и даже самостоятельными научными трудами по тѣмъ или другимъ отдѣламъ права и судопроизводства. Все это доказываетъ, что, съ одной стороны, русское общество нетолько не охладѣло къ судебной реформѣ, какъ ко многимъ другимъ, но напротивъ, все болѣе ею интересуется и стремится усвоить себѣ ея сущность и характеръ; а съ другой стороны—русская мысль угадала это

настроеніе современнаго общества и по мѣрѣ силъ заботится объ удовлетвореніи этой потребности въ ознакомленіи съ новымъ судомъ и его цѣлями.

При такомъ положеніи дѣлъ естественно было бы предположить, что у насъ сдѣлано уже очень много для оцѣнки какъ свѣтлыхъ, такъ и темныхъ сторонъ судебной реформы, что практическія достоинства и недостатки всѣхъ тѣхъ новыхъ началъ, которыя внесены въ русскую жизнь этой реформой, болѣе или менѣе выяснены не съ точки зрѣнія однихъ общихъ началъ теоріи и духа законодательства, но, что гораздо важнѣе, на основаніи анализа того, что дѣйствительно уже сдѣлано новыми судами до настоящаго времени: Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, для каждаго должно быть ясно, что въ виду совершившагося на нашихъ глазахъ радикальнаго преобразованія судебной части въ Россіи, мыслящая часть общества не можетъ удовольствоваться однимъ сознаніемъ превосходства новыхъ законовъ судопроизводства надъ старыми, а должна задавать себѣ еще слѣдующіе вопросы: Въ какой мѣрѣ дѣятельность новыхъ судовъ соотвѣтствуетъ тому идеалу, который имѣлъ въ виду законодатель при изданіи судебныхъ уставовъ 1864 года, и достигаетъ цѣлей, этими уставами предположенныхъ? Не встрѣчаетъ ли практика новыхъ судовъ какихъ-нибудь затрудненій при преслѣдованіи упомянутыхъ задачъ, поставленныхъ ей законодателемъ, и если встрѣчаетъ, то какія именно эти препятствія и какимъ образомъ ихъ устранить? Надъ всѣми этими вопросами возвышается другой, болѣе общій и, вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, самый важный вопросъ: какъ велика та сумма благъ или страданій, которая внесена въ русскую жизнь новымъ строемъ судебнаго дѣла, и въ чемъ именно она заключается? Ибо, что бы ни говорили противники утилитаризма въ общественныхъ наукахъ, единственнымъ критеріемъ годности или негодности того или другаго учрежденія, въ концѣ концовъ, служитъ сумма пользы или вреда, приносимаго имъ данному обществу.

Самый вопросъ однакожъ можетъ показаться большинству читателей, по меньшей мѣрѣ, празднымъ. Какъ, спросятъ они, неужели необходимы еще «лукавыя мудрствованія» для убѣжденія въ томъ, что судъ скорый, гласный, устный, нелицепріятный и допускающій широкое участіе выборнаго начала и общественной совѣсти, стоитъ неизмѣримо выше прежнихъ судебныхъ порядковъ и приноситъ огромную пользу странѣ? Развѣ мы не испытываемъ ежедневно этихъ преимуществъ и этой пользы, когда только приходимъ въ соприкоснове-

ніе съ судебнымъ міромъ? Но такое возраженіе въ сущности крайне поверхностно. Для того, чтобы судъ вполнѣ удовлетворялъ своей задачѣ, мало того, чтобъ онъ дѣйствовалъ скоро, подъ контролемъ общественнаго мнѣнія, чтобъ въ своихъ убѣжденіяхъ и сужденіяхъ о томъ, кто правъ, кто виновенъ, онъ былъ совершенно безпристрастенъ, «не уважая побочныхъ обстоятельствъ и не взирая ни на какихъ особъ», какъ говоритъ законъ. Все это только одна сторона дѣла, безспорно очень важная, но все-таки только одна сторона. Необходимо еще, чтобъ сами-то эти убѣжденія и сужденія были по-возможности справедливѣе и гуманнѣе, чтобъ взгляды суда на представляющіеся его разрѣшенію вопросы права были какъ можно шире и свободнѣе,—однимъ словомъ, чтобъ рѣшенія суда какъ можно менѣе отставали отъ уровня современной мысли и осуществляли именно ту справедливость, которой домогается современное общество. Дѣйствительно, извѣстно, что идея справедливости, осуществленіе которой есть задача всякаго суда, далеко не есть нѣчто безусловное, вѣчное и неизмѣнное; напротивъ, понятіе о томъ, что право и что неправо, гдѣ кончается правда и гдѣ начинается кривда, хоть медленно, но постоянно измѣняется. Многое изъ того, что еще недавно считалось естественнымъ и справедливымъ, напр. рабство во всѣхъ его видахъ, вліяніе религіи, происхожденія и пола на гражданскій бытъ, въ настоящее время считается крайне несправедливымъ и возмущаетъ нравственное сознаніе современнаго человѣка; и наоборотъ, многое изъ того, что нѣкогда считалось противнымъ требованіямъ права, теперь считается дѣломъ безразличнымъ и не нарушающимъ ни общественныхъ интересовъ, ни идеи справедливости. И вотъ судъ, дѣйствуя совершенно безукоризненно, отправляя свои обязанности гласно, скоро и безпристрастно, можетъ, тѣмъ неменѣе, въ своихъ воззрѣніяхъ на то, что слѣдуетъ считать правомъ и чѣмъ руководствоваться въ разрѣшеніи сомнительныхъ случаевъ, относительно спорныхъ правъ гражданъ,—существенно расходиться съ тѣми понятіями и потребностями, которыя существуютъ въ данное время въ обществѣ. Въ такомъ случаѣ дѣятельность суда, безъ всякаго сомнѣнія, не будетъ удовлетворять своей цѣли, состоящей въ томъ, чтобъ примѣнять, къ каждому возникающему практическому случаю, нормы справедливости именно въ томъ видѣ, какъ она понимается современнымъ обществомъ, а не той, которая соотвѣтствовала понятіямъ и требованіямъ давно минувшихъ дней. И тогда можетъ возникнуть серьезный во-

просъ: дѣйствительно-ли организованный такимъ образомъ судъ исполняетъ свою прямую задачу, и не уничтожаются ли, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, не ослабляются ли хорошіе результаты его дѣятельности дурными, проистекающими изъ разлада между принципами, руководящими дѣятельностью суда, и понятіями о правѣ, господствующими въ обществѣ?

Эти предварительныя общія замѣчанія могутъ уяснить читателю, что поставленный нами вопросъ о полезныхъ и вредныхъ сторонахъ судебной реформы не есть, однакожъ, ни праздный вопросъ, ни парадоксъ. Само собою разумѣется, что рѣчь идетъ не о томъ, чтобъ отрицать громадную пользу этого великаго преобразованія. Мы хотимъ сказать только, что пора безотчетнаго увлеченія новымъ судомъ уже прошла, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, должна пройти, а слѣдовательно, пора положить конецъ безцѣльному славословію, которое, будучи даже вполнѣ заслуженнымъ, ни къ чему не поведетъ. Наступило время строгой и всесторонней критической оцѣнки судебной реформы, причемъ, само собою разумѣется, важнѣйшей задачей русской юридической мысли должно быть изслѣдованіе темныхъ сторонъ этого преобразованія, хотя бы эти стороны были гораздо менѣе важны, чѣмъ свѣтлыя, ибо это можетъ повести къ дальнѣйшему усовершенствованію нашего судебнаго дѣла, въ чемъ оно не удовлетворяетъ еще потребностямъ русской жизни; тогда какъ поклоненіе, хотя-бы и совершенно справедливое, достоинствамъ судебной реформы можетъ повести только къ ложной увѣренности въ томъ, будто мы достигли уже всего возможнаго въ отношеніи организаціи судебнаго дѣла, и вредному квіетизму, которымъ русское общество и безъ того заражено довольно сильно. Дѣйствительно, у насъ нерѣдко можно слышать и встрѣчать въ печати ту мысль, что наши судебные уставы стоятъ ничуть не ниже, а въ нѣкоторыхъ отношеніяхъ даже выше лучшихъ европейскихъ законодательствъ. Господа, питающіе свое патріотическое чувство подобными тезисами, упускаютъ изъ виду при этомъ, что практическое значеніе для общества имѣютъ не законы сами по себѣ, а ихъ осуществленіе, и что самые лучшіе законы въ дѣйствительномъ ихъ примѣненіи могутъ оказаться, вслѣдствіе разныхъ, весьма разнообразныхъ причинъ, съ гораздо меньшимъ удѣльнымъ вѣсомъ, чѣмъ тотъ, который далъ имъ законодатель. Изученіе этихъ причинъ составляетъ серьезную обязанность печати, понимающей свое истинное назначеніе.

Къ сожалѣнію, однакожъ, наша печать почти совершенно игнори-

руетъ эту свою обязанность, по отношенію къ судебной реформѣ. Юристы по профессіи если и занимаются иногда литературными работами, то исключительно въ догматическо-коментаторскомъ направленіи. Они ограничиваются изъясненіемъ смысла законовъ и примѣненіемъ ихъ къ сомнительнымъ практическимъ случаямъ, т. е. чисто технической, такъ сказать ремесленной стороной юриспруденціи. О критикѣ же, какъ законовъ, такъ и общаго направленія нашей судебной практики, съ точки зрѣнія соціально-экономическихъ интересовъ русской народной жизни—у насъ, можно сказать, нѣтъ еще и помину. Между тѣмъ, именно въ настоящее время, когда гласный судъ составляетъ у насъ еще явленіе новое и ему поэтому приходится выдерживать борьбу съ укоренившимися въ обществѣ и судебной корпорзціи традиціями прежнихъ, совершенно иныхъ порядковъ, почва для подобнаго рода изслѣдованій, по сравнительному изученію стараго и новаго суда, чрезвычайно изобильна и благодарна. Эти соображенія побудили насъ изложить здѣсь нѣсколько мыслей о нѣкоторыхъ любопытныхъ явленіяхъ въ нашей новой судебной практикѣ, значеніе которыхъ до сихъ поръ, какъ намъ кажется, недостаточно оцѣнено. Мы избрали дѣятельность кассаціоннаго суда по слѣдующимъ основаніямъ. Съ одной стороны, кассаціонные департаменты сената составляютъ, при дѣйствіи уставовъ 1864 года, единственное судебное мѣсто, вѣдомство котораго простирается не на опредѣленную только мѣстность, но на всю Россію (разумѣется, на тѣ части русской территоріи, гдѣ введенъ новый судъ). Отсюда понятно, что характеръ и направленіе дѣятельности кассаціоннаго суда, въ отличіе отъ всѣхъ другихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, имѣютъ значеніе обще-государственное, а потому каждая попытка критическаго разбора дѣятельности этого суда и ея недостатковъ, какъ бы слаба эта попытка ни была, можетъ принести несомнѣнную пользу. Съ другой стороны, работа эта, по отношенію къ кассаціоннымъ департаментамъ сената, несравненно легче, чѣмъ относительно всѣхъ другихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, такъ какъ для оцѣнки дѣятельности сената мы имѣемъ готовый и весьма богатый матеріалъ въ печатаемыхъ его рѣшеніяхъ. Практика кассаціоннаго сената на виду у всѣхъ, тогда какъ тотъ, кто задался бы изученіемъ практики, напр. какой нибудь судебной палаты, долженъ бы былъ предварительно одолѣть громадный архивный трудъ, такъ какъ, за исключеніемъ московской судебной палаты,

всѣ другія палаты печатаютъ свои рѣшенія лишь изрѣдка въ разныхъ періодическихъ изданіяхъ.

Затѣмъ, какъ читатель увидитъ, мы обращаемъ здѣсь исключительное вниманіе на дѣятельность *гражданскаго* кассаціоннаго департамента сената. Мы руководствовались при этомъ слѣдующимъ соображеніемъ. Наше уложеніе о наказаніяхъ и уставъ о наказаніяхъ, налагаемыхъ мировыми судьями, представляютъ весьма обстоятельный и полный кодексъ уголовнаго права. Въ примѣненіи этихъ кодексовъ на практикѣ если и возникаютъ иногда недоразумѣнія, то они происходятъ не отъ неясности и неполноты самого закона, а отъ неправильнаго его пониманія и примѣненія судебными мѣстами. Вслѣдствіе этого, дѣятельность уголовнаго кассаціоннаго департамента вноситъ мало существенно-новаго въ нашъ юридическій бытъ, а ограничивается преимущественно исправленіемъ тѣхъ ошибокъ и отступленій отъ закона, которыя сдѣланы низшими судебными мѣстами. Другое дѣло—практика сената по гражданскимъ дѣламъ. Наше гражданское законодательство крайне отстало и несовершенно. Оно отличается особенно неполнотой, неясностью и даже противорѣчивостью. Въ то время, какъ уложеніе о наказаніяхъ есть систематическій кодексъ довольно новаго происхожденія (1845) и въ 1866 г. приведено въ согласіе съ судебными уставами 1864 г., нашъ сводъ гражданскихъ законовъ (1-я часть X тома св. зак.) представляетъ собраніе различныхъ указовъ, изъ которыхъ многіе относятся еще ко второй половинѣ XVII вѣка. Отсюда происходитъ то обстоятельство, что цѣлые отдѣлы гражданскаго права, превосходно разработанные въ западно-европейскихъ законодательствахъ, или вовсе игнорируются въ нашемъ сводѣ, или затрогиваются въ одной, двухъ статьяхъ, иногда въ нѣсколькихъ словахъ. При такихъ условіяхъ, задача кассаціоннаго суда, по гражданскимъ дѣламъ, у насъ въ высшей степени трудна, но зато чрезвычайно самостоятельна и плодотворна. Дѣятельность этого суда, какъ высшаго толкователя законовъ, при явной отсталости и неполнотѣ этихъ послѣднихъ, является чисто творческой и потому весьма важной по своимъ послѣдствіямъ. Ему приходится создавать, иногда на основаніи двухъ-трехъ словъ въ законѣ, иногда по общимъ началамъ права и руководствуясь общимъ смысломъ законовъ, юридическія нормы для цѣлой массы имущественныхъ и другихъ гражданскихъ отношеній, не предусмотрѣнныхъ нашимъ законодателемъ. А такъ какъ взгляды и толкованія кассаціон-

наго сената обязательны для всѣхъ остальныхъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, почти въ равной мѣрѣ съ законами, и потому имѣютъ огромное вліяніе на весь ходъ правосудія у насъ, то понятно, какое значеніе имѣютъ для всего общества вопросы: въ какой мѣрѣ принципы, руководящіе дѣятельностью гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената, соотвѣтствуютъ интересамъ и понятіямъ современной русской жизни, и въ чемъ заключаются условія, парализующія благотворную дѣятельность этого высшаго судилища въ имперіи. Матеріаломъ для отвѣта на эти вопросы могутъ, какъ намъ кажется, послужить излагаемыя ниже замѣчанія о нѣкоторыхъ характеристическихъ чертахъ нашей кассаціонной практики по гражданскимъ дѣламъ.

II.

Идея кассаціоннаго суда, какъ извѣстно, заключается въ томъ, что ему предоставляется провѣрка правильности судебныхъ рѣшеній, исключительно съ точки зрѣнія правильнаго примѣненія закона къ тому или другому факту, служащему предметомъ судебнаго разбирательства.

Задача всѣхъ остальныхъ судебныхъ мѣстъ двоякая: они должны, прежде всего, вывести изъ всего матеріала, собраннаго судебнымъ производствомъ, заключеніе о томъ, какіе факты, имѣющіе значеніе для дѣла, представляются доказанными тѣми данными, которыя собраны участвующими въ дѣлѣ частными лицами и органами правительственной власти. Затѣмъ, установивъ, что такіе-то факты, имѣющіе значеніе для опредѣленія того, кому принадлежитъ спорное имущественное право (въ дѣлахъ гражданскихъ) или уголовной отвѣтственности обвиняемаго лица (въ дѣлахъ уголовныхъ)—несомнѣнно доказаны, судъ долженъ перейти къ другой половинѣ своей работы—опредѣленію того, какія послѣдствія по закону влекутъ за собой эти факты для участвующихъ въ дѣлѣ лицъ; другими словами, во второй части своей работы судъ примѣняетъ законъ, какъ общую норму, къ признанному имъ предварительно частному случаю. Кассаціонный же судъ отличается отъ другихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ тѣмъ, что ему предоставлена только вторая часть судейскаго труда, необходимаго для разрѣшенія дѣла. Относительно констатированія того или другаго факта, кассаціонный судъ вполнѣ полагается на низшія судебныя

мѣста, разсматривавшія дѣло по существу, но онъ провѣряетъ только, дѣйствительно ли ими примѣненъ къ этому факту тотъ законъ, который подходитъ къ данному случаю, а не другой, и правильно ли понятъ ими смыслъ закона. Кассаціонный судъ, напр., не входитъ въ разсмотрѣніе того, правильно ли низшій судъ изъ имѣющихся въ дѣлѣ бумагъ, свидѣтельскихъ показаній и другихъ доказательствъ вывелъ заключеніе, что одно лицо нарушило договоръ, заключенный съ другимъ. Но онъ подвергаетъ разбору правильность вывода низшаго суда, что по закону нарушеніе договора съ однимъ контрагентомъ даетъ право другому требовать его уничтоженія; и если находитъ, что этотъ выводъ не соотвѣтствуетъ смыслу нашихъ законовъ, то кассируетъ (отмѣняетъ) рѣшеніе низшаго суда, постановленное въ противоположномъ смыслѣ.

Кассаціонный судъ есть произведеніе французской государственной жизни и представляетъ, безъ сомнѣнія, одинъ изъ любопытнѣйшихъ продуктовъ творчества французскаго политическаго генія. Его происхожденіе коренится глубоко во всей исторіи Франціи. До революціи 1789 г. во Франціи не было ни общаго для всей страны законодательства, ни верховнаго суда, котораго власть простиралась бы на всю страну. Страна управлялась, кромѣ королевскихъ ордонансовъ, представлявшихъ зародышъ будущаго общаго законодательства, началами католическаго, а мѣстами и римскаго права, и безконечно разнообразными для каждой мѣстности обычаями. Судьи были также исключительно мѣстные и руководствовались указанными законодательными источниками по своему выбору и усмотрѣнію. Отсюда жалобы на произволъ и разнообразіе судебныхъ рѣшеній, раздающіяся особенно часто во французской литературѣ XVIII вѣка. Это отсутствіе единства въ законодательствѣ и преобладаніе судейскаго произвола надъ строгой законностью глубоко возмущало французовъ XVIII вѣка. Единственный исходъ изъ этого положенія они видѣли въ томъ, чтобъ ввести точное, полное и общее для всей страны законодательство, которое совершенно уничтожило бы произволъ и даже усмотрѣніе судьи, превративъ его въ механическаго исполнителя народной воли, выражаемой въ законѣ, какъ продуктъ дѣятельности ея представительницы—государственной власти. Но одно изданіе общихъ законовъ казалось людямъ обновленной Франціи недостаточной гарантіей единства и централизаціи въ дѣлѣ правосудія. Необходимо было изобрѣсти такой живой органъ въ судебномъ организмѣ, который

имѣлъ бы спеціальной обязанностью слѣдить за тѣмъ, чтобъ законъ дѣйствительно примѣнялся на дѣлѣ однообразно и точно, который, однимъ словомъ, былъ бы представителемъ государственнаго единства въ судебномъ мірѣ. Такимъ органомъ явился кассаціонный судъ, на котораго возложена была обязанность служить руководителемъ всѣхъ судебныхъ мѣстъ страны въ единообразномъ и правильномъ примѣненіи закона. Этотъ кругъ дѣятельности отмежеванъ кассаціонному суду и во всѣхъ тѣхъ странахъ, которыя впослѣдствіи заимствовали его у Франціи,—между прочимъ и у насъ.

И, такъ обязанность нашего кассаціоннаго сената заключается въ томъ, чтобъ слѣдить за правильнымъ пониманіемъ и примѣненіемъ законовъ всѣми остальными судебными мѣстами имперіи, разъяснять имъ смыслъ закона тамъ, гдѣ онъ неясенъ,—словомъ, быть стражемъ строгой законности quand-même. Казалось бы, чего же лучше? Очевидно, что такого рода функція верховнаго суда должна быть въ высшей степени благотворна для общества во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ. Цеховые юристы дальше этого признанія пользы единства судебнаго толкованія законовъ и не идутъ. Для нихъ польза эта составляетъ аксіому, не подлежащую дальнѣйшей критикѣ и сомнѣнію. Но если посмотрѣть на вещи не съ одной чисто-юридической точки зрѣнія, а со стороны дѣйствительной полезности для современной русской жизни принципа строгой законности въ дѣятельности гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената, то окажется, что общепринятое на этотъ счетъ мнѣніе подлежитъ еще нѣкоторымъ ограниченіямъ и оговоркамъ. Въ доказательство этого приведемъ здѣсь нѣсколько примѣровъ.

Наши законы о союзѣ семейномъ, о природѣ и юридическихъ послѣдствіяхъ брака, о личныхъ и имущественныхъ отношеніяхъ супруговъ, объ отношеніяхъ между родителями и дѣтьми и пр., какъ извѣстно, крайне отсталы и несовершенны. Отличаясь чрезвычайной неполнотой и преобладаніемъ церковно-патріархальныхъ воззрѣній, они даютъ широкій просторъ для произвола и деспотизма въ отношеніяхъ главы семейства къ подчиненнымъ ему лицамъ (мужа къ женѣ, отца къ дѣтямъ). Это одна изъ самыхъ темныхъ сторонъ въ нашемъ гражданскомъ законодательствѣ, ибо семейный бытъ вообще находится у насъ въ плачевномъ положеніи, и задача государства заключается, конечно, не въ томъ, чтобъ потворствовать самодурству и поощрять безобразія въ семьѣ—этой основѣ гражданской жизни.

Какъ бы то ни было, устарѣлые и во многомъ несправедливые законы о семьѣ существуютъ у насъ до сихъ поръ. Но такъ какъ, съ другой стороны, законы эти далеко не отличаются точностью и полнотой, которыя могли бы связать судъ безусловной необходимостью примѣнять строгость закона къ каждому случаю, то задача суда, какъ вообще исполнительныхъ органовъ государственной власти, при такихъ условіяхъ заключается въ томъ, чтобы, пользуясь недомолвками закона и нѣкоторыми его уклоненіями отъ общихъ устарѣвшихъ началъ, расширить кругъ примѣненія къ дѣйствительной жизни этихъ уклоненій, ввести такимъ образомъ въ юридическій бытъ новыя, прогрессивныя начала, болѣе удовлетворяющія современнымъ понятіямъ о справедливости и достигающія прямой цѣли всякаго закона— охранять слабаго отъ эксплуатаціи его личности и имущества болѣе сильнымъ.

До введенія въ дѣйствіе новыхъ судебныхъ уставовъ, эту роль смягчительницы суровости отжившихъ законовъ брала на себя, главнымъ образомъ, администрація. Такъ какъ въ то время не было еще у насъ строгаго разграниченія предѣловъ вѣдомства судебной и административной власти, то послѣдняя очень часто вторгалась въ кругъ дѣятельности первой; и такъ какъ администрація отличается отъ суда тѣмъ, что она не въ такой степени, какъ этотъ послѣдній, связана положительнымъ закономъ, а можетъ дѣйствовать во многомъ по собственному усмотрѣнію, то дѣятельность ея въ сферѣ семейнаго права нерѣдко оказывалась весьма благотворной. Тамъ, гдѣ судъ долженъ былъ бы примѣнить положительный законъ (ибо суду не предоставлено входить въ обсужденіе того, насколько тотъ или другой законъ справедливъ и разуменъ, девизъ его—dura lex, sed lex), тамъ администрація дѣйствовала на основаніи естественной справедливоси и практической необходимости, не справляясь съ стѣснительнымъ и несправедливымъ закономъ. Въ результатѣ выходило, что беззаконныя дѣйствія администраціи болѣе удовлетворяли практическимъ нуждамъ общества и были притомъ болѣе справедливы, чѣмъ строгое исполненіе гражданскихъ законовъ. Это въ особенности замѣтно было на одномъ изъ важнѣйшихъ отдѣловъ семейнаго права—вопросѣ о совмѣстной жизни супруговъ. Нашъ сводъ гражданскихъ законовъ, придерживаясь всецѣло и безусловно стариннаго, церковнаго взгляда на бракъ не какъ на юридическій актъ договорнаго соглашенія, а какъ на религіозное таинство, связующее супруговъ вѣчно и не-

разрывно, послѣдовательно опредѣляетъ, что супруги всегда и вездѣ должны жить вмѣстѣ, за исключеніемъ лишь случаевъ, положительно въ законѣ указанныхъ, и что поэтому никакія соглашенія супруговъ о раздѣльной жизни не имѣютъ никакого значенія. Вообще говоря, это, конечно, вполнѣ согласно съ сущностью и идеей брака, даже съ юридической точки зрѣнія. Поэтому необходимость совмѣстной жизни супруговъ признается въ принципѣ всѣми законодательствами. Даже при господствѣ парижской коммуны, которую нельзя было упрекнуть въ приверженности къ религіознымъ началамъ, въ брачныхъ контрактахъ, состоявшихъ всего изъ нѣсколькихъ строчекъ, помѣщалось условіе, что жена обязывается всюду слѣдовать за своимъ мужемъ. Но съ другой стороны очевидно, что дать мужу безусловное право при всѣхъ обстоятельствахъ требовать совмѣстнаго жительства съ нимъ жены—значитъ поставить послѣднюю нерѣдко въ самое безотрадное положеніе и сдѣлать ее положительно рабыней мужа. Въ жизни встрѣчается множество случаевъ, когда важные семейные и хозяйственные интересы всей семьи, или лично жены, требуютъ раздѣльнаго пребыванія ея отъ мужа. Справедливое законодательство и органы его—судъ и администрація—должны заботиться о томъ, чтобъ въ нѣкоторыхъ случаяхъ смягчать суровость закона въ этомъ отношеніи, согласно практическимъ потребностямъ. Это тѣмъ болѣе необходимо у насъ, гдѣ разводъ или разлученіе супруговъ крайне затруднительно и въ огромномъ большинствѣ случаевъ просто невозможно. А если невозможно юридически разлучить супруговъ, то является настоятельная потребность въ томъ, чтобъ допустить, по крайней мѣрѣ, фактическую раздѣльность въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда брачная жизнь супруговъ по той или другой причинѣ не можетъ идти нормальнымъ ходомъ. И вотъ администрація у насъ въ прежнее время поддерживала своимъ авторитетомъ эти практически-необходимыя отступленія отъ общаго закона. Кому неизвѣстно, что семейныя дѣла, въ особенности у высшихъ сословій, прежде разбирались не столько въ судебныхъ мѣстахъ, сколько въ административныхъ (въ полиціи, у губернаторовъ, чиновъ жандармскаго управленія), и что эти послѣдніе, руководствуясь больше справедливостью и собственнымъ усмотрѣніемъ, чѣмъ буквой закона, принимали, большей частью, сторону слабаго и угнетеннаго, и потому разрѣшали женѣ отдѣльное жительство, обязывали мужа давать содержаніе ей и дѣтямъ и т. под. Это можно видѣть изъ нѣкоторыхъ дѣлъ, которыя начались при дѣйствіи

стараго суда и кончились при новомъ (напр., дѣла супруговъ Палевичъ, Марковыхъ, Вагнеръ, Голицыныхъ и др.). Но такъ дѣйствовала не одна только высшая администрація. Само духовенство, уступая гнетущей общественной нуждѣ, давало многимъ супругамъ такъ называемыя *распустныя письма*, т. е. подверждало добровольныя соглашенія супруговъ о раздѣльной жизни; судебныя мѣста утверждали подобнаго рода договоры (напр., договоръ супруговъ Шелковниковыхъ въ 1819 г.), а полиція смотрѣла совершенно равнодушно на фактическое разлученіе супруговъ.

Но вотъ у насъ введенъ новый судебный строй, однимъ изъ основныхъ принциповъ котораго явилось строгое разграниченіе предѣловъ вѣдомства судебной власти отъ административной. Вмѣшательство администраціи въ семейныя дѣла, въ особенности относительно совмѣстной жизни супруговъ, содержанія жены мужемъ и другихъ вопросовъ, прямо предусмотрѣнныхъ въ гражданскихъ законахъ и потому составляющихъ предметъ вѣдѣнія судебныхъ мѣстъ, сдѣлалось невозможнымъ. Явилась новая категорія судебныхъ дѣлъ по требованіямъ мужей о сожительствѣ женъ, женъ о пропитаніи ихъ мужьями, отцовъ о возвратѣ дѣтей. Говоримъ «новая категорія», потому что въ старой *судебной* практикѣ такихъ дѣлъ почти совсѣмъ не бывало; по крайней мѣрѣ—вы напрасно стали бы искать ихъ въ такомъ богатомъ и объемистомъ изданіи, какъ сборникъ рѣшеній стараго сената. Судебныя мѣста, къ которымъ начали обращаться съ подобнаго рода исками о правахъ семейныхъ, очевидно не могутъ, по примѣру прежней административной практики, руководствоваться при разрѣшеніи этихъ требованій однимъ личнымъ усмотрѣніемъ и инстинктивнымъ чувствомъ справедливости, а должны, по самой сущности своего назначенія, стать на почву положительнаго закона. Самое большее, что судъ можетъ сдѣлать для осуществленія справедливости въ семейномъ быту и смягченія суровости признаваемаго закономъ патріархальнаго устройства въ русской семьѣ, это толковать законы по возможности снисходительнѣе къ «унижаемымъ и оскорбляемымъ» въ семьѣ въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, гдѣ законы, по неясности, неполнотѣ или неопредѣленности, оставляютъ мѣсто для судебнаго толкованія; нарушить же положительный законъ тамъ, гдѣ примѣненіе его къ данному судебному случаю не представляетъ никакого сомнѣнія, никакой судъ не можетъ, какъ бы подобнаго рода рѣшенія ни противорѣчили внутреннему убѣжденію и понятіямъ о справедливости самихъ судей,

постановляющихъ рѣшенія. При крайнемъ несовершенствѣ нашего гражданскаго законодательства съ внѣшней даже стороны (т. е. относительно систематичности, логичности и полноты его), снисходительная судебная практика могла бы, однакожъ, принести огромную пользу нашему юридическому быту, съуживая кругъ дѣйствія обветшавшихъ началъ въ законодательствѣ и распространяя примѣненіе на практикѣ тѣхъ болѣе прогрессивныхъ принциповъ, которые хотя въ слабой степени, но успѣли уже проникнуть и въ наше дѣйствующее право. Но тутъ является неожиданное препятствіе со стороны—кого бы вы думали?—*кассаціоннаго суда*. Какъ ни странно, повидимому, утверждать, что прогрессивному развитію нашего юридическаго быта, согласно съ требованіями общественной справедливости, мѣшаетъ иногда высшій представитель новаго суда, признаннаго осуществить судъ правый и проч., но что это дѣйствительно такъ, можно видѣть изъ слѣдующихъ примѣровъ, взятыхъ изъ нашей новой судебной практики. Полковникъ Соломко, одинъ изъ обрусителей западной окраины, «находящійся въ распоряженіи» виленскаго генералъ-губернатора, предъявляетъ изъ Вильны искъ въ петербургскомъ окружномъ судѣ, требуя, чтобы судъ призналъ его жену, проживающую въ Петербургѣ, обязанною жить съ нимъ по мѣсту его службы. Жена его объясняетъ, что Соломко кругомъ въ долгахъ, ему ежеминутно грозитъ опасность быть посаженнымъ въ тюрьму за долги и онъ не имѣетъ рѣшительно никакихъ средствъ содержать ее и воспитывать дѣтей; что она истратила свое состояніе на уплату долговъ мужа, но теперь ничего больше не имѣетъ и вынуждена жить у матери въ Петербургѣ: что мужъ ея, не имѣя опредѣленныхъ служебныхъ занятій, а «находясь въ распоряженіи» администраціи сѣверо-западнаго края, не имѣетъ и постоянной осѣдлости, а командируется то въ одно, то въ другое мѣсто этого края; слѣдовательно и она должна вести кочевую жизнь, чрезъ что правильное воспитаніе дѣтей дѣлается невозможнымъ. Выяснилось также на судѣ, что, во время иска, Соломко не былъ уже въ Вильнѣ, а странствовалъ гдѣ-то въ командировкѣ; что онъ послалъ въ полицію 15 р. на проѣздъ его жены и двухъ дѣтей изъ Петербурга въ Вильну, а другихъ средствъ на проѣздъ г-жи Соломко не имѣетъ; что истецъ растратилъ значительное состояніе своей жены и заставлялъ ее подписывать за него векселя; что дѣти «тяжущихся» супруговъ нуждаются въ искусномъ леченіи и т. под. обстоятельства. Окружный судъ, а затѣмъ и судебная палата, отка-

зали Соломкѣ въ искѣ. Къ несчастію для г-жи Соломко, дѣло перешло въ гражданскій кассаціонный департаментъ сената. Сенатъ, какъ и слѣдовало ожидать, оставилъ совершенно въ сторонѣ всѣ тѣ фактическія обстоятельства, которыя побудили окружный судъ и палату оградить г-жу Соломко отъ притязаній ея мужа. Онъ сталъ исключительно на юридическую почву и призналъ, что, при поступленіи мужа на службу, жена должна слѣдовать за нимъ «на точномъ основаніи» статьи такой-то, а слѣдовательно, противное этому рѣшеніе палаты должно быть отмѣнено *). Такимъ образомъ, дѣло, въ концѣ концовъ, рѣшено не въ пользу г-жи Соломко и новый судъ явился защитникомъ не слабаго противъ сильнаго, а наоборотъ. Между тѣмъ, какъ ни разбирайся это дѣло старымъ административнымъ порядомъ или же въ какомъ нибудь иностранномъ судѣ, оно, по всей вѣроятности, получило бы противоположный исходъ. Какое впечатлѣніе произвелъ на г-жу Соломко результатъ ея тяжбы съ мужемъ въ новомъ судѣ—угадать нетрудно, и нѣтъ сомнѣнія, что общество, столь существенно заинтересованное въ улучшеніи нашего печальнаго семейнаго быта, страдающаго именно отъ чрезмѣрной власти «большаковъ» надъ подчиненными членами семьи, не можетъ не стать на ея сторону въ этомъ случаѣ.

Такимъ же образомъ кассаціонный сенатъ отнесся къ другому капитальному вопросу семейнаго права — обязанности мужа содержать жену и праву жены на это содержаніе.

Законъ безусловно признаетъ какъ эту обязанность мужа, такъ и право жены; но для того, чтобы законъ не оставался мертвой буквой, этого еще недостаточно. Дѣло въ томъ, что тамъ, гдѣ семейная жизнь идетъ правильнымъ ходомъ, существованіе подобнаго закона излишне; онъ пріобрѣтаетъ дѣйствительное значеніе въ тѣхъ исключительныхъ случаяхъ, гдѣ естественные законы семейной жизни нарушаются однимъ изъ членовъ семьи, и общественная власть должна вмѣшаться для возстановленія нормальнаго порядка въ семьѣ; а тутъ-то и оказывается, что мало еще признать, напр., право каждаго изъ супруговъ на совмѣстную съ нимъ жизнь другого супруга или право жены на содержаніе ея мужемъ, а необходимо придумать и средства, какъ осуществить эти права, когда они добровольно не исполняются; иначе, такая важная гарантія, напр. для женъ, какъ обязанность му-

*) См. «Вѣсть» 1869 г. № 258 и рѣш. гр. кассац. деп. сен. за 1870 г. № 1145.

жей давать имъ приличное содержаніе, можетъ оказаться мертвой буквой. Въ иностранныхъ законодательствахъ, вслѣдствіе возникающихъ постоянно практическихъ потребностей, давно уже придуманы различныя мѣры, гарантирующія каждому изъ супруговъ выполненіе другимъ супругомъ своихъ обязанностей по отношенію къ нему. У насъ, съ появленіемъ въ практикѣ судовъ категоріи семейныхъ (гражданскихъ) дѣлъ, тоже обнаружилась настоятельная потребность въ такого рода мѣрахъ для обезпеченія дѣйствительнаго исполненія законовъ о союзѣ семейномъ. Но такъ какъ объ этихъ исполнительныхъ пріемахъ въ самомъ законѣ ничего не упоминается, то пришлось восполнить его при помощи общихъ соображеній; и здѣсь судамъ опять пришлось столкнуться съ противодѣйствіемъ со стороны кассаціоннаго сената, который, въ качествѣ неумолимо строгаго толкователя положительнаго закона, не допускаетъ никакихъ, хотя бы самыхъ необходимыхъ, восполненій его судебной практикой. На практикѣ, напр., возникаетъ очень часто слѣдующій вопросъ: что дѣлать въ томъ случаѣ, когда мужъ, живя вмѣстѣ съ женой, явно нарушаетъ установленную закономъ его обязанность — давать женѣ содержаніе «по состоянію и возможности своей»? По австрійскому праву, въ томъ случаѣ, когда содержаніе, даваемое мужемъ женѣ, не соотвѣтствуетъ его средствамъ и общественному положенію семьи, жена имѣетъ право обратиться въ судъ, который и опредѣляетъ размѣръ содержанія. Даже во Франціи, гдѣ юридическое положеніе женщины далеко незавидное, жена можетъ судебнымъ порядкомъ требовать, чтобъ на содержаніе ея мужъ давалъ опредѣленную срочную сумму, опредѣляемую судомъ, сообразно средствамъ мужа. Но главной гарантіей для женъ въ исправномъ пропитаніи ихъ мужьями, по иностраннымъ законодательствамъ, служитъ то обстоятельство, что, при нарушеніи этой обязанности мужьями, законодательства эти допускаютъ право женъ на *разлученіе* съ ними, т. е. на раздѣльную жизнь, охраняемую и признаваемую закономъ. У насъ старая административная практика признавала право жены на раздѣльную жизнь, при неисполненіи мужемъ требованія закона о пропитаніи жены. Новые суды, въ началѣ своего существованія, тоже прибѣгали къ этой единственной серьезной мѣрѣ понужденія мужей къ содержанію своихъ женъ, какъ видно изъ рѣшенія по дѣлу Марковыхъ. Но кассаціонный сенатъ въ рѣшеніи по этому дѣлу («Сборникъ» 1868 года № 526) призналъ такой взглядъ неправильнымъ на томъ основаніи, что супруга, во

всякомъ случаѣ, должна жить вмѣстѣ и что недоставленіе мужемъ женѣ своей содержанія не освобождаетъ ее отъ обязанности совмѣстной съ нимъ жизни, а даетъ ей право обратиться въ судъ съ особымъ требованіемъ о содержаніи. Сенатъ, придерживаясь, такимъ образомъ, строго буквальнаго смысла закона, не обращаетъ при этомъ никакого вниманія на то, какое практическое значеніе можетъ имѣть для жены предоставляемое имъ ей право требовать въ судѣ отъ мужа содержанія? Это тѣмъ болѣе странно, что самъ сенатъ, въ другомъ рѣшеніи (по дѣлу Вагнеръ), призналъ, что, будто бы, «немыслимо опредѣлить какой бы то ни было цифрой, сколько мужъ долженъ и можетъ отдѣлять изъ своихъ доходовъ на содержаніе жены». Сенатъ, слѣдовательно, отвергъ обѣ гарантіи, признаваемыя иностранными законодательствами, какъ необходимыя мѣры понужденія мужей къ содержанію женъ — опредѣленіе цифры этого содержанія и дозволеніе женѣ жить отдѣльно отъ мужа. Какой же смыслъ можетъ имѣть предоставленное сенатомъ женѣ право требовать содержанія отъ мужа, посредствомъ суда? Что изъ того, если судъ признаетъ справедливость ея требованія, когда у него отняты средства къ тому, чтобъ осуществить право жены?

Далѣе возникаетъ другой вопросъ: что̀ если мужъ, несмотря на требованіе закона, бросаетъ свою жену, не хочетъ жить вмѣстѣ съ ней? Какъ возстановить нарушенное такимъ образомъ требованіе закона о совмѣстной жизни супруговъ? Въ западной Европѣ этотъ вопросъ рѣшенъ довольно удовлетворительно и притомъ (какъ многіе другіе подобные вопросы) не столько закономъ, сколько самой судебной практикой. Такъ, по французскому праву, судъ можетъ въ такомъ случаѣ, въ видѣ наказанія, обязать мужа давать женѣ опредѣленную срочную сумму на пропитаніе, до тѣхъ поръ, пока онъ не возьметъ ее къ себѣ. По австрійскому праву, если разлученіе супруговъ произошло по винѣ мужа, то онъ обязанъ содержать разлученную съ нимъ жену до вторичнаго ея замужества, поступленія въ монастырь или смерти. У насъ старая административная практика, а за ней и новые суды вначалѣ примѣняли эту мѣру и признавали за женой, въ случаѣ оставленія ея мужемъ, право требовать пропитанія при отдѣльной жизни. Но тутъ случилось совершенно тоже самое, что и съ предъидущимъ вопросомъ. Гражданскій кассаціонный департаментъ, разсмотрѣвъ дѣло супруговъ Вагнеръ, призналъ, что «петербургская судебная палата, разсмотрѣвъ искъ Ѳеодосіи Вагнеръ,

предъявленный ею къ мужу своему, Павлу Вагнеръ, о присужденіи ей съ мужа по 40 р. въ мѣсяцъ за все время, прожитое ею врозь отъ мужа, и о назначеніи ей и впредь содержанія въ такой же мѣрѣ, допустила совершенно неправильное толкованіе 106 ст. т. X ч. I, признавъ, что эта статья служитъ главнѣйшимъ доказательствомъ искапросительницы, присудивъ ей за нѣсколько лѣтъ прошедшаго времени, равно какъ и на будущее время, по 40 р. въ мѣсяцъ содержанія, по случаю отдѣльнаго ея жительства отъ мужа, и опредѣливъ эту цифру на собственномъ своемъ соображеніи, что, по отношенію къ состоянію и возможности Вагнера, такое содержаніе оказывается непреувеличеннымъ». Онъ основываетъ выводъ этотъ на томъ соображеніи, что обязанность мужа давать женѣ пропитаніе неразрывно связана *по закону* съ обязанностью супруговъ жить вмѣстѣ, и слѣдовательно, жена, живущая отдѣльно отъ мужа (по чьей бы то ни было винѣ), не имѣетъ никакого права требовать пропитанія отъ мужа, а можетъ только требовать совмѣстной съ нимъ жизни *). Тоже самое высказано сенатомъ въ другомъ дѣлѣ, супруговъ Макаровыхъ. Макарова именно искала въ мировыхъ учрежденіяхъ понужденія мужа жить съ ней совмѣстно. Самарскій мировой съѣздъ призналъ требованіе ея правильнымъ и призналъ мужа ея обязаннымъ «до изъявленія согласія на совмѣстное жительство выдавать на содержаніе жены по 8 р. въ мѣсяцъ». Съѣздъ, слѣдовательно, прибѣгъ къ тому средству, которое въ практикѣ западно-европейской считается вполнѣ законнымъ и справедливымъ въ подобныхъ случаяхъ и которое въ сущности есть лучшая мѣра понужденія мужа къ совмѣстному жительству съ женой, когда нѣтъ законной причины разлученія. Нашъ законъ, правда, не упоминаетъ о правѣ судебныхъ мѣстъ постановлять опредѣленія въ этомъ смыслѣ. Но съ другой стороны законъ у насъ, болѣе чѣмъ гдѣ-либо, настаиваетъ на святости и неразрывности брачныхъ узъ и вытекающей изъ этого необходимости совмѣстной жизни супруговъ. Слѣдовательно, разумная судебная практика, стремящаяся не къ механическому исполненію буквы закона, а къ примѣненію его духа и общаго смысла, не только можетъ, но и должна озаботиться пріисканіемъ мѣръ, направленныхъ къ тому, чтобы поддержать принципъ совмѣстной жизни супруговъ, какъ кореннаго элемента брака, въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда принципъ этотъ произвольно и несправед-

*) «Сборникъ рѣш. гражд. касс. деп. сената за 1868 г.», № 461.

ливо нарушается мужемъ. Дѣйствительно, наше законодательство, какъ и всякое другое, не можетъ же допустить непосредственное, физическое насиліе для понужденія мужа жить съ женой и наоборотъ: въ мнѣніяхъ государственнаго совѣта 1850 и 1851 годовъ, по вопросу о слѣдованіи женъ за ссыльными мужьями, прямо выражено, что принужденіе супруговъ жить вмѣстѣ противъ ихъ воли — невозможно. Какое же другое средство можетъ повести къ возстановленію брачнаго сожительства супруговъ, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, къ вознагражденію страдающей въ своихъ законныхъ правахъ жены, какъ не признаніе судомъ обязанности мужа содержать брошенную имъ жену? Но кассаціонный сенатъ, до котораго восходило дѣло Макаровыхъ, не обратилъ никакого вниманія на всѣ эти обстоятельства. Вѣрный своей системѣ—придерживаться буквы закона, не вникая въ его смыслъ и не соображая, въ какой степени могущія произойти послѣдствія согласны съ идеей самого закона, не говоря уже объ интересахъ общества, онъ отмѣнилъ рѣшеніе съѣзда по слѣдующимъ основаніямъ. «На основаніи ст. 103 т. X ч. 1 супруги обязаны жить вмѣстѣ, доколѣ самый бракъ подлежащей властью и по основаніямъ, предустановленнымъ закономъ, не будетъ расторгнутъ, а потому строго воспрещаются всѣ акты, клонящіеся къ самовольному разлученію супруговъ. Изъ сего слѣдуетъ, что для охраненія святости брачнаго союза не могутъ быть допускаемы и распоряженія суда относительно назначенія женамъ, живущимъ отдѣльно, содержанія отъ ихъ мужей, ибо такое распоряженіе могло бы такому незаконному разлученію дать видъ нѣкоторой терпимости со стороны самого правительства» (Сборникъ рѣшеній за 1870 г. № 799).

Мы не будемъ вдаваться здѣсь въ оцѣнку состоятельности доводовъ и соображеній сената по существу ихъ, но ограничимся указаніемъ на специфическую особенность кассаціонной практики, сравнительно съ прежнимъ нашимъ юридическимъ бытомъ. Особенность эта, какъ легко замѣтить изъ приведенныхъ нами примѣровъ, состоитъ въ слѣпой, безусловной приверженности къ буквѣ закона, безъ всякаго соображенія, въ какой мѣрѣ буквальное пониманіе и примѣненіе закона, безъ дополненія или уменьшенія, не только согласно съ практическими потребностями общества, но соотвѣтствуетъ внутреннему смыслу и цѣли самаго закона. Отсюда, какъ видно изъ приведенныхъ судебныхъ дѣлъ, и безпрестанныя столкновенія кассаціоннаго сената съ низшими судебными мѣстами. Дѣло въ томъ, что какъ бы судьи

ни проникли́сь сознаніемъ своего долга быть неумолимыми исполнителями закона во что бы то ни стало, но инстинктъ справедливости, присущій болѣе или менѣе каждому человѣку, не можетъ заглохнуть совершенно и у слѣпаго жреца слѣпой Ѳемиды. Судъ, которому предстоитъ рѣшать не отвлеченные вопросы права, но судьбу живыхъ людей, стоящихъ предъ нимъ во всей своей конкретной величинѣ, нерѣдко вынуждается своимъ внутреннимъ убѣжденіемъ на компромиссы между безусловными требованіями закона и интересами справедливости въ каждомъ данномъ случаѣ. До введенія судебной реформы, когда чувство строгой законности было очень слабо развито у насъ, да и не могло развиться по несовершенству, неполнотѣ и другимъ недостаткамъ самихъ законовъ, такіе компромиссы въ судебныхъ рѣшеніяхъ составляли весьма обыкновенное явленіе. По свидѣтельству извѣстнаго нашего юриста, г. Побѣдоносцева, который по службѣ своей въ сенатѣ имѣлъ возможность глубоко изучить старую судебную практику, «несовершенство стараго суда заставляло часто для соблюденія правды нарушать формы и обряды». Г. Думашевскій выражается объ этомъ предметѣ еще обстоятельнѣе. «Кто слѣдилъ за практикой прежнихъ и новыхъ судебныхъ установленій, особенно высшихъ, говоритъ онъ, тотъ не могъ не замѣтить, что въ основѣ ихъ рѣшеній преобладаетъ не законъ, не право въ объективномъ смыслѣ, а чувство справедливости. У насъ весьма нерѣдко можно встрѣтить рѣшеніе, рѣшительно несогласное съ законами, но при всемъ томъ, по обстоятельствамъ даннаго дѣла, вполнѣ справедливое».

Разница между старыми и новыми судебными мѣстами въ этомъ отношеніи заключается лишь въ томъ, что послѣднія встрѣчаютъ въ своемъ стремленіи согласить законность съ справедливостью сильное препятствіе со стороны кассаціоннаго сената. Оно и неудивительно. Кассаціонный судъ, по сущности своей задачи, имѣетъ дѣло не съ реальными жизненными столкновеніями, а съ отвлеченными началами права. Онъ игнорируетъ и долженъ игнорировать всю совокупность фактическихъ обстоятельствъ, на которыхъ низшія судебныя мѣста основали свое убѣжденіе о правѣ той или другой стороны въ дѣлѣ. Ему предстоитъ разсмотрѣть лишь то, вѣрно ли примѣненъ положительный законъ къ факту, имѣвшемуся въ виду суда, и больше ничего. Понятно, что весь тотъ психическій процессъ, который привелъ судей къ убѣжденію въ необходимости постановить по данному дѣлу

именно такое-то рѣшеніе, какъ наиболѣе удовлетворяющее требованію справедливости въ этомъ дѣлѣ, остается чуждъ и непонятенъ членамъ суда кассаціоннаго, разрѣшающимъ не реальныя правовыя отношенія, а общіе юридическіе вопросы. Витая постоянно въ области юридической метафизики, а не живыхъ гражданскихъ правоотношеній, кассаціонный судъ разучается понимать истинную задачу всякаго суда—осуществлять въ спорныхъ и сомнительныхъ случаяхъ именно ту справедливость, которая присуща современному обществу и его сознанію о правѣ. Отсюда отмѣна гражданскимъ кассаціоннымъ департаментомъ сената въ четырехъ разсмотрѣнныхъ нами дѣлахъ рѣшеній низшихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, не смотря на то, что рѣшенія эти, какъ мы видѣли, не только вполнѣ справедливы и согласны съ выводами судебной практики всѣхъ цивилизованныхъ странъ, но соотвѣтствуютъ и *внутреннему смыслу* нашего законодательства, хотя и не опираются на его букву.

Чтобы покончить съ дѣятельностью кассаціоннаго сената по семейному праву, приведемъ здѣсь еще одинъ примѣръ. Нерѣдко случается, что послѣ помолвки или сговора женихъ или невѣста отказываются отъ вступленія въ бракъ. Съ точки зрѣнія справедливости очевидно, что та сторона, которая отказалась отъ брака, должна вознаградить другую за убытки, происшедшіе для нея отъ приготовленія къ браку. Иностранныя законодательства, дѣйствительно, предусматриваютъ этотъ случай и разрѣшаютъ его вполнѣ справедливо. Такъ, по италіянскому гражданскому кодексу (ст. 54), если женихъ или невѣста откажется отъ брака безъ основательной причины, то обязывается судомъ къ возмѣщенію другой сторонѣ издержекъ на предстоящій бракъ. Австрійское гражданское уложеніе признаетъ это правило (ст. 46) и сверхъ того опредѣляетъ, что подарки, сдѣланные женихомъ невѣстѣ или наоборотъ, если бракъ потомъ не состоялся не по винѣ дарителя, могутъ быть взяты обратно (ст. 1247). Нашъ законъ собственно объ этомъ ничего не говоритъ, но онъ признаетъ за общее правило, что всякій обязанъ вознаградить того, кому причинилъ вредъ или убытокъ своимъ дѣйствіемъ или бездѣйствіемъ, хотя бы онъ дѣйствовалъ въ предѣлахъ своего права и не нарушалъ никакого закона. Не трудно примѣнить это общее начало къ данному случаю и ввести, такимъ образомъ, въ нашъ юридическій бытъ тѣ раціональныя правила по этому вопросу, которыя существуютъ въ западной Европѣ. Новая судебная практика, дѣйствительно, пыталась

это сдѣлать. Такъ, петербургскія мировыя учрежденія, по свидѣтельству г. Никитина, всегда присуждали жениховъ къ уплатѣ издержекъ на бракъ въ случаѣ ихъ отказа на него *). Тоже начало признано ржевскимъ окружнымъ судомъ въ рѣшеніи по дѣлу Карминыхъ и др. **). Но и тутъ дѣятельность новыхъ судовъ, относительно прогрессивнаго развитія русскаго права, встрѣтила тормазъ въ судѣ кассаціонномъ. Разсмотрѣвъ этотъ вопросъ въ дѣлахъ Волкова (Сборникъ 1869 г., № 292) и Гречищева (Сборникъ 1870 г., № 403), сенатъ призналъ слѣдующее. Во-первыхъ, строго охраняя бракъ, какъ церковное таинство, отъ смѣшенія его съ другими гражданскими отношеніями, онъ установилъ тотъ принципъ, что примѣненіе общихъ законовъ о значеніи сдѣлокъ малолѣтнихъ и объ отвѣтственности каждаго за свои дѣйствія невозможно. «Бракъ есть таинство, повторяетъ сенатъ въ дѣлѣ Волкова, и вступленіе въ оный, какъ совершающееся по обрядамъ церкви, не можетъ быть обусловливаемо никакимъ обязательствомъ, а слѣдовательно и причисляемо къ такого рода договорамъ и обязательствамъ, какія въ приведенныхъ статьяхъ закона предусмотрѣны». Во-вторыхъ, признавъ, что вопросъ объ отвѣтственности за убытки при отказѣ отъ брака долженъ быть разрѣшенъ на основаніи однихъ законовъ о семейномъ союзѣ, сенатъ разрѣшилъ этотъ вопросъ отрицательно. «Законъ, говоритъ сенатъ въ рѣшеніи по дѣлу Гречищева, предоставляетъ *право* сочетающимся лицамъ вступить въ бракъ не иначе, какъ по непринужденному согласію, а родителямъ давать дѣтямъ на вступленіе въ бракъ дозволеніе. Право каждаго изъ этихъ лицъ ничѣмъ не ограничено, и законъ не стѣсняетъ ихъ воли даже и послѣ даннаго согласія или дозволенія на вступленіе въ бракъ, которое, вслѣдствіе разныхъ случайностей въ жизни, можетъ быть свободно измѣняемо».

Итакъ, для огражденія свободы брачнаго союза, необходимо предоставить каждому право вводить другихъ лицъ въ убытки и расходы обѣщаніемъ жениться, получать подарки и проч., не подвергаясь впослѣдствіи никакой отвѣтственности за такіе поступки въ случаѣ отказа отъ женитьбы, такъ какъ подобное обѣщаніе ничѣмъ не связываетъ. Излишне было бы распространяться о томъ, въ какой мѣрѣ такіе взгляды сената могутъ оказать вліяніе на нашъ юридическій бытъ, при обязательности его рѣшеній для всѣхъ судеб-

*) «Судебный Вѣстникъ» 1869 г., № 244.
**) Тамъ же, №№ 113 и 160.

ныхъ мѣстъ имперіи. Мы отмѣтимъ здѣсь только ту сторону разсматриваемыхъ рѣшеній, которая непосредственно касается содержанія настоящей статьи — разногласія между воззрѣніями гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената, какъ строгаго блюстителя буквы закона, и остальныхъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, и невыгоднаго вліянія кассаціоннаго суда на культурное развитіе русскаго права.

III.

Указанная выше характеристическая особенность гражданской кассаціонной практики и вліяніе ея на нашъ юридическій бытъ не составляютъ, впрочемъ, исключительной принадлежности семейнаго права. Особенность эта заключается, въ болѣе или менѣе значительныхъ размѣрахъ, и въ другихъ отдѣлахъ гражданскаго права. Въ этомъ не трудно убѣдиться изъ слѣдующихъ примѣровъ.

На низшихъ ступеняхъ человѣческой культуры, союзы семейный, родовой и племенной имѣютъ огромную власть надъ отдѣльными своими членами. Солидарность всѣхъ членовъ союза, основаннаго на кровномъ родствѣ, совершенно поглощаетъ индивидуальную жизнь и волю каждаго въ отдѣльности изъ лицъ, принадлежащихъ къ союзу. Прямое послѣдствіе этого явленія есть представленіе о вѣчномъ существованіи рода, путемъ преемственнаго наслѣдованія младшихъ поколѣній старшимъ. Первобытному человѣку наслѣдованіе ближайшихъ родственниковъ умершему родоначальнику и продолженіе такимъ образомъ существованія его личности въ религіозномъ, гражданскомъ и политическомъ отношеніяхъ представляется фактомъ необходимымъ и неизбѣжнымъ, единственно возможной формой семейно-родоваго существованія. Отсюда представленіе о томъ, что наслѣдники по закону (единственно допускаемые въ то время) суть *необходимые* преемники какъ религіозныхъ и политическихъ, такъ и имущественныхъ правъ и обязанностей умершаго родича (heredes sui, heredes necessarii въ древнѣйшемъ римскомъ правѣ). Понятіе о томъ, что преемникомъ гражданской личности умершаго могутъ оказаться другія лица, кромѣ его ближайшихъ родственниковъ, или что эти послѣдніе могутъ не захотѣть принять на себя эту священную обязанность, совершенно чуждо патріархальному человѣку. Прогрессъ человѣческой мысли, однакожъ, неустанно работаетъ надъ эманципаціей

личности изъ подъ гнета многихъ историческихъ условій, между прочимъ и семейно-родоваго союза. Постепенно выработывается понятіе, что принуждать человѣка принять на себя права и обязанности другаго лица, хотя бы то былъ его родоначальникъ, несправедливо; что поэтому отвѣтственность наслѣдника предъ посторонними лицами по обязательствамъ умершаго должна наступить только послѣ добровольнаго принятія имъ званія наслѣдника. Но и это правило оказывается недостаточнымъ для огражденія наслѣдниковъ отъ незаслуженной отвѣтственности за долги наслѣдодателей. Является такъ называемое beneficium inventarii, т. е. право наслѣдника принять имущество лишь послѣ предварительной описи и оцѣнки актива и пассива умершаго, причемъ наслѣдникъ по описи (инвентарю) отвѣчаетъ за долги умершаго лишь имуществомъ умершаго, а не собственнымъ. Инвентарь представляетъ весьма важную гарантію для лицъ, получающихъ наслѣдство, въ томъ, что они не будутъ отвѣчать своимъ личнымъ состояніемъ за долги другихъ лицъ, хотя бы то были ихъ ближайшіе родственники и наслѣдодатели. Онъ выражаетъ стремленіе прогрессивно развивающихся законодательствъ — эманципировать личность изъ подъ гнета семейныхъ отношеній и подчинить имущественные интересы гражданъ исключительно ихъ свободной, непринужденной волѣ. Въ этомъ направленіи идутъ всѣ европейскія законодательства, установившія множество подробныхъ правилъ для безобиднаго соглашенія противоположныхъ интересовъ наслѣдниковъ и кредиторовъ умирающаго гражданина. У насъ сложный вопросъ объ отвѣтственности наслѣдниковъ за долги наслѣдодателя затронутъ въ *одной* только статьѣ гражданскихъ законовъ (ст. 1259, т. X ч. I св. зак.). Слѣдовательно и тутъ судебной практикѣ предоставлено обширнѣйшее поприще дѣятельности въ разрѣшеніи возникающихъ на практикѣ многочисленныхъ и безконечно разнообразныхъ случаевъ, на основаніи одной этой статьи закона. Присматриваясь внимательно къ дѣятельности новыхъ судовъ по этому вопросу, не трудно замѣтить и здѣсь то разногласіе между рѣшеніями сената и низшихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, о которомъ мы говорили выше. Низшія судебныя мѣста обнаруживаютъ несомнѣнное желаніе быть по возможности осторожнѣе въ признаніи отвѣтственности наслѣдниковъ за пассивъ дошедшаго къ нимъ имущества, и для этого прибѣгаютъ къ толкованію законовъ и общему ихъ смыслу, а сенатъ, опираясь на букву закона, относится къ этимъ толкованіямъ и дополненіямъ закона отрицательно, и тѣмъ

опять-таки парализуетъ органическое развитіе русскаго права судебной интерпретаціей. Такъ напр., по вопросу о моментѣ, съ котораго наступаетъ для наслѣдника обязанность отвѣчать за долги, лежащіе на наслѣдствѣ, судебныя мѣста признаютъ необходимымъ возложить эту отвѣтственность на наслѣдниковъ лишь съ момента утвержденія ихъ въ правахъ наслѣдства судомъ, такъ какъ это служитъ достовѣрнымъ признакомъ того, что данныя лица суть дѣйствительно наслѣдники такого-то и приняли его имущество. Но сенатъ (Сборникъ 1867 г. № 384), на разрѣшеніе котораго пошелъ этотъ вопросъ, нашелъ этотъ взглядъ неправильнымъ. Онъ, по обыкновенію, остановился на буквѣ законовъ о наслѣдствѣ и вывелъ изъ молчанія закона, т. е. изъ факта отрицательнаго, положительный выводъ о томъ, что утвержденіе судомъ въ правахъ наслѣдства вовсе не обязательно, ибо «законы не устанавливаютъ такого обязательнаго судебнаго утвержденія». Сенатъ не обратилъ никакого вниманія на то, что хотя законъ вообще ничего не говоритъ объ утвержденіи судомъ наслѣдниковъ въ ихъ правахъ, но настоятельная практическая необходимость въ осязательномъ, безспорномъ признакѣ, по которому можно было бы судить о дѣятельномъ принятіи даннымъ лицомъ правъ и обязанностей умершаго, ввело въ употребленіе судебное признаніе въ правахъ наслѣдства, какъ единственно надежный критеріумъ для констатированія отвѣтственности наслѣдниковъ по долгамъ умершихъ. Другіе признаки того, что данное лицо приняло имущество умершаго на правахъ наслѣдника, и потому должно отвѣчать по его долгамъ, какъ то: фактическое владѣніе и пользованіе этимъ имуществомъ, платежъ по нѣкоторымъ обязательствамъ умершаго и т. д., очень неопредѣленны, и вполнѣ доказать ихъ довольно затруднительно. Принятія наслѣдства по описи (инвентарю) у насъ нѣтъ; нѣтъ также ни апотекарной системы, ни вообще, правильно организованной на началѣ гласности, системы кредита. При такихъ условіяхъ, съ открытіемъ наслѣдства, лицо, имѣющее право на это наслѣдство, поставлено въ очень невыгодное положеніе: знать нетолько вѣрно, но и приблизительно сумму долговъ, лежащихъ на наслѣдствѣ, оно не можетъ; принять его по описи, такъ чтобъ отвѣчать за долги умершаго только оставленнымъ имъ имуществомъ, тоже нельзя. Такимъ образомъ, каждое принятіе наслѣдства у насъ представляется предпріятіемъ рискованнымъ. Принявъ сегодня наслѣдство въ 1,000 руб., вы не можете быть увѣрены въ томъ, что завтра не явятся кредиторы умершаго съ

требованіями на 10,000 руб. и вы должны будете уплатить 9,000 р. изъ собственнаго кармана. Понятно, что судьи, какъ прежде, такъ и теперь, движимые естественнымъ чувствомъ справедливости, стараются дать какъ можно болѣе льготъ наслѣдникамъ въ принятіи на себя отвѣтственности по обязательствамъ наслѣдодателей. Одной изъ такихъ льготъ является требованіе судебнаго утвержденія въ правахъ наслѣдства, какъ доказательства того, что наслѣдникъ сознательно и рѣшительно принялъ на себя званіе наслѣдника. Но сенатъ отвергнулъ это требованіе, основываясь на буквальномъ смыслѣ закона, не требующаго подобнаго утвержденія. Онъ находитъ, что судъ долженъ признавать отвѣтственными наслѣдниками и такихъ лицъ, которыя фактически приняли въ свое вѣдѣніе имущество умершихъ и распоряжались имъ. Нужды нѣтъ, что признаніе такого принципа ставитъ суды въ очень затруднительное положеніе, такъ какъ трудно доказать достовѣрно фактическое принятіе имущества и обязательствъ наслѣдователя, и подвергаетъ ихъ риску возлагать отвѣтственность за долги умершихъ на такихъ лицъ, которыя въ дѣйствительности не суть ихъ наслѣдники; была бы соблюдена буква закона, до остальнаго суду нѣтъ дѣла. Это разногласіе между практическими потребностями, органомъ которыхъ тутъ являются низшія судебныя инстанціи, и кассаціоннымъ сенатомъ, какъ органомъ строгой законности, обнаруживается и въ другихъ вопросахъ, относительно отвѣтственности наслѣдниковъ за долги наслѣдодателей. Такъ напр., какъ старые, такъ и новые суды признавали неоднократно, что нельзя считать человѣка, разъ принявшаго въ свое вѣдѣніе имущество умершаго, за окончательно принявшаго званіе наслѣдника со всѣми сопряженными съ нимъ обязанностями; другими словами, они признаютъ за наслѣдниками право отречься отъ разъ принятаго наслѣдства, если, по ознакомленіи съ балансомъ наслѣдства, они найдутъ для себя невыгоднымъ принять его. При старомъ порядкѣ, государственный совѣтъ, по дѣлу Баташева, высказалъ то мнѣніе, что принявшій наслѣдственное имущество можетъ впослѣдствіи отречься отъ платежа долговъ умершаго, возвращая кредиторамъ самое это имущество и доходы съ него во время владѣнія имъ *).

Въ новой судебной практикѣ встрѣтился аналогичный случай въ петербургской судебной палатѣ. Предъявленъ былъ искъ противъ нѣ-

*) «Юридическій Вѣстникъ» 1868 г., февраль, стр. 21—24.

сколькихъ лицъ, какъ наслѣдниковъ умершаго, и представлено опредѣленіе судебнаго мѣста объ утвержденіи отвѣтчиковъ въ правахъ наслѣдства къ должнику по обязательству. Отвѣтчики заявили, что они не воспользовались имуществомъ умершаго, а владѣетъ и пользуется имъ другое лицо, въ чемъ сослались на свидѣтелей. Петербургская судебная палата отказала въ искѣ, такъ какъ истцы ничѣмъ не доказали, что отвѣтчики дѣйствительно приняли имущество умершаго, и потому обязаны отвѣчать по его долгамъ. Рѣшеніе въ существѣ своемъ правильное и справедливое. Нерѣдко бываетъ, что лицо, выхлопотавшее себѣ утвержденіе въ правахъ наслѣдства, потомъ узнаетъ, что пассивъ наслѣдства превышаетъ активъ его, или что вообще наслѣдство находится въ такомъ положеніи, что принятіе его невыгодно, и потому на дѣлѣ не принимаетъ его. Обязывать такихъ лицъ отвѣчать за долги, лежащіе на наслѣдствѣ потому только, что они прежде не знали (да и не могли знать, какъ указано было выше) о состояніи баланса умершаго, было бы чрезвычайно несправедливо. Но сенатъ отмѣнилъ это рѣшеніе палаты, разсудивъ слѣдующимъ образомъ: «Не подлежитъ сомнѣнію, что лицо, по просьбамъ и доказательствамъ утвержденное въ правахъ наслѣдства, предполагается, въ силу сего постановленія, дѣйствительнымъ и отвѣтственнымъ наслѣдникомъ... Безъ сомнѣнія, могутъ быть случаи, въ коихъ принявшій наслѣдственныя права и утвержденный въ оныхъ наслѣдникъ вправѣ и послѣ того доказывать, что послѣ умершаго вовсе не осталось наслѣдственнаго имѣнія, или что есть другія лица, хотя не утвержденныя, но въ сущности самымъ дѣйствіемъ принявшіе на себя наслѣдничью обязанность: но все сіе признанные наслѣдники обязываются доказать, а пока не доказали, не изъемлются отъ наслѣдничьяго званія и сопряженной съ онымъ отвѣтственности» *) (въ данномъ случаѣ отвѣтчики, дѣйствительно, ссылались на свидѣтелей въ подтвержденіе того, что не они, а другое лицо приняло имущество умершаго, и не ихъ вина, что судъ свидѣтелей этихъ не допросилъ).

По другому дѣлу, московская судебная палата высказала мнѣніе что хотя на наслѣдниковъ переходитъ обязанность отвѣчать по имущественнымъ сдѣлкамъ наслѣдодателей, но обязанность эта наступаетъ для нихъ лишь со дня объявленія имъ того обязательства. Такой взглядъ вызванъ явной несправедливостью сдѣлать наслѣдниковъ

*) «Сборникъ рѣшеній» за 1869 г., № 1266.

отвѣтственными за упущенія по договорамъ не ими заключеннымъ и имъ вовсе неизвѣстнымъ. Положимъ, напр., что извѣстное лицо заключаетъ съ другимъ лицомъ договоръ и обусловливаетъ исполненіе своихъ обязанностей по этому договору въ опредѣленный срокъ большой неустойкой, расторженіемъ контракта и т. п. серьезными послѣдствіями. Затѣмъ, лицо это умираетъ до наступленія срока исполненія своихъ обязательствъ. Наслѣдники его, не зная содержанія договора, не исполняютъ въ срокъ обязательствъ умершаго. Неужели же они должны платить неустойку или подвергаться другимъ имущественнымъ потерямъ за неисполненіе условій, заключенныхъ наслѣдодателемъ и имъ неизвѣстнымъ? Не будетъ ли это нарушеніемъ основнаго принципа права и справедливости—отвѣтственности каждаго за свои, а не за чужія дѣйствія? Но кассаціонный сенатъ и тутъ отнесся къ толкованію палаты отрицательно, основываясь, какъ всегда, на неполнотѣ закона. Онъ нашелъ, что установленнаго палатой правила «въ приведенномъ ею законѣ не содержится» и что «по безусловному смыслу закона, не можетъ быть установлено для наслѣдниковъ особаго новаго начала исполненія по обязательствамъ, не существовавшаго для умершаго, ибо на нихъ переходятъ всѣ тѣ обязанности, какія лежали бы на самомъ умершемъ, еслибъ жизнь его продолжалась, съ строгимъ соблюденіемъ всѣхъ сроковъ и всѣхъ условій, законамъ не противныхъ, которыя въ договорѣ постановлены, не взирая даже на то, послѣдовало ли истеченіе сроковъ при жизни или по смерти обязавшагося лица» *). Эта строгость, доходящая до несправедливости, относительно отвѣтственности наслѣдниковъ по обязательствамъ умершаго, дышетъ патріархальнымъ ригоризмомъ древне-римскаго права, которое смотрѣло на наслѣдниковъ, какъ на полныхъ представителей всей личности умершаго, въ религіозномъ и гражданскомъ отношеніяхъ, и считало точное исполненіе обязательствъ умершаго преемникомъ его священной семейно-религіозной обязанностью послѣдняго.

Замѣчательное сходство съ этимъ дѣломъ имѣетъ другое дѣло, въ которомъ былъ возбужденъ и разрѣшенъ вопросъ о моментѣ, съ котораго наслѣдничьи обязанности должны быть возложены на лицъ, получающихъ имущество умершаго не по законному наслѣдованію, а по завѣщанію. По закону, если умершій оставилъ послѣ себя сохран-

*) «Сборникъ рѣшеній» за 1869 годъ, № 714.

ный росписки, какъ доказательство того, что извѣстное его имущество находится на сохраненіи у другихъ лицъ, выдавшихъ ему эти росписки, то наслѣдники его обязаны, въ теченіе шести мѣсяцевъ со дня открытія наслѣдства, вызвать, посредствомъ публикаціи въ вѣдомостяхъ, лицъ, выдавшихъ росписки, для возвращенія взятаго ими на сохраненіе имущества; въ противномъ случаѣ наслѣдники теряютъ право иска по упомянутымъ роспискамъ. Харьковской судебной палатѣ представлялся въ одномъ дѣлѣ случай разрѣшить вопросъ: съ какого времени слѣдуетъ считать начало шести-мѣсячнаго срока для учиненія означеннаго вызова душеприкащикомъ и наслѣдникомъ по завѣщанію? Она нашла, что для этихъ лицъ «наслѣдство открывается не съ момента смерти владѣльца, потому что въ это время *неизвѣстны* ни тѣмъ ни другимъ возникающія для нихъ изъ выраженной въ завѣщаніи воли завѣщателя права и обязанности, даже не съ момента открытія завѣщанія, потому что неизвѣстно, будетъ ли этотъ актъ признанъ имѣющимъ исполнительную силу, а лишь съ того времени, когда завѣщаніе засвидѣтельствовано, и тѣмъ самымъ возникаютъ, для указанныхъ въ ономъ лицъ, предоставляемыя однимъ права и возлагаемыя на другихъ обязанности». Тутъ опять попытка судебной власти установить то разумное и справедливое начало, что наслѣдникъ долженъ нести сопряженныя съ этимъ званіемъ обязанности только послѣ того, какъ эти обязанности стали ему положительно извѣстны. Но сенатъ отмѣнилъ это рѣшеніе, опять-таки, не на основаніи положительныхъ юридическихъ соображеній, а на томъ единственномъ основаніи, что въ законѣ такого правила прямо не выражено, и потому нѣтъ, будто бы, причины дѣлать изъятіе изъ общаго правила о наслѣдствѣ въ пользу наслѣдниковъ по завѣщанію *). Сенатъ, по обыкновенію, не обратилъ никакого вниманія на практическія послѣдствія его взгляда по этому предмету и на тѣ затрудненія, въ которыя онъ неизбѣжно долженъ поставить какъ частныхъ лицъ, такъ и судебныя мѣста. Положимъ, что мнѣ отказано по завѣщанію лица, живущаго въ другомъ мѣстѣ, имущество его, находящееся у третьяго лица на сохраненіи по роспискѣ, и что я узналъ о существованіи этого завѣщанія позже шести мѣсяцевъ по смерти завѣщателя, такъ что вызова въ полугодовой срокъ я не могъ сдѣлать. Нечего и говорить о томъ, что при значительности разстояній, затруднитель-

*) «Сборникъ рѣшеній» за 1869 годъ, № 1032.

ности сообщеній во многихъ мѣстахъ и маломъ распространеніи грамотности и печатнаго слова у насъ, такіе случаи могутъ быть очень часто. Почему же, спрашивается, я долженъ потерять свое право собственности на завѣщанное мнѣ имущество, когда вызова я дѣлать не могъ во-время по той простой причинѣ, что не подозрѣвалъ существованія такого завѣщанія? Правда, законъ говоритъ, что когда наслѣдники почему-либо не вступятъ въ свои права, обязанность дѣлать вызовъ по сохраннымъ роспискамъ возлагается на мѣста и лица, обязанныя вызывать кредиторовъ и должниковъ умершихъ, и что неисполненіе послѣдними этой обязанности подвергаетъ ихъ «законной отвѣтственности». Значитъ, я могу, въ указанномъ случаѣ, требовать цѣнность завѣщаннаго мнѣ по сохранной роспискѣ имущества съ тѣхъ мѣстъ и лицъ, которыя должны были сдѣлать вызовъ, если, разумѣется, они его не сдѣлали. Но кому неизвѣстно, что у насъ на практикѣ взысканіе частными лицами съ административныхъ «мѣстъ и лицъ» убытковъ отъ неправильныхъ дѣйствій по должности затруднено до невозможности, и тѣмъ болѣе въ данномъ случаѣ, гдѣ законъ не опредѣляетъ, какого рода «законной отвѣтственности» подвергаются должностныя лица за упущеніе сдѣлать вызовъ. Надо принять въ соображеніе еще и то, что во многихъ случаяхъ для меня можетъ быть гораздо важнѣе полученіе самого имущества, отданнаго на сохраненіе, чѣмъ возмѣщеніе его цѣнности, и что нерѣдко также должностныя лица, если судъ и обяжетъ ихъ возмѣстить мнѣ цѣнность означеннаго имущества, могутъ оказаться несостоятельными къ исполненію рѣшенія суда, тогда какъ самое имущество, отданное на сохраненіе, обыкновенно должно находиться на лицо. Сообразивъ все это, мы поймемъ, въ какой степени глубже и практичнѣе посмотрѣла на это дѣло харьковская судебная палата, чѣмъ гражданскій кассаціонный департаментъ сената, который ограничился однимъ повтореніемъ словъ закона, не вникнувъ нисколько въ суть дѣла.

Можно было бы привести еще не мало примѣровъ въ подтвержденіе высказаннаго нами о существенномъ различіи во взглядахъ, съ одной стороны, гражданскаго кассаціоннаго суда, а съ другой—всѣхъ остальныхъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, по вопросу объ отвѣтственности наслѣдниковъ по обязательствамъ наслѣдодателей—вопросу (замѣтимъ кстати) одному изъ капитальнѣйшихъ по практическому своему значенію, такъ какъ случаи этого рода возникаютъ чуть ли не ежедневно; но и приведенныхъ примѣровъ, кажется, достаточно для того,

чтобы уяснить сущность и причины этого разногласія. Законъ объ отвѣтственности за долги, лежащіе на наслѣдствѣ, у насъ крайне неполонъ и несовершененъ; онъ не знаетъ ничего о принятіи наслѣдства по инвентарю, единственномъ безобидномъ для кредиторовъ и наслѣдниковъ способѣ принятія наслѣдства (за исключеніемъ торговаго права, цѣликомъ заимствованнаго нами изъ иностранныхъ источниковъ, и потому болѣе справедливаго въ этомъ отношеніи). Судьи, разсматривающіе дѣла по существу, и потому имѣющіе возможность оцѣнить всю несправедливость относительно наслѣдниковъ такого порядка, всѣми силами стараются дополнить и развить дѣйствующее законодательство въ духѣ необходимыхъ льготъ и гарантій для наслѣдниковъ. Но кассаціонный сенатъ, не совсѣмъ правильно понимая свою задачу блюстителя и толкователя закона и имѣя дѣло не съ живыми людьми и борьбой ихъ интересовъ, а съ отвлеченными юридическими вопросами, съ своей стороны, настаиваетъ на строгомъ соблюденіи легальнаго statu-quo со всѣми его недостатками и несправедливостью.

IV.

Такимъ же въ сущности характеромъ отличается дѣятельность гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената по договорному или обязательственному праву. Практика сената по отдѣлу договорныхъ отношеній, составляющихъ преимущественную принадлежность развитаго экономическаго оборота, заслуживаетъ глубочайшаго вниманія по огромному значенію ея для хозяйственныхъ интересовъ народа и весьма поучительна, какъ критерій нашего умственнаго развитія вообще и правоваго въ частности. Къ сожалѣнію, однакожъ, по программѣ этой статьи, мы должны оставить въ сторонѣ всѣ тѣ особенности договорной кассаціонной практики, которыя присущи ей наравнѣ съ судебной практикой вообще, и ограничиться нѣкоторыми замѣчаніями о характеристическихъ чертахъ, отличающихъ воззрѣнія кассаціоннаго суда отъ взглядовъ другихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, старыхъ и новыхъ, и вытекающихъ притомъ изъ самой природы кассаціоннаго судопроизводства. Укажемъ здѣсь на нѣкоторыя изъ такихъ воззрѣній, относящіяся къ обязательственному праву.

Существуетъ у насъ законъ, по которому, въ случаѣ безграмот-

ности лица, дающаго актъ, подпись, сдѣланная вмѣсто него по просьбѣ другимъ лицомъ, должна быть, прежде представленія акта къ явкѣ, засвидѣтельствована полиціей. До введенія судебной реформы правило это никогда не соблюдалось. Судебныя мѣста постоянно производили взысканія по актамъ, подписаннымъ за неграмотныхъ другими лицами, хотя бы подписи послѣднихъ не были засвидѣтельствованы полиціей, особенно если акты были явлены у маклера, нотаріуса или въ присутственномъ мѣстѣ, что составляетъ, безъ сомнѣнія, ручательство ихъ подлинности и законности. Это было согласно и съ буквой закона, который, предписывая такую мѣру предосторожности, не говоритъ, однакожъ, чтобы несоблюденіе ея влекло за собой недѣйствительность самаго акта. Но еще болѣе это было правильно по смыслу закона. Цѣль установленія подобной мѣры, какъ справедливо высказала харьковская судебная палата по дѣлу Киселева, есть предупрежденіе подлоговъ въ личностяхъ, отъ имени коихъ акты совершаются, и, слѣдовательно, несоблюденіе этой формальности можетъ имѣть значеніе лишь при возбужденіи спора о подлогѣ. Но если такого спора нѣтъ, если актъ засвидѣтельствованъ маклеромъ, и на немъ есть подпись свидѣтелей, удостовѣряющихъ самоличность какъ выдавшаго актъ, такъ и подписавшагося за него по его просьбѣ, то такой актъ имѣетъ законную силу. Казалось бы, что со введеніемъ новаго судопроизводства, дающаго гораздо болѣе свободы суду въ оцѣнкѣ силы доказательствъ и отрицающаго вообще принципъ мертваго формализма, еще менѣе можно было ожидать, что полицейскому засвидѣтельствованію будетъ придаваться серьезное значеніе. Но вышло наоборотъ. Судебныя мѣста, правда, дѣйствовали въ этомъ смыслѣ, но кассаціонный сенатъ взглянулъ на дѣло иначе. Для него достаточно было существованія подобной статьи закона, чтобъ основываясь на ней, отмѣнить множество рѣшеній и установить разъ навсегда безусловную необходимость полицейскаго засвидѣтельствованія. Тщетно будете указывать, что актъ явленъ у маклера, нотаріуса или присутственнаго мѣста, которые, вѣроятно, убѣдились въ дѣйствительности подписи и заслуживаютъ довѣрія не менѣе полиціи; тщетно свидѣтели, подписанные на актѣ, удостовѣряютъ, что въ ихъ присутствіи неграмотный просилъ такого-то подписаться за него; тщетно, наконецъ, вы будете указывать на то, что чѣмъ же я виноватъ, если «мѣста и лица», свидѣтельствовавшія акты, вовсе не считали участіе полиціи необходимымъ. У сената одинъ отвѣтъ:

законъ говоритъ, что подпись должна быть засвидѣтельствована въ полиціи, между тѣмъ этого не соблюдено, ergo и пр. Онъ не вошелъ также въ обсужденіе довода, высказаннаго харьковской судебной палатой, что полицейское засвидѣтельствованіе установлено только для предупрежденія подлоговъ, слѣдовательно, пока спора о подлогѣ нѣтъ, несоблюденіе этой формальности не имѣетъ значенія, а отмѣнилъ рѣшеніе, какъ противное буквѣ закона (Сборникъ рѣшеній 1870 г. № 230).

Въ другомъ дѣлѣ сенатъ отмѣнилъ рѣшеніе мирового съѣзда, присудившаго долгъ по роспискѣ, подписанной за неграмотнаго другимъ лицомъ, по спросѣ свидѣтелей о дѣйствительности подписи, опять-таки по нарушенію «точнаго смысла» закона, безъ дальнѣйшихъ соображеній, тогда какъ законъ допускаетъ спросъ свидѣтелей объ обстоятельствахъ, сопровождавшихъ выдачу домашняго акта (тамъ же, № 254). И такъ, благодаря приверженности кассаціоннаго сената къ буквѣ закона, новая судебная практика является болѣе формалистической и менѣе справедливой, относительно актовъ, выдаваемыхъ неграмотными, чѣмъ практика старыхъ судовъ. Практическія послѣдствія отъ этого толкованія сената для нашего юридическаго быта весьма важны. Извѣстно, что процентъ грамотныхъ въ русскомъ народѣ ничтоженъ, и что поэтому число актовъ, подписанныхъ за неграмотныхъ другими лицами, обращающихся въ нашемъ гражданскомъ быту, громадно. Съ другой стороны, хотя законъ о полицейскомъ засвидѣтельствованіи подписей за неграмотныхъ существуетъ давно, но въ прежнее время формальность эта совершенно правильно не считалась необходимой при наличности другихъ доказательствъ подлинности акта. Слѣдовательно, противоположное этому воззрѣніе кассаціоннаго сената, въ сущности, есть какъ бы новый законъ, а между тѣмъ сила этого толкованія распространяется и на акты, выданные до введенія судебной реформы. Такимъ образомъ, множество лицъ, владѣющихъ имущественными правами по обязательствамъ, выданнымъ неграмотными до введенія новаго суда, лишились теперь судебной защиты своей законной собственности, благодаря строгому формализму кассаціоннаго сената. Не трудно представить себѣ, какое впечатлѣніе должно произвести сопоставленіе старой и новой практики по этому предмету на умы простыхъ смертныхъ, которые не изучали юриспруденціи и руководствуются однимъ здравымъ смысломъ да инстинктомъ справедливости. Мы знаемъ та-

кіе случаи, гдѣ формальныя заемныя письма, явленныя гдѣ слѣдуетъ, но безъ злополучнаго полицейскаго засвидѣтельствованія, признавались вполнѣ обязательными въ старыхъ судебныхъ мѣстахъ, а при разсмотрѣніи ихъ въ новыхъ судахъ оказывались ничтожными и неимѣющими никакого юридическаго значенія. Тутъ, какъ хотите, сравненіе не въ пользу новаго суда.

Этотъ характеръ практики кассаціоннаго суда по вопросу о значеніи формальностей въ договорномъ правѣ обнаруживается и во многихъ другихъ, болѣе частныхъ случаяхъ. Такъ, напр., извѣстно, что у насъ на практикѣ очень употребительно прикрытіе займовъ сохранными росписками. Заимодавецъ, желая обезпечить себѣ болѣе вѣрное полученіе даннаго въ долгъ капитала и избѣгнуть расходовъ на совершеніе формальнаго заемнаго письма, беретъ у должника вмѣсто долговаго акта домашнюю росписку о принятіи этого капитала должникомъ на сохраненіе съ обязанностью возвратить по первому требованію заимодавца. Законъ, изъ фискальныхъ цѣлей, желая препятствовать такого рода фиктивнымъ поклажамъ (договорамъ о сохраненіи), обставляетъ совершеніе такихъ росписокъ нѣкоторыми формальностями, при несоблюденіи коихъ росписка теряетъ значеніе сохранной. Но если такая росписка и удовлетворяетъ всѣмъ требованіямъ по формѣ, а при производствѣ дѣла обнаружится, что она выдана по займу, то росписка теряетъ значеніе сохранной и остается долговымъ актомъ, и истецъ подвергается штрафу за желаніе избѣгнуть расходовъ на гербовую бумагу и платежа установленныхъ пошлинъ. Въ судебной практикѣ споры о долговомъ значеніи сохранныхъ росписокъ встрѣчаются очень часто, такъ какъ документы эти, по удобству совершенія и своимъ юридическимъ послѣдствіямъ, весьма употребительны и настоящихъ сохранныхъ росписокъ почти нѣтъ въ дѣйствительности. Старые суды, поэтому, не сомнѣвались придавать всякой сохранной роспискѣ, неудовлетворяющей законнымъ формальностямъ или оспариваемой отвѣтчикомъ, значеніе домашней долговой росписки. Такой образъ дѣйствій судебныхъ мѣстъ, санкціонированный неоднократно авторитетомъ стараго сената, былъ вполнѣ правиленъ и справедливъ, ибо всѣмъ извѣстно, что сохранныя росписки выдаются вмѣсто актовъ займа. Новые суды тоже было придерживались иногда этого взгляда, но встрѣтили энергическій отпоръ со стороны гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената. Такъ, по дѣлу Филипенко, харьковская судебная палата признала, что собственное

показаніе истца о томъ, что представленная имъ ко взысканію сохранная росписка выдана по займу, служитъ полнымъ удостовѣреніемъ этого факта и даетъ этому акту значеніе заемнаго обязательства. Сенатъ отмѣнилъ рѣшеніе палаты и призналъ ея выводъ неправильнымъ, ибо «законъ (будто бы) не допускаетъ общаго предположенія о томъ, что всякая сохранная росписка заключаетъ въ себѣ заемъ, буде поклажа ею не доказана». Поэтому, по мнѣнію сената, необходимо, чтобъ истецъ по неформальной сохранной роспискѣ представилъ еще другія доказательства того, что заемъ дѣйствительно состоялся. Между тѣмъ самъ законъ, какъ мы видѣли, допускаетъ общее предположеніе о томъ, что сохранныя росписки выдаются вмѣсто долговыхъ актовъ, и, въ виду общеизвѣстности этого факта, допустить такое предположеніе необходимо. Требовать же, чтобы истецъ въ каждомъ данномъ случаѣ, сверхъ сохранной росписки, представилъ еще другія доказательства состоявшагося займа, значитъ лишить многихъ владѣльцевъ неформальныхъ сохранныхъ росписокъ ихъ законой собственности, потому что представленіе подобныхъ доказательствъ въ большинствѣ случаевъ невозможно. А въ виду настойчивости требованій кассаціоннаго сената по этому предмету, какъ въ приведенномъ, такъ и во многихъ другихъ рѣшеніяхъ, судебныя мѣста должны отказывать въ удовлетвореніи законныхъ требованій по письменнымъ актамъ, которые признавались въ старыхъ судахъ. Другой примѣръ. Законъ установляетъ извѣстныя, весьма сложныя формальности для уплаты долга по закладной. Старая судебная практика признавала, что законъ этотъ опредѣляетъ лишь тотъ порядокъ, по которому должна быть произведена надпись объ уплатѣ на самой закладной, но не исключаетъ возможности доказывать эту уплату и другими, не столь формальными способами, напр. домашними росписками о полученіи платежа, на основаніи общаго закона, обязывающаго судебныя мѣста придавать силу доказательства всякому письменному акту, если подлинность его не оспорена (Сборникъ рѣшеній стараго сената, т. I, № 557). Но иначе взглянулъ на дѣло кассаціонный департаментъ **). Какъ строгій блюститель «точнаго смысла» закона, онъ призналъ, что коль скоро законъ установляетъ извѣстную форму для совершенія платежа по закладной, значитъ соблюденіе

*) «Сборникъ рѣшеній» за 1869 г., № 987.
**) «Сборникъ рѣшеній» за 1868 г., № 304.

этой формы необходимо; слѣдовательно, платежъ по займу съ залогомъ недвижимаго имущества не можетъ быть удостовѣренъ, подобно другимъ займамъ, простой роспиской кредитора въ полученіи слѣдуемыхъ ему денегъ; и, имѣя въ рукахъ подобную росписку, должникъ не обезпеченъ, что ему не придется вторично платить по той же закладной.

Вообще кассаціонный сенатъ относится съ безпощадной строгостью къ условіямъ дѣйствительности или недѣйствительности актовъ, установленнымъ закономъ. Такъ, напр., существуетъ у насъ до сихъ поръ законъ, по которому колонисты (т. е. иностранные поселенцы) не могутъ входить ни въ какія письменныя обязательства безъ разрѣшенія ихъ начальствъ. Нечего и говорить о томъ, въ какой степени подобнаго рода опека и привилегированное положеніе колонистовъ справедливы и раціональны. Несостоятельность этой системы попечительства достаточно сознана уже теперь всѣми и, какъ извѣстно, вопросъ о сліяніи колонистовъ съ другими свободными сельскими обывателями уже рѣшенъ. Одна изъ самыхъ темныхъ сторонъ такого рода закона заключается въ томъ, что онъ вводитъ въ убытки совершенно незаслуженнымъ образомъ многихъ лицъ, которыя добросовѣстно, не зная о существованіи такого правила, входятъ въ договорныя соглашенія съ колонистами, и даетъ этимъ послѣднимъ возможность эксплуатировать незнаніе другихъ лицъ въ свою пользу. Очевидно, что при такихъ условіяхъ разумная судебная практика должна стремиться къ тому, чтобы смягчить суровость закона, ведущую къ явной несправедливости. Но кассаціонный сенатъ поступаетъ какъ разъ наоборотъ. Онъ не только ревниво блюдетъ «точный смыслъ» этого закона, но распространяетъ его силу далѣе дѣйствительныхъ ея предѣловъ, именно на евреевъ-земледѣльцевъ. Извѣстно, что эти послѣдніе большею частью суть земледѣльцы только по имени, а въ дѣйствительности занимаются торговлей и промыслами разнаго рода. Многіе изъ нихъ въ глаза не видали колоніи, въ которой записаны земледѣльцами, а живутъ по городамъ, гдѣ занимаются городскими промыслами. Законъ, зная эту особенность быта евреевъ-земледѣльцевъ, присвоиваетъ имъ бо́льшія промышленныя, а слѣдовательно, и обязательныя права, чѣмъ иностраннымъ поселенцамъ; и это очень понятно, ибо опека надъ сельскими обывателями, съ цѣлью обезпечить ихъ противъ необдуманныхъ и невыгодныхъ для нихъ сдѣлокъ, имѣетъ еще смыслъ, тогда какъ по отношенію къ го-

родскимъ, промышленнымъ сословіямъ она несправедлива и нецѣлесообразна. Поэтому судебныя мѣста придаютъ законную силу обязательствамъ евреевъ-земледѣльцевъ, заключеннымъ безъ разрѣшенія ихъ начальства. Это тѣмъ болѣе необходимо, что множество такихъ «земледѣльцевъ» проживаютъ въ городахъ, отстоящихъ на большихъ разстояніяхъ отъ мѣстъ ихъ приписки, такъ что испрашивать разрѣшеніе каждый разъ, когда колонисту по торговымъ его дѣламъ придется выдать самую незначительную росписку, для нихъ рѣшительно невозможно. Но сенатъ отвергнулъ, какъ неправильный, такой взглядъ и цѣлымъ рядомъ рѣшеній призналъ, что евреи-земледѣльцы, какъ названные въ законѣ «колонистами», подлежатъ дѣйствію общаго закона о колонистахъ и относительно необходимости разрѣшенія начальства и относительно необходимости разрѣшенія начальства на ихъ сдѣлки. Не говоря уже о томъ, что это толкованіе и строго-юридически не выдерживаетъ критики, оно приводитъ къ весьма страннымъ результатамъ на практикѣ. Многія лица, вступившія съ мнимыми земледѣльцами въ имущественныя сдѣлки, нисколько не подозрѣвая объ ихъ правахъ состоянія, были и продолжаютъ быть до сихъ поръ весьма непріятно изумленными, узнавъ, что эти сдѣлки, хотя и не отрицаемыя колонистами, не имѣютъ никакой силы. Предъявляете вы, положимъ, росписку колониста въ томъ, что онъ занялъ у васъ деньги, и просите о взысканіи по ней. Колонистъ не отрицаетъ, что онъ деньги получилъ, но объявляетъ, что не намѣренъ ихъ уплатить, такъ какъ, по такой-то статьѣ и рѣшеніямъ сената, росписка его, выданная безъ разрѣшенія колоніяльнаго начальства, недѣйствительна. Какъ бы ни возмущался судъ такими возраженіями, онъ долженъ подчиниться авторитету сената и отказать въ искѣ. Если же онъ (какъ иногда случается) послѣдуетъ внутреннему убѣжденію и настоящему смыслу закона и рѣшитъ дѣло противъ колониста, то послѣдній непремѣнно доведетъ дѣло до сената, который и отмѣняетъ подобныя рѣшенія. Въ новороссійскомъ краѣ, гдѣ еврейскихъ колоній всего болѣе, такіе случаи встрѣчаются въ судебной практикѣ, особенно мировой довольно часто и, конечно, не особенно способствуютъ популярности новаго суда.

Вообще надо замѣтить, что новый судъ, значительно ослабивши письменность и формализмъ въ процессѣ, увеличилъ эти самые недостатки въ матеріальномъ правѣ, т. е. въ тѣхъ юридическихъ нормахъ, которыя служатъ матеріаломъ для содержанія судебныхъ рѣ-

шеній. Порядокъ производства дѣлъ въ судахъ значительно упрощенъ и сокращенъ, живое слово чрезвычайно уменьшило письменность. Но когда дѣло доходитъ до главнаго—рѣшенія гражданскихъ споровъ судомъ, вы легко замѣчаете, что новый судъ гораздо формалистичнѣе и стѣснительнѣе для тяжущихся, чѣмъ старый, что въ немъ находятъ защиту только такія имущественныя права, которыя вполнѣ безупречны въ формальномъ отношеніи. Достаточно малѣйшаго уклоненія отъ предписанныхъ закономъ обрядовъ для того, чтобъ лишить васъ несомнѣнныхъ имущественныхъ правъ. Изъ приведенныхъ примѣровъ можно заключить, что значительная доля заслугъ въ этомъ отношеніи принадлежитъ кассаціонному суду.

V.

Кто знакомъ близко съ судебной дѣятельностью гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената, тотъ не можетъ не замѣтить еще множества другихъ случаевъ, гдѣ практика этого высшаго судилища имперіи далеко не соотвѣтствуетъ тѣмъ надеждамъ, которыя могли быть на нее возложены. Самая значительная часть этихъ случаевъ относится къ такимъ причинамъ, которыя составляютъ общее явленіе русской жизни и потому одинаково вліяютъ на дѣятельность всѣхъ судебныхъ мѣстъ имперіи; о нихъ мы говорить не будемъ, а ограничимся указаніемъ на явленія, характеризующія собственно русскій кассаціонный судъ, какъ таковой. Поучительный фактъ такого рода составляетъ, напр., взглядъ сенатя на юридическое значеніе обычая въ мировомъ судѣ. Законъ предоставляетъ мировымъ судьямъ въ извѣстныхъ случаяхъ рѣшать дѣла по общеизвѣстнымъ мѣстнымъ обычаямъ, именно по ссылкѣ одной или обѣихъ сторонъ и лишь въ томъ случаѣ, когда примѣненіе мѣстныхъ обычаевъ дозволяется именно закономъ, или въ случаяхъ, положительно неразрѣшенныхъ законами. Нечего и говорить о томъ, что примѣненіе мировыми судьями обычаевъ, при неполнотѣ, неясности, а главное несоотвѣтствіи нашихъ гражданскихъ законовъ съ правовыми понятіями русскаго народа, должно бы служить однимъ изъ важнѣйшихъ средствъ для того, чтобъ сдѣлать мировой судъ дѣйствительно народнымъ судомъ, который могъ бы вытѣснить и замѣнить явно несостоятельный волостной судъ. Но сенатъ, какъ строгій блюститель писанаго закона, косо смотритъ на введеніе въ судебную жизнь народнаго обычая. Онъ видитъ въ немъ какъ бы антагониста и врага закона госу-

дарственнаго, и потому стѣсняетъ кругъ его примѣненія до крайности. Буквально придерживаясь ст. 130 устава гражд. судопроизводства (о примѣненіи обычая), онъ постоянно требуетъ, чтобъ мировые судьи пользовались обычаемъ исключительно въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, на которые нельзя найти отвѣта ни въ буквѣ, ни въ общемъ смыслѣ законовъ. Но въ дѣйствительности такихъ случаевъ вовсе нѣтъ, потому что всякій спорный юридическій вопросъ можетъ быть разрѣшенъ, если не положительнымъ, опредѣленнымъ закономъ, то по общему смыслу законовъ. Доказательствомъ служитъ то, что окружные суды и палаты, которые вовсе не имѣютъ права руководствоваться обычаемъ, разрѣшаютъ же всѣ возникающія въ ихъ практикѣ сомнѣнія на основаніи писаныхъ законовъ. Слѣдовательно, толкованіе сената въ сущности ставитъ мировыхъ судей внѣ всякой возможности примѣнять обычаи въ своей практикѣ, ибо на всякій случай, гдѣ они найдутъ справедливымъ и умѣстнымъ разрѣшить споръ по обычаю, найдутся какія нибудь правила въ законѣ, вслѣдствіе чего судья уже не можетъ руководствоваться обычаемъ.

Найдетъ ли, напр., мировой судья возможнымъ оцѣнить значеніе представленнаго къ дѣлу домашняго акта по мѣстному обычаю, сенатъ указываетъ ему, что для оцѣнки силы и значенія домашнихъ бумагъ есть правило въ законѣ, а потому обычай примѣненъ здѣсь быть не можетъ (Сборникъ рѣшеній за 1866 г., № 75).

Другой случай. Извѣстно, что на практикѣ управляющіе имѣніями рѣдко имѣютъ формальныя довѣренности отъ владѣльцевъ, а управляютъ имѣніями по словесному или домашнему письменному соглашенію съ владѣльцами. Константиноградскій мировой съѣздъ призналъ по одному дѣлу, что если управляющій имѣніемъ выдалъ третьему лицу росписку въ полученіи отъ него денегъ, то хотя бы онъ деньги эти присвоилъ себѣ и не записалъ въ конторскія книги, росписка эта обязательна для владѣльцевъ имѣнія, не смотря на то, что управляющій формальной довѣренности не имѣлъ. И это рѣшеніе было совершенно правильно. Мировой судья, а затѣмъ и съѣздъ, усмотрѣли, что лицо, выдавшее росписку истцу, распоряжалось имѣніемъ, какъ управляющій, въ присутствіи владѣльца и безъ него, что еслибъ оно даже не имѣло законной довѣренности, нельзя не признать за нимъ, согласно обычаю, права производить по экономіи раздачу сѣнокоса на различныхъ условіяхъ, не откладывая до тѣхъ поръ, пока возвратится владѣлецъ и трава посохнетъ, что если управляю-

щій не записалъ полученныхъ имъ денегъ въ книги, то это касается уже владѣльца, который долженъ знать, кому онъ довѣряетъ, а не третьяго лица, давшаго деньги управляющему. Иначе это дѣло и нельзя разрѣшить. Нельзя же требовать отъ каждаго мужика, входящаго въ какія нибудь хозяйственныя сдѣлки съ управляющимъ, чтобъ онъ предварительно читалъ его формальную довѣренность отъ владѣльца. Вина послѣдняго, если онъ не снабжаетъ ею своего уполномоченнаго; за что же должны страдать постороннія лица, которыя въ лицѣ управляющаго довѣряли экономіи, а послѣ его смѣны вдругъ узнаютъ, что они должны съ требованіями своими обратиться не къ экономіи, а къ Богъ-вѣсть-куда убравшемуся управляющему. Но сенатъ рѣшилъ иначе. Онъ нашелъ въ этомъ дѣлѣ неправильное примѣненіе обычая, ибо для разрѣшенія вопроса объ отвѣтственности вѣрителей за своихъ уполномоченныхъ имѣется положительный законъ, по которому такая отвѣтственность наступаетъ только по выдачѣ формальной довѣренности, и потому отмѣнилъ рѣшеніе съѣзда (Сборникъ рѣшеній за 1870 г., № 777). Такую же услугу оказалъ русскому праву формализмъ сената по вопросу о вознагражденіи врачей за частную практику. Тираспольскій мировой судья присудилъ врачу Гольду за пользованіе жены купца Цинерфейна 50 р. вмѣсто 5 р., предложенныхъ ему этимъ послѣднимъ. Въ опредѣленіи этой цифры онъ руководствовался показаніями экспертовъ-врачей объ обычной нормѣ вознагражденія за медицинскій трудъ. Но съѣздъ отмѣнилъ это рѣшеніе, принявъ въ соображеніе законную норму вознагражденія врачей по врачебному уставу (30 коп. за визитъ) и то, что между Гольдомъ и Цинерфейномъ предварительнаго уговора о вознагражденіи перваго не было. Сенатъ утвердилъ рѣшеніе съѣзда, такъ какъ руководствоваться въ данномъ случаѣ обычаемъ, по мнѣнію сената, судья не имѣлъ права при существованіи закона, опредѣляющаго размѣръ вознагражденія врачей (тамъ же, № 898). Это сенатское рѣшеніе ставитъ врачей въ безвыходное положеніе. Съ одной стороны, очевидно, что обезпечиваемый за ними закономъ минимумъ вознагражденія совершенно ничтоженъ и нисколько не соотвѣтствуетъ цѣнности медицинскаго труда въ настоящее время. Съ другой стороны, заключать заранѣе письменныя условія съ паціентами о размѣрѣ платы за визиты ни одинъ порядочный врачъ не станетъ; да и тотъ, кто рѣшился бы на такой образъ дѣйствій, скоро останется безъ практики. Такимъ образомъ, медицинскій трудъ, въ отличіе отъ всѣхъ

прочихъ видовъ труда, оказывается ничѣмъ негарантированнымъ противъ недобросовѣстности и эксплуатаціи, благодаря ригоризму сената, не допускающаго въ данномъ случаѣ руководства обычаемъ.

Конечно, это толкованіе сената, какъ и всѣ предыдущія, основано на буквальномъ смыслѣ закона, и потому, можно сказать, безупречно съ формальной стороны. Но съ другой стороны нельзя не видѣть, что, благодаря такимъ юридическимъ принципамъ, у мировыхъ судей рѣшительно отнимается возможность дать какое-нибудь практическое значеніе мѣстнымъ правовымъ обычаямъ и тѣмъ ввести въ русское право истинно-народныя начала. А между тѣмъ составители судебныхъ уставовъ считали однимъ изъ важнѣйшихъ преимуществъ мироваго суда то обстоятельство, что мировые судьи, какъ избранные изъ среды мѣстныхъ жителей, будутъ близко знакомы, между прочимъ, и съ мѣстными обычаями, и потому лучше съумѣютъ удовлетворить потребности населенія въ правдѣ и справедливости, чѣмъ судьи коронные. Не находится ли практика гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената, стремящаяся къ возможно большему ограниченію обычнаго права въ мировомъ судѣ, въ явномъ противорѣчіи съ этой мыслью законодателя и не подорвано ли такимъ образомъ значеніе мироваго суда въ одномъ изъ главныхъ его основаній? Вотъ вопросъ, заслуживающій серьезнаго вниманія всѣхъ, кому дороги интересы судебной реформы, но до сихъ поръ оставленный безъ отвѣта. Игнорированіе нашимъ кассаціоннымъ судомъ практическихъ потребностей русскаго юридическаго быта замѣчается на каждомъ шагу при внимательномъ изученіи кассаціонныхъ рѣшеній по гражданскимъ дѣламъ. Кромѣ всѣхъ приведенныхъ примѣровъ, есть еще многое множество болѣе частныхъ и такъ-сказать разрозненныхъ случаевъ, гдѣ эта особенность проявляется очень ярко. Укажемъ на нѣкоторые изъ нихъ. Мы говорили только-что объ отношеніи сената къ обычному праву въ мировомъ судѣ. Совершенно такимъ же образомъ онъ относится и къ попыткамъ общихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ развивать и дополнять русскую систему права на основаніи юридическихъ обычаевъ и особенностей нашего правового быта. Лучшимъ примѣромъ этого рода можетъ служить любопытное во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ дѣло о завѣщаніи Шибалкина (Сборникъ рѣшеній за 1870 г., № 917). Извѣстно, что строгое римское понятіе о правѣ собственности, какъ совокупности правъ владѣнія, пользованія и распоряженія не проникло еще до сихъ поръ въ бытъ русскаго народа и слабо развито

даже въ законодательствѣ. Оттого въ завѣщаніяхъ у насъ очень часто случается, что отказъ кому-либо имущества въ собственность выражается передачей имущества въ распоряженіе, въ пользованіе или владѣніе. Сверхъ того, въ купеческомъ быту въ особенности часто бываютъ случаи передачи имущества въ безотчетное распоряженіе душеприкащиковъ, которые должны исполнить отказы завѣщателя для богоугодныхъ и благотворительныхъ цѣлей, и остающееся затѣмъ имущество отдать наслѣдникамъ или оставить за собой. Справедливость требуетъ, чтобъ судебныя мѣста, зная, въ какой степени правовыя понятія нашего общества расходятся относительно этихъ вопросовъ съ дѣйствующими законами и оффиціальной юридической терминологіей, толковали подобныя завѣщанія, соображаясь съ тѣми юридическими понятіями и выраженіями, которыя распространены въ обществѣ, ибо только такимъ образомъ будетъ исполнена *дѣйствительная* воля завѣщателей, а не мнимая. Законъ признаетъ безусловную обязанность суда свято исполнять волю завѣщателя о своемъ имуществѣ, доколѣ воля эта не противорѣчитъ положительному закону. Слѣдовательно, судъ, добросовѣстно относящійся къ этой своей обязанности, долженъ истолковать смыслъ каждаго завѣщанія такъ, какъ его понималъ, по всей вѣроятности, самъ завѣщатель, т. е. согласно съ тѣмъ значеніемъ, которое придаетъ употребленнымъ въ завѣщаніи выраженіямъ общество, а не сообразно оффиціальному значенію этихъ выраженій. Такимъ образомъ именно и поступила петербургская судебная палата въ дѣлѣ Шибалкина, сославшись, какъ на основаніе для истолкованія завѣщанія Шибалкина, на судебныя дѣла, т. е. на юридическій обычай, усмотрѣнный палатой изъ доходившихъ до ея разсмотрѣнія дѣлъ о завѣщаніяхъ. Но сенатъ нашелъ всѣ соображенія палаты, основанныя на характеристическихъ особенностяхъ русскаго правоваго быта, несогласными съ опредѣленіями закона о завѣщаніяхъ, и потому отмѣнилъ ея рѣшеніе. Для насъ тутъ имѣетъ особенный интересъ то обстоятельство, что сенатъ какъ будто не понялъ настоящаго смысла ссылки палаты на судебныя дѣла. Онъ нашелъ, что «заключеніе палаты основано не на законѣ, и даже не на судебной практикѣ, ибо палата не говоритъ, чтобы подобныя завѣщательныя распоряженія были судебными рѣшеніями признаваемы законными и дѣйствительными, а собственно на случающихся въ завѣщаніяхъ распоряженіяхъ сего рода. Но на основаніи 9 ст. уст. гражд. суд. судебныя установленія

обязаны рѣшать дѣла поточному разуму существующихъ законовъ, а въ случаѣ неясности, неполноты, недостатка или противорѣчія основывать рѣшенія на общемъ смыслѣ законовъ». Изъ этихъ словъ можно заключить, что, по мнѣнію сената, обычаи и характеристическія особенности юридическаго быта современнаго русскаго общества не имѣютъ ровно никакого значенія для судебныхъ мѣстъ—начало, которое едва-ли можетъ содѣйствовать успѣшному достиженію главной цѣли всякаго суда: развитію и усовершенствованію правоваго быта общества. Другой примѣръ полнаго разлада между толкованіемъ сената и потребностями жизни представляетъ рѣшеніе кассаціонной практикой вопроса о юридическомъ значеніи пари. Всѣ иностранныя законодательства признаютъ особый родъ обязательствъ, основанныхъ на игрѣ случая и опредѣляющихъ заранѣе извѣстныя юридическія послѣдствія при наступленіи зависящаго отъ случайныхъ или вообще неизвѣстныхъ контрагентамъ причинъ обстоятельства (contrats aleatoires). Къ числу такихъ договоровъ принадлежитъ и биться объ закладъ (пари). У насъ, какъ и вездѣ, пари весьма употребительно во всѣхъ слояхъ общества, и неисполненіе такого договора считается столь же нечестнымъ, какъ и нарушеніе всякаго другого договора. Законъ, однакожъ, ничего не говоритъ о подобнаго рода договорахъ, но установляетъ общее правило, что всякій договоръ обязателенъ для заключившихъ его лицъ, если онъ не содержитъ противной законамъ цѣли. Основываясь на этомъ общемъ правилѣ, сенатъ призналъ по одному дѣлу, что договоръ дѣйствителенъ и въ такомъ случаѣ, если его нельзя подвести ни подъ одну изъ категорій обязательствъ, перечисленныхъ въ нашихъ гражданскихъ законахъ. Ничто не мѣшало сенату примѣнить это соображеніе и къ договорамъ пари. Этимъ былъ бы выполненъ одинъ изъ многочисленныхъ пробѣловъ въ нашемъ гражданскомъ правѣ и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ сдѣланъ шагъ къ уменьшенію вреднаго разлада между правовыми понятіями общества и постановленіями закона. Разладъ этотъ не можетъ не обнаружить своихъ дурныхъ послѣдствій тамъ, гдѣ судъ, задача котораго состоитъ въ защитѣ нарушенныхъ интересовъ права въ обществѣ, отказываетъ въ защитѣ вполнѣ законныхъ, въ глазахъ этого общества, правъ. Но сенатъ и здѣсь, какъ во многихъ другихъ случаяхъ, ограничился исключительно отрицательной дѣятельностью и установилъ то правило, что договоръ пари, какъ неотносящійся ни къ одному изъ видовъ, указанныхъ въ законѣ обязательствъ, не можетъ пользоваться защи-

той судебной власти при нарушеніи его однимъ изъ контрагентовъ. Интересный фактъ въ этомъ же родѣ представляетъ толкованіе сената по вопросу о допущеніи неграмотныхъ быть повѣренными въ мировомъ судѣ. Законъ, исчисляя тѣ категоріи лицъ, которыя не могутъ быть повѣренными у мировыхъ судей, не относитъ къ нимъ безграмотныхъ; при исчисленіи же условій, необходимыхъ для права веденія дѣлъ въ общихъ судахъ, грамотность указана, какъ необходимое условіе. Въ видахъ возможнаго огражденія простого народа отъ эксплуатаціи такъ-называемыми ходатаями, было бы желательно, чтобъ грамотность считалась необходимымъ условіемъ для хожденія по дѣламъ и у мировыхъ судей. Конечно, опытъ доказываетъ, что самые опасные для темнаго простонародья ходатаи принадлежатъ къ числу грамотныхъ. Но, съ другой стороны, всякое ограниченіе круга такихъ ходатаевъ требованіемъ извѣстнаго образовательнаго ценза можетъ принести немалую пользу. Сенатъ, однакожъ, дѣйствуетъ въ противоположномъ направленіи. Вмѣсто того, чтобъ распространить на мировое судопроизводство правило, изложенное для общихъ судовъ (что сенатъ могъ сдѣлать безъ всякихъ затрудненій), онъ послѣдовательно отстаиваетъ привиллегію ходатаевъ у мировыхъ судей быть неграмотными, хотя неграмотный повѣренный, безъ сомнѣнія, можетъ оказывать очень плохія услуги своимъ вѣрителямъ.

Итакъ, дѣятельность гражданскаго кассаціоннаго департамента сената, независимо отъ общихъ недостатковъ, свойственныхъ практикѣ всѣхъ нашихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ, и которыхъ мы здѣсь не касались, имѣетъ свои специфическія недостатки, вытекающіе именно изъ природы и задачъ кассаціоннаго суда, въ отличіе отъ другихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ. Сущность всѣхъ тѣхъ отдѣльныхъ случаевъ, нами отмѣченныхъ, гдѣ практика сената оказывается неудовлетворяющей своему назначенію, сводится, какъ видно съ перваго раза, къ одной коренной особенности кассаціонной практики — слѣпой приверженности къ буквѣ закона, безъ соображенія его внутренняго смысла и практическаго значенія, и вытекающему отсюда нежеланію развивать и совершенствовать русское право новыми правовыми взглядами и понятіями, положительно въ законѣ невыраженными. Прямымъ послѣдствіемъ этого является, какъ мы видѣли, постоянная борьба между кассаціоннымъ судомъ, какъ строгимъ блюстителемъ легаль-

ности, съ одной стороны, и остальными судебными мѣстами, какъ органами общественной справедливости и практическихъ потребностей русской жизни—съ другой стороны. Побѣдителемъ въ этой борьбѣ, разумѣется, остается кассаціонный сенатъ. Неутѣшительность такого порядка вещей не требуетъ объясненій. Но какой же изъ всего этого слѣдуетъ сдѣлать выводъ? спроситъ читатель. Неужели тотъ, что самая идея кассаціоннаго суда, какъ такого, который разсматриваетъ въ каждомъ дѣлѣ не всю конкретную его обстановку, а отвлеченный вопросъ о правильномъ примѣненіи закона къ фактамъ, уже признаннымъ другимъ судомъ, не удовлетворяетъ требованіямъ правосудія? Или тотъ, что мы еще «не созрѣли» для кассаціоннаго суда, что члены его у насъ невѣрно понимаютъ и исполняютъ свою задачу, что онъ не соотвѣтствуетъ нуждамъ и потребностямъ русскаго правосудія? Оба эти вывода намъ кажутся слишкомъ общими и односторонними. Во всякомъ случаѣ, для того, чтобъ произнести окончательный приговоръ надъ кассаціоннымъ судомъ вообще или русскимъ въ частности, потребовались бы обширныя и разностороннія изслѣдованія о дѣятельности этого суда въ разныхъ странахъ. Приведенные же нами факты изъ практики нашего гражданскаго кассаціоннаго суда могутъ привести только къ слѣдующему, болѣе частному, но зато и болѣе вѣрному выводу. Всякое учрежденіе только тогда можетъ принести пользу, когда оно согласовано со всѣми другими элементами общественной жизни, одновременно съ нимъ существующими. Кассаціонный судъ, какъ стражъ строгой законности, можетъ поэтому быть полезнымъ въ своей дѣятельности только тогда, когда самые законы, которые ему приходится толковать и охранять, удовлетворяютъ требованіямъ общественной справедливости. Судебная реформа коснулась у насъ только внѣшней стороны отправленія правосудія—порядка производства дѣлъ въ судебныхъ мѣстахъ. Но законы, опредѣляющіе тѣ взгляды и убѣжденія, которыми судьи должны руководствоваться при рѣшеніи споровъ объ имущественныхъ правахъ, т. е. матеріальное содержаніе судебной дѣятельности, остались въ прежнемъ состояніи; а между тѣмъ законы эти въ высшей степени неудовлетворительны и во многомъ несправедливы. До введенія новаго суда, темныя стороны гражданскаго законодательства далеко не давали себя чувствовать такъ, какъ теперь. Это объясняется очень просто тѣмъ, что тогда господствовалъ у насъ не законъ, а личное усмотрѣніе судебной и административной власти. Та-

кимъ образомъ, тамъ, гдѣ законъ оказывался явно несправедливымъ или практически непримѣнимымъ, его безъ труда обходили; тамъ, гдѣ судъ затруднялся такимъ нецеремоннымъ обращеніемъ съ закономъ, на помощь обществу приходила администрація, гораздо менѣе связанная буквою закона (какъ напр., въ семейныхъ дѣлахъ). Несмотря на всѣ недостатки такого порядка вещей, онъ былъ единственно возможнымъ при существующемъ гражданскомъ законодательствѣ и все же удовлетворялъ болѣе или менѣе потребности общества въ правосудіи, лучшемъ, чѣмъ то, которое предлагалось ему Сводомъ законовъ. Точно также, въ случаѣ неполноты или неясности законовъ (что встрѣчается у насъ на каждомъ шагу), старые суды не стѣснялись развивать и дополнять русское право на основаніи общихъ соображеній и потребностей русскаго юридическаго быта. Но судебная реформа все это измѣнила, и измѣнила, какъ мы видѣли, далеко не вездѣ къ лучшему. Такой перемѣнѣ содѣйствовалъ, главнымъ образомъ, новый факторъ, введенный въ систему русскаго судопроизводства—кассаціонная инстанція. Иначе оно и не могло быть. Задача кассаціоннаго суда заключается въ охраненіи единства примѣненія и толкованія закона судебными мѣстами. Единство и однообразіе пониманія закона безспорно вещь хорошая. Желательно, чтобъ всѣ судебныя мѣста страны примѣняли одинаково законы, чтобъ интересы и права гражданъ находили равную защиту во всѣхъ судебныхъ мѣстахъ и зависѣли не отъ произвола судей, а отъ безпристрастнаго закона, какъ общей и для всѣхъ равной нормы. Желательно также, чтобъ путь, по которому долженъ идти судъ при разсмотрѣніи каждаго дѣла, былъ намѣченъ законодателемъ какъ можно болѣе точно и опредѣленно, дабы судьѣ оставлено было по-возможности меньше мѣста для произвола. Поэтому и дѣятельность кассаціоннаго суда, направленная къ поддержанію этого авторитета закона и единообразному его примѣненію, говоря вообще, должна быть плодотворной и цѣлесообразной. Но необходимымъ для этого условіемъ должно быть возможно большее совершенство самого законодательства. Понятно, что чѣмъ справедливѣе и развитѣе нормы закона, тѣмъ полезнѣе дѣятельность того учрежденія, которое бдительно и ревниво охраняетъ эти нормы отъ нарушенія ихъ судебными мѣстами. Но если, какъ у насъ, законы крайне несовершенны и строгое примѣненіе ихъ на практикѣ или вовсе невозможно, или ведетъ къ явной несправедливости, то и дѣятельность кассаціоннаго суда, какъ неумо-

лимаго блюстителя этихъ законовъ, оказывается нетолько не полезной, но во многихъ случаяхъ едва-ли даже не вредной. Само собою разумѣется, что главная доля отвѣтственности за такой результатъ дѣятельности высшаго судилища имперіи падаетъ не на самое это судилище, а на остающіеся до сихъ поръ безъ измѣненія гражданскіе законы. Это, впрочемъ, далеко не единственный случай, гдѣ практическое осуществленіе судебной реформы напоминаетъ намъ старую истину о невозможности вливать вино новое въ сосуды старые, другими словами—о необходимости согласованія внутренняго, органическаго, между всѣми общественными учрежденіями данной страны. Коренной переворотъ, произведенный въ нашемъ уголовномъ правосудіи введеніемъ суда присяжныхъ, со всѣми его необходимыми принадлежностями, все болѣе и болѣе напоминаетъ намъ о несовершенствѣ, чрезмѣрной строгости и непрактичности русскаго уголовнаго законодательства. Оправдательные вердикты присяжныхъ очень ясно указываютъ на то, что по многимъ родамъ преступленій, наказанія, положенныя за нихъ закономъ, чрезмѣрно суровы и не соотвѣтствуютъ современнымъ понятіямъ о справедливости (напр., по преступленіямъ противъ вѣры), а другія вовсе подлежатъ исключенію изъ уголовнаго кодекса (напр., нарушенія паспортнаго устава). Ярко выступила наружу и несостоятельность удержанной до сихъ поръ системы подсудности по сословіямъ, въ силу которой одно и то же преступленіе вѣдается судомъ низшимъ или высшимъ, смотря по тому, принадлежитъ ли обвиняемый къ привиллегированному сословію или нѣтъ. Не подлежитъ теперь сомнѣнію также и то, что слишкомъ узкіе предѣлы, въ которые уголовный законъ заключаетъ право русскаго суда повышать и понижать наказаніе, рѣшительно вредны при судѣ присяжныхъ и предоставленномъ ему правѣ снисхожденія, и ведутъ нерѣдко къ оправдательнымъ приговорамъ въ ущербъ справедливости. Совершенно естественно поэтому, что и въ области гражданскаго судопроизводства кассаціонный судъ, какъ совершенно новое явленіе въ системѣ русскаго суда, такъ серьезно парализуется въ своей дѣятельности уцѣлѣвшими до сихъ поръ гражданскими законами, обязанными своимъ происхожденіемъ эпохѣ, хотя не особенно отдаленной, но неизмѣримо далеко отстоящей отъ нашего времени во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ.

И. Оршанскій.

ПРОВИНЦІЯ И МИРОВОЙ СУДЪ.

I.

Во всей Европѣ, а тѣмъ болѣе у насъ, цѣлая бездна отдѣляетъ бытъ села отъ городскаго быта; у насъ это различіе тѣмъ рѣзче, что большинство сельскихъ жителей или вовсе не приходятъ въ соприкосновеніе съ городами, или соприкасаются лишь съ такими населенными мѣстностями, которыя ни благоустройствомъ, ни образованностью, ни торговою или иною дѣятельностью не заслуживаютъ названія города, а именуются городами собственно потому, что такъ принято называть мѣстности, въ которыхъ сосредоточивается въ извѣстной мѣрѣ административное управленіе. Выѣзжайте изъ столицы въ провинцію, и вы очень рѣдко встрѣтитесь съ «городомъ» въ настоящемъ смыслѣ этого слова, если только свернете съ желѣзной дороги. И неудивительно: всего-то у насъ, *по счету*, 2,800 городовъ, считая пригороды, мѣстечки, посады и т. п. Хоть сколько-нибудь соотвѣтствуютъ понятію о городѣ тѣ населенныя мѣстечки, въ которыхъ около десяти тысячъ жителей; исключите изъ 2,800 мѣстностей 175 такихъ, въ которыхъ, по крайней мѣрѣ, по десятку тысячъ жителей, и останутся 2,625 *городскихъ* поселеній, ничѣмъ не напоминающихъ города, кромѣ острога, полицейскаго управленія, инвалидной команды и проч. Да что значатъ эти мѣстности въ сравненіи съ 320,474 населенныхъ мѣстностей европейской Россіи: на 2,635 *такъ называемыхъ* городовъ вѣдь причтется 317,849 *селъ*. Вотъ она наша провинція: это село, которое до открытія земскихъ учрежденій спало

сномъ непробуднымъ, никому невѣдомымъ селомъ и только въ последнее время стало заявлять о своемъ существованіи.

Мудреное ли дѣло, послѣ этого, что составители судебныхъ уставовъ, при всей добросовѣстности работы ихъ, не знали села и не могли приноровить судебныхъ уставовъ къ провинціальной, т. е. по преимуществу *сельской* жизни? Жизнь же этой среды должна бы получить особенное значеніе въ глазахъ правительства, какъ жизнь огромнаго большинства подданныхъ, представляющая въ то же время и наибольшее накопленіе богатствъ. Со времени введенія въ дѣйствіе земскихъ учрежденій и мировой судебной юстиціи, задача правительства значительно облегчена: къ примѣненію реформы призваны наиболѣе просвѣщенные люди страны, отъ которыхъ правительство можетъ узнать правду о провинціи, неоднократно извращенной въ описаніяхъ проѣзжихъ туристовъ и отчетахъ проѣзжихъ чиновниковъ. Мировые судьи—изъ *мѣстныхъ* жителей, въ большинствѣ случаевъ близко знакомыхъ съ краемъ; тѣ изъ нихъ, которые въ то же время не порвали связи съ центрами образованности, могутъ правильно освѣтить потребности провинціальной жизни, требующія удовлетворенія со стороны законодательства.

Нельзя при этомъ не отдать полной справедливости министерству юстиціи въ томъ, что оно съ самого начала введенія судебныхъ уставовъ и до сихъ поръ приглашаетъ предсѣдателей съѣздовъ мировыхъ судей сообщать свои замѣчанія по вопросу о примѣненіи закона къ провинціальной жизни; эти замѣчанія печатаются министерствомъ и разсылаются предсѣдателямъ, помогая послѣднимъ вдумываться въ дѣло. Трудно, однако, не согласиться и съ тѣмъ, что и внѣ личнаго состава мироваго суда найдется не мало лицъ, знакомыхъ съ судебными уставами и бытомъ провинціи, и что крайне полезно было бы и ихъ привлечь къ разработкѣ вопроса, а для этого у насъ нѣтъ инаго пути, кромѣ печати. Наконецъ, гласное обсужденіе вопроса въ періодическомъ изданіи можетъ принести еще ту пользу, что хоть сколько-нибудь ознакомитъ съ провинціей столичныхъ дѣятелей, призванныхъ нерѣдко сочинять правила для обстоятельствъ, имъ совершенно неизвѣстныхъ. Полагая, что платье, сшитое за-глаза, можетъ пригодиться только въ томъ случаѣ, если оно будетъ сшито по мѣркѣ того, для кого оно предназначается, мы желали бы оказать настоящею статьею содѣйствіе къ тому, чтобы у насъ высылали изъ столицъ поменьше такого платья, котораго вовсе надѣть нельзя провинціалу, или

такого, которое требуетъ значительной передѣлки; такая предосторожность тѣмъ болѣе необходима, что законы должны быть устойчивы, ихъ нельзя перемѣнять, какъ платье, а передѣлка ихъ можетъ совершаться лишь медленно, въ ущербъ организму провинціи. Мы позволяемъ себѣ разсчитывать на то, что предлагаемыя нами замѣчанія о неудобствахъ, встрѣчающихся въ примѣненіи судебно-мироваго устава къ провинціальной, т. е. почти исключительно сельской жизни, будутъ не лишены нѣкотораго практическаго значенія, такъ какъ большинство ихъ внимательно обсуждалось коллегіею мировыхъ судей Александровскаго уѣзда Екатеринославской губерніи. По самому происхожденію своему эти замѣчанія будутъ, слѣдовательно, касаться преимущественно рѣдко-населенныхъ полосъ Россіи. Не забудемъ, однако, того, что изъ 50 губерній (мы исключаемъ польскія) европейской Россіи, въ 22 приходится на квадратную милю менѣе 1,200 жителей и что, слѣдовательно, почти половина всѣхъ губерній относится къ *рѣдко*-населеннымъ. Замѣчанія провинціальныхъ судей, по самому происхожденію своему, будутъ касаться преимущественно только сельскихъ жителей; но при этомъ не слѣдуетъ упускать изъ виду, что въ 50 губерніяхъ на 52,253,697 жителей сельскихъ сословій всего только 5,743,880 жителей городскихъ сословій, т. е. почетныхъ гражданъ, купцовъ, мѣщанъ и цеховыхъ!

Начнемъ съ устава гражданскаго судопроизводства, пытаясь отвѣчать на вопросъ: какихъ измѣненій въ немъ требовала бы провинціальная жизнь?

При опредѣленіи подсудности гражданскихъ дѣлъ мировой юстиціи, законъ, какъ видно изъ мотивовъ къ судебнымъ уставамъ, обнародованныхъ государственною канцеляріею, имѣлъ въ виду предоставить разбирательству мировыхъ судей «дѣла самыя простыя и несложныя, не представляющія трудности въ разрѣшеніи»; къ такимъ дѣламъ законъ отнесъ «*малоцѣнные иски*», а потому, по ст. 29 уст. гражд. судопр. вѣдомству мироваго суда подлежатъ иски по обязательствамъ и договорамъ и о движимости цѣною не свыше 500 рублей. Иски цѣною выше 500 р. сер. законъ уже относитъ къ «многоцѣннымъ», разборъ которыхъ слишкомъ затруднилъ бы мироваго судью. Само по себѣ понятно, что трудно защитить теоретически какую бы то ни было норму, ограничивающую подсудность судебной инстанціи: трудно доказать, что иски въ 550 р. сер. сложнѣе исковъ въ 500 р. сер., или что иски въ 450 р. сер. уже настолько сложны,

что не слѣдовало бы довѣрять мировымъ судьямъ, не всегда юридически подготовленнымъ, разборъ исковъ въ 500 р. сер. Правильная норма въ подсудности не можетъ быть предустановлена a priori, а должна быть выведена изъ практики. Что же говоритъ провинціальная практика? Пять участковыхъ мировыхъ судей Александровскаго мироваго судебнаго округа въ одинъ голосъ заявляютъ, что очень часто истцы, для того только, чтобы имѣть дѣло съ мировымъ судьею, а не съ окружнымъ судомъ, стараются обойти законъ о подсудности: подраздѣляютъ цѣнные иски на такіе доли, которыя не превышали бы 500 р. сер. Такая тактика вполнѣ понятна въ мѣстностяхъ малонаселенныхъ, лишенныхъ путей сообщенія и удаленныхъ отъ окружнаго суда на сотню или сотни верстъ, при дороговизнѣ пребыванія въ томъ городѣ, гдѣ помѣщается судъ. Эта тактика пущена въ ходъ въ особенности съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ публика уразумѣла, что окружные суды присуждаютъ истцу, въ случаѣ выигрыша дѣла, только за веденіе дѣла извѣстную сумму денегъ, которую истецъ предоставляетъ повѣренному, а издержки истца на поѣздку и пребываніе въ городѣ не вознаграждаются, точно также, какъ и убытки въ экономическихъ предпріятіяхъ, сопряженныя съ затратою времени на судебные процессы. На это скажутъ, что тяжущіеся могутъ, и не являясь лично, поручать дѣло повѣренному. Но много ли такихъ повѣренныхъ въ провинціи, которымъ можно было бы поручить дѣло заглазно? Много ли у насъ, наконецъ, такихъ тяжущихся, которые, не предпринимая отдаленнаго и затруднительнаго путешествія въ окружной судъ, съумѣли бы путемъ почтовыхъ сношеній передать дѣло повѣренному? Вѣдь во многихъ мѣстностяхъ окружные суды такъ толкуютъ нотаріальныя права мироваго судьи, что не предоставляютъ послѣднему права на совершеніе довѣренностей для хожденія по дѣламъ въ общихъ судебныхъ мѣстахъ, и истцу уже для совершенія довѣренности приходится бросать свое хозяйство, которое поручить некому, и ѣхать къ нотаріусу, отдаленному отъ половины мѣстностей уѣзда на сто и болѣе верстъ. Удивляться ли тому, что при такихъ обстоятельствахъ тяжущіеся всячески стараются избѣжать дорого стоющаго и, по мѣстнымъ условіямъ, едва доступнаго окружнаго суда? Кромѣ того, не говоритъ ли въ нихъ, при раздробленіи цѣнныхъ исковъ, та простая логика, по которой возможно довѣрить разборъ дѣла въ 700 руб. сер. тому мировому судьѣ, которому довѣряются иски цѣною въ 500 р. сер. Наконецъ, самое поня-

тіе о цѣнѣ и цѣнности весьма относительно: въ русской провинціи не мало бѣдняковъ, для которыхъ тяжба о 500 р. сер., *подсудная* мировой юстиціи, составляетъ вопросъ о цѣломъ состояніи; такія лица, по закону, обязаны подчиняться рѣшенію судьи; почему же не подчинять рѣшенію того же судьи людей болѣе богатыхъ, для которыхъ та же стоимость иска представляетъ гораздо меньшую относительную цѣнность? Совершенно вѣрна, однако, и та мысль составителей судебныхъ уставовъ, что необходимо ограничить юрисдикцію судебной инстанціи извѣстными предѣлами, для того, чтобы не затруднять ея, а потому должны быть установлены и предѣлы подсудности мировой юстиціи; но для того, чтобы эти грани совпадали съ потребностями провинціальной жизни, необходимо, чтобы онѣ вытекали изъ нея же: люди, знающіе жизнь и судебную практику въ провинціи, полагаютъ, что было бы цѣлесообразно предоставить разбору мировыхъ судей иски по обязательствамъ и договорамъ не выше *тысячи* руб. сер. Такая норма, по мнѣнію людей жизни, ближе совпадала бы съ тѣмъ предѣломъ, котораго *не достигаетъ* большинство обыденныхъ исковъ въ провинціи и выше котораго стоятъ иски многоцѣнные, исключительные, сложные. Во всякомъ дѣлѣ рѣшается вопросъ *о правѣ лица*; идетъ ли при этомъ рѣчь о потерѣ десяти рублей или ста рублей—это не уменьшаетъ и не увеличиваетъ отвѣтственности суда по вопросу о правѣ, попранномъ или защищенномъ судомъ; иски малоцѣнные имѣютъ часто величайшее нравственное значеніе и бываютъ несравненно сложнѣе исковъ на большую сумму. Если же законъ почти не ограничиваетъ подсудности мировому судьѣ *родомъ дѣлъ*, но преимущественно стоимостью ихъ, то, казалось бы, есть основаніе, прислушиваясь къ голосу провинціальныхъ судей-практиковъ, по собственному опыту могущихъ понимать и положеніе тяжущихся, увеличить норму подсудности гражданскихъ дѣлъ до 1,000 р. сер., что касается исковъ о движимости и исковъ о вознагражденіи за ущербъ и убытки.

Въ мотивахъ къ п. 2 ст. 92 сказано: «Есть дѣла, которыя по самому свойству иска или спора должны быть оканчиваемы *скорымъ*, сокращеннымъ порядкомъ и по возможности въ *тѣхъ самыхъ мѣстахъ*, гдѣ оныя возникаютъ». Къ такимъ дѣламъ мотивы относятъ только дѣла о вознагражденіи за ущербъ и убытки, не указывая на разборъ дѣлъ между сельскими рабочими и хозяевами. Такое упущеніе можетъ быть объяснено только незнаніемъ провинціальной жизни:

въ губерніяхъ, рѣдко населенныхъ, появляется, на рабочее время, огромное множество рабочихъ, нанимающихся часто весьма многочисленными артелями. Иной артели слѣдуютъ, при окончаніи работъ, тысячи рублей сер. При ограниченіи подсудности мировому судьѣ не только 500 р. сер., но и тысячею рублей, очень часто рабочіе и хозяева ставятся въ совершенную невозможность искать защиты суда, такъ какъ не имѣютъ ни средствъ, ни времени добраться до того города, одного на нѣсколько уѣздовъ, въ которомъ засѣдаетъ окружной судъ. Допустимъ даже, что заинтересованныя стороны доберутся, для рѣшенія такого дѣла, которое можетъ быть рѣшено только на мѣстѣ и быстро, до отдаленнаго суда; но всегда ли судьи общихъ судебныхъ мѣстъ окажутся компетентными въ разборѣ тяжбъ, возникающихъ изъ житейскихъ отношеній, въ большинствѣ случаевъ извѣстныхъ только *сельскимъ* мировымъ судьямъ, каковы недоразумѣнія между сельскими рабочими и хозяевами? И такъ, вполнѣ соглашаясь съ мотивами къ судебнымъ уставамъ въ томъ, что есть дѣла, которыя «должны быть оканчиваемы *скорымъ*, сокращеннымъ порядкомъ и по возможности *въ тѣхъ самыхъ мѣстахъ*, гдѣ оныя возникли», нельзя не отнести къ разряду этихъ дѣлъ и недоразумѣній между хозяевами и *сельскими* рабочими, откуда прямо слѣдуетъ, что разборъ такого рода дѣлъ можетъ быть предоставленъ только мировымъ судьямъ, а не отдаленнымъ отъ тяжущихся общимъ судебнымъ мѣстамъ. Ограничивать въ этомъ отношеніи юрисдикцію мироваго судьи значило бы не только лишать заинтересованныя стороны суда, но и подвергать ихъ суду менѣе компетентному, обходя судъ болѣе компетентный, какъ ближе стоящій къ жизни и состоящій изъ лицъ, знакомыхъ съ обычаями данной мѣстности, ея промышленностью и другими обстоятельствами, при незнаніи которыхъ невозможенъ разборъ дѣлъ между *сельскими* рабочими и хозяевами. Къ дѣламъ, которыя должны бы быть подсудны мировому судьѣ также безъ ограниченія цѣны иска, нельзя не отнести, по тѣмъ же причинамъ и въ силу того же мотива къ судебнымъ уставамъ, и дѣлъ о потравѣ полей. Возможность разобрать подобное дѣло *только* на мѣстѣ и *только* немедленно по занесеніи жалобы, очевидна до такой степени, что не требуетъ доказательствъ.

Мы сказали выше, что законъ *почти* не ограничиваетъ подсудности мировой юстиціи *родомъ* гражданскихъ дѣлъ, а преимущественно стоимостію ихъ. Но мы спѣшимъ оговориться: въ законъ занесено въ

этомъ отношеніи весьма существенное ограниченіе, тяжело отражающееся на экономическомъ бытѣ провинціи, представлявшей до сихъ поръ terra incognita для многихъ. По закону (ст. 31, п. 1-й) изъяты изъ подсудности мировому судьѣ *всѣ* иски, безъ ограниченія цѣною, о правѣ *собственности*, или о правѣ на *владѣніе* недвижимымъ имуществомъ. Такимъ образомъ всякій арендаторъ, желая доказать свое право на владѣніе, пользованіе извѣстнымъ участкомъ земли, вынужденъ обращаться въ окружный судъ, мимо ближайшаго суда, знакомаго съ такого рода дѣлами изъ самой жизни. Въ послѣднее время нерѣдко являются у насъ арендаторами крестьяне, у которыхъ достаетъ средствъ только на аренды незначительнаго размѣра; въ случаѣ спора о правѣ на владѣніе арендуемымъ участкомъ, какъ бы ничтожны ни были размѣры участка, такой арендаторъ, въ большинствѣ случаевъ бѣдный и невѣжественный, вынужденъ, согласно п. 1 ст. 31, обращаться въ окружный судъ, который онъ едва знаетъ по имени и отъ котораго его отдѣляетъ пространство въ нѣсколько сотъ верстъ, едва проѣздное весною и осенью изъ-за грязи, зимою — изъ-за непостоянства южной зимы, а лѣтомъ—изъ-за того, что хозяинъ въ рабочую пору ни на одинъ день не можетъ бросить своего хозяйства. Мало того: Положеніе 19-го февраля 1861 года, признавъ крестьянъ полноправными гражданами, въ тоже время сдѣлало первый шагъ къ тому, чтобы въ Россіи появлялась *мелкая* поземельная собственность. Въ настоящее время нотаріальное и судебное устройство не поощряютъ, а затрудняютъ появленіе мелкихъ собственниковъ: крестьянину, покупающему десятокъ десятинъ земли, предстоитъ поѣздка къ нотаріусу, жительствующему на краю уѣзда, въ уѣздномъ городѣ, отдаленномъ отъ большинства населенныхъ мѣстностей; по пріобрѣтеніи этого незначительнаго участка, собственнику, затратившему на эту операцію послѣднюю копѣйку, въ случаѣ недоразумѣній, негдѣ искать судебной защиты, такъ какъ окружный судъ, для него, по отдаленности и неизвѣстности, — та же китайская имперія, а мировой судья, по закону, не принимаетъ къ разбору никакихъ, даже самыхъ малоцѣнныхъ дѣлъ о правѣ собственности на недвижимость. Въ провинціи такой порядокъ вещей крайне затрудняетъ большинство населенія, отзываясь неблагопріятно на экономическомъ развитіи края; поэтому судьи-практики, знакомые съ дѣтства съ бытомъ крестьянина и провинціею, полагаютъ полезнымъ отмѣнить изъятіе, установленное п. 1 ст. 31, и предоставить разбору мироваго судьи не только иски о

движимости, но и иски о недвижимости цѣною не выше тысячи руб. сер.

Впрочемъ, благодаря 3 п. ст. 31, исключившему изъ подсудности мировому судьѣ всѣ гражданскіе иски между крестьянами цѣною до ста руб. сер. и оставившему *окончательное* рѣшеніе ихъ, какъ и было, за волостнымъ судомъ, — большинство населенія провинціи, т. е. крестьяне, только въ рѣдкихъ случаяхъ пользуются благами судебной реформы, суда независимаго и свѣдущаго. Огромное большинство сдѣлокъ крестьянина касаются лицъ его же сословія и цѣнностію не превосходятъ ста руб. сер.; во всѣхъ этихъ случаяхъ крестьянинъ вынужденъ подчиняться суду волостному, въ которомъ, къ несчастью, вслѣдствіе долговременнаго отсутствія школъ и воспитывающихъ государственныхъ учрежденій, водка, кумовство и подкупы всякаго рода играютъ немаловажную роль. Кромѣ того, волостной судъ рѣшеніями своими не только не воспитываетъ, но какъ бы даетъ санкцію понятіямъ, съ которыми борются новое время и учрежденія, недавно призванныя къ жизни. Что сказать напримѣръ о такомъ рѣшеніи волостнаго суда, которымъ постановлено «рубить колеса» всякому крестьянину, который осмѣлится въ самое горячее время уборки пшеницы, осыпающейся по достиженіи извѣстной степени зрѣлости, выѣхать въ поле въ одинъ изъ праздниковъ, необозначенныхъ ни въ какомъ календарѣ? Что сказать о томъ, что волостной судъ, вслѣдствіе жалобы мужа на то, что его избила жена, распоряжается высѣчь *мужа* за то, что онъ такой простофиля, «что позволяетъ женѣ себя бить»? Преимущество волостнаго суда состоитъ въ томъ, что онъ руководствуется не закономъ, а *обычаемъ*; но желательно ли дальнѣйшее примѣненіе *всякихъ* обычаевъ, сложившихся при обстоятельствахъ, развращавшихъ народъ? Намъ могутъ возразить, что отъ тяжущихся крестьянъ зависитъ довѣрить разборъ хотя бы самаго малоцѣннаго иска мировому судьѣ, которому онъ въ силу этого и станетъ подсуднымъ. Это справедливо и нерѣдко уже случается не практикѣ. Но вотъ что любопытно при этомъ: только въ тѣхъ случаяхъ обѣ стороны желаютъ подчиниться мировому судьѣ, когда ни одна изъ нихъ не дѣйствуетъ недобросовѣстно; если же одна изъ сторонъ лукавитъ, то она настаиваетъ на неподсудности иска мировой юстиціи и дорожитъ судомъ волостнымъ; слѣдовательно, самые прискорбные случаи, когда именно и требовалось бы суда мироваго судьи, ускользаютъ отъ его вліянія и крестьянинъ въ случаяхъ наибольшей важ-

ности лишенъ защиты суда просвѣщеннаго и предоставленъ суду волостному, издѣваться надъ некомпетентностію котораго ему не мѣшаетъ то, что этотъ судъ состоитъ «изъ своихъ». Неразъ и мы, и другіе судьи слышали жалобы отъ крестьянъ, которые до сихъ поръ никакъ еще не могутъ войдти во вкусъ предоставленной имъ привилегіи, состоящей въ подчиненіи ихъ *сословному* волостному суду. Провинціальная жизнь громко вопитъ противъ волостныхъ судовъ и могла бы удовлетвориться слѣдующею комбинаціею: 1) предоставить *окончательному* рѣшенію волостнаго суда гражданскіе иски между крестьянами не свыше десяти, а не ста рублей сер.; но съ тѣмъ, чтобы и на эти рѣшенія допускались *кассаціонныя* жалобы мировому судьѣ въ случаѣ явнаго нарушенія волостнымъ судомъ законовъ о подсудности, что случается чуть не ежедневно, и въ случаѣ нарушенія правилъ судопроизводсвва, изложенныхъ въ Положеніи 19 февраля 1861 г.; въ случаѣ кассаціи рѣшенія мировымъ судьею дѣло подлежало бы новому разбору другаго волостнаго суда. 2) Предоставить *неокончательному* рѣшенію волостнаго суда гражданскіе иски между крестьянами цѣною отъ десяти до ста р.; на эти рѣшенія подаются *апелляціонныя* жалобы мировому судьѣ; на рѣшенія послѣдняго, въ *апелляціонномъ* порядкѣ постановленныя, подаются *кассаціонныя* жалобы въ съѣздъ мировыхъ судей *). Казалось бы, что при подобной организаціи мы не лишили бы народъ полезной стороны волостнаго суда, не нарушили бы и самостоятельности его, но значительно уменьшили бы тотъ вредъ, который онъ приноситъ во многихъ случаяхъ. Такимъ судоустройствомъ мы бы сдѣлали «новый судъ» доступнымъ не только дворянамъ, купцамъ и разночинцамъ, но и *большинству* населенія въ провинціи, т. е. крестьянамъ, которые въ настоящее время, при необразованности своей, или обращаются въ волостной судъ, закрѣпляющій своими приговорами это невѣжество, или, опять мимо мироваго судьи, вынуждены искать окружнаго суда, на дѣлѣ для нихъ замкнутаго, благодаря тому же невѣжеству массы и другимъ причинамъ, изложеннымъ выше.

Мы всѣ сознаемъ, что народъ у насъ въ невѣжествѣ; но многіе

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*) Въ статьѣ «Нерѣшенные вопросы крестьянскаго дѣла» предлагается иная комбинація для улучшенія волостныхъ судовъ; но такъ какъ настоящій вопросъ далеко еще не можетъ считаться выясненнымъ, то различныя мнѣнія, однородныя по своей сущности, не мѣшаютъ одно другому.

Изд.

изъ насъ вспоминаютъ объ этомъ не тогда, когда слѣдовало бы, и учрежденія, ими создаваемыя, прилаживать къ нравственному уровню той среды, для которой они предназначаются. Такъ, согласно ст. 409 гражд. судопр. существованіе *всякаго* долга и *всякой* уплаты по долгу требуетъ *письменнаго* удостовѣренія. Отъ кого? Отъ лицъ, которыхъ никто не научилъ писать. Крестьянинъ продалъ свою послѣднюю коровенку лавочнику села, для того, чтобы уплатить подати; онъ продалъ ее при свидѣтеляхъ и можетъ свидѣтельскими показаніями доказывать на судѣ фактъ продажи, такъ какъ движимость можетъ быть продаваема и безъ письменныхъ документовъ. Но лавочникъ, *при свидѣтеляхъ* купившій корову, не уплатилъ хозяину ея денегъ и 409 ст. устава гражд. судопр. лишаетъ крестьянина возможности сослаться въ судѣ на то, что свидѣтели *видѣли*, какъ продавалась корова, *слышали* тогда же, что лавочникъ предполагалъ уплатить за нее деньги, положимъ, на слѣдующій день; судъ не приметъ въ уваженіе этихъ свидѣтельскихъ показаній, если лавочникъ отопрется отъ долга, потому что кассаціоннымъ департаментомъ сената было неоднократно разъяснено и, кажется намъ, вполнѣ правильно, что изъ какой бы сдѣлки долгъ ни вытекалъ, а по гражданскимъ законамъ и согласно 409 ст. гражд. судопр. онъ требуетъ *письменнаго* удостовѣренія и дѣйствительность его не можетъ быть доказываема свидѣтельскими показаніями. Просвѣщенные люди, а въ особенности юристы, легко поймутъ, что законъ не можетъ предоставить безусловной свободы истцу доказывать долгъ свидѣтельскими показаніями, для того, чтобы предупредить злоупотребленія; но какъ сильно возмущается на судѣ совѣсть того честнаго крестьянина, *присяжнымъ* показаніямъ свидѣтелей котораго судъ не вѣритъ, давая торжествовать лицу, всенародно признаваемому безчестнымъ, но не уличенному по закону. Допустимъ, наконецъ, что время и горькій опытъ научили нашего крестьянина, продавца коровы: онъ потребовалъ отъ лавочника *письменнаго* документа. Но къ чему это ведетъ? Крестьянинъ неграмотенъ и потому не въ состояніи *прочесть* документа въ минуту написанія его.

Вотъ какой былъ случай въ нашей судебной практикѣ: К. былъ долженъ крестьянину П. *по роспискѣ* 15 руб. 12 коп. сер. и безъ росписки 5 руб. сер. Предъ наступленіемъ срока уплаты К. явился къ П. и просилъ отсрочить ему уплату по 1-е января 1870 года. П. согласился и К. тутъ же написалъ росписку и *прочелъ ее* П.; изъ

прочтенія росписки П. убѣдился въ томъ, что К. обязуется уплатить ему *весь* долгъ не позже 1-го января 1870 года. По выѣздѣ К. изъ села, неграмотный крестьянинъ П. далъ прочесть оставленную ему заемную росписку постороннему лицу и тогда только, къ ужасу своему, узналъ, что К. въ роспискѣ обязался уплатить часть долга не къ 1-му января 1870 года, а *«по истеченіи»* 1870 года, а остальную часть лишь въ 1872 году. Къ счастью П., отвѣтчикъ К. *читалъ* росписку *при свидѣтеляхъ*, т. е. при свидѣтеляхъ прочелъ П. росписку не такъ, какъ она была имъ написана. Противъ К. возбуждено преслѣдованіе за мошенничество; К. былъ обвиненъ и остался доволенъ приговоромъ съѣзда, тщетно попытавшись опровергнуть обвинительный приговоръ судьи. Но какъ часто возможны подобные случаи съ «темнымъ» человѣкомъ при такой обстановкѣ, что судъ не будетъ въ состояніи защитить праваго! Да, пока грамотность не правило, а исключеніе въ массѣ народа, весьма естественна эксплуатація неграмотнаго большинства полуграмотнымъ меньшинствомъ; этотъ безспорный фактъ, невыясненный какъ слѣдуетъ, и подалъ поводъ людямъ близорукимъ утверждать, будто грамотность только и ведетъ къ мошенничеству. Разскажемъ еще одинъ случай изъ нашей судебной практики: шинкарь одного села надоѣлъ мѣстному сельскому обществу тѣмъ, что безпрерывно пускалъ, не имѣя на то права, свой скотъ на общественное пастбище; сельскій староста рѣшился наконецъ задержать телушку шинкаря и, сдавъ ее на руки пастуху общественнаго стада, приказалъ ему не выдавать шинкарю телушки, пока шинкарь не уплатитъ 40 коп. сер. штрафа, о чемъ староста и увѣдомилъ шинкаря. Шинкарь, получивъ «бумагу» съ печатью старосты, не долго думая, оторвалъ отъ нея именно тотъ клочокъ, на которомъ находилась печать, и написалъ на этомъ клочкѣ: *«прошу выдать телушку.—Б. Ш.»*. Какъ видитъ читатель, г. Ш. имѣлъ осторожность подписать на клочкѣ бумаги, снабженномъ печатью старосты, свою фамилію, для того, чтобы его не могли обвинять въ подлогѣ. Съ этою запискою шинкарь послалъ свою работницу къ пастуху, поручивъ ей вручить ее пастуху и взять у него телушку, не уплачивая штрафа. Пастухъ, при видѣ «бумаги», смутился, а при видѣ «печати» смутился еще больше и, признавъ въ послѣдней печать сельскаго старосты, по внѣшнимъ очертаніямъ ея, такъ какъ пастухъ былъ неграмотенъ, выдалъ работницѣ телушку, а записку оставилъ у себя. Каково было удивленіе сельскаго старосты, когда пастухъ разсказалъ

ему происшедшее и вручилъ ему записку! Староста, самъ неграмотный, былъ не мало смущенъ, узнавши свою печать и поспѣшилъ къ волостному писарю; только тогда дѣло разъяснилось и возбуждено преслѣдованіе въ мошенничествѣ противъ шинкаря; г. Ш. былъ обвиненъ, подавалъ кассаціонную жалобу въ сенатъ, но и этимъ тюрьмы не избѣжалъ.

Мы могли бы привести еще не мало примѣровъ изъ судебной практики въ доказательство того, какъ часто страдаетъ народъ отъ того, что онъ не только не обладаетъ относительнымъ образованіемъ, но даже простою *грамотностью*. Тѣмъ не менѣе къ пему, т. е. къ *большинству* населенія провинціи, находящемуся въ безпомощномъ состояніи, всецѣло примѣняется требованіе закона о *письменномъ* удостовѣреніи извѣстныхъ обыденныхъ сдѣлокъ. Рѣшить не трудно, легко ли это достается народу. Намъ кажется, что ближайшее знакомство съ бытомъ провинціи убѣдило бы всякаго въ необходимости ограничить требованіе ст. 409 гр. судопр. въ примѣненіи къ крестьянамъ и притомъ не только въ интересѣ лицъ, ссужающихъ деньги, но и въ интересѣ лицъ, которыя кредитуются. Закономъ гражданскимъ неграмотный, занимающій деньги, ограждается тѣмъ, что законъ обставляетъ этотъ заемъ весьма сложными формами; но это усложненіе въ свою очередь настолько стѣснительно, при требованіи ст. 409 гр. судопр., т. е. *письменнаго* удостовѣренія о займѣ, что лишаетъ крестьянина кредита и на ничтожную сумму. По вышеизложеннымъ соображеніямъ, и въ виду того, что законъ не можетъ игнорировать быта той среды, для которой предназначается, казалось бы цѣлесообразнымъ въ дополненіе къ ст. 409 гр. суд. постановить, что допускаются свидѣтельскія показанія въ удостовѣреніе долга не свыше тридцати руб. сер. въ случаѣ неграмотности *взыскателя* и въ удостовѣреніе уплаты долга на такую же сумму въ случаѣ неграмотности *отвѣтчика*. Въ огромномъ большинствѣ случаевъ крестьянинъ такъ свято чтитъ присягу, что не рѣшится показать ложно подъ присягою на судѣ.

Настоящими замѣтками мы далеко не исчерпали всѣхъ случаевъ, въ которыхъ уставъ гражданскаго судопроизводства оказывается не прилаженнымъ къ провинціи, такъ сказать еще и не существовавшей въ то время, когда составлялись судебные уставы; но мы указали на главнѣйшія неудобства. Земскія учрежденія, мировой судъ и народная школа пробудили провинцію; эти учрежденія призвали къ дѣя-

тельности относительно «лучшихъ людей» и побудили ихъ вникнуть поближе въ бытъ большинства населенія. Мы вполнѣ увѣрены въ томъ, что въ наши дни и столичные дѣятели, помня о томъ, что провинція наша—*село*, не пожелаютъ болѣе отворачиваться отъ этого, неизвѣстнаго имъ предмета, или изучать его по «очеркамъ» и «отчетамъ», но внимательно прислушаются къ искреннему голосу мѣстныхъ дѣятелей и постараются удовлетворить ихъ справедливымъ желаніямъ. Судебные уставы безспорно составляютъ славу настоящаго царствованія; но еще большую, быть можетъ, славу его составляетъ стремленіе поставить законъ въ уровень съ жизнью и, прислушиваясь къ голосу послѣдней, соотвѣтственно ея дальнѣйшему развитію, видоизмѣнять и законъ.

II.

Значительное большинство предсѣдателей мировыхъ съѣздовъ, насколько можно судить объ этомъ по замѣчаніямъ ихъ на судебные уставы, напечатаннымъ министерствомъ юстиціи, свидѣтельствуютъ о совершенномъ бездѣйствіи *почетныхъ* мировыхъ судей. Но при этомъ, если не ошибаемся, рѣдко съ надлежащею полнотою разъяснялись причины этого бездѣйствія, а разслѣдованіе ихъ чрезвычайно существенно уже потому, что почетныхъ судей *въ провинціи* несравненно болѣе, чѣмъ *участковыхъ*, и что поэтому, по мысли законодателя, преимущественно на первыхъ и падала бы обязанность осуществить судъ, возможно болѣе близкій и потому удобный для тяжущихся. Въ этомъ отношеніи, на что мы уже не разъ указывали выше, существуетъ огромное различіе между столицею и провинціею: въ Петербургѣ на пространствѣ отъ 80 до 90 квадратныхъ верстъ распредѣлены 30 участковыхъ судей и всего 14 почетныхъ; въ Александровскомъ уѣздѣ Екатеринославской губерніи на пространствѣ 12,000 квадратныхъ верстъ устроено 5 камеръ участковыхъ судей и на 5 участковыхъ судей приходится до 20 почетныхъ. Намъ могутъ сказать на это, что населеніе Петербурга слишкомъ въ семь разъ превосходитъ населеніе Александровскаго уѣзда, и что поэтому значительное число участковыхъ судей необходимо Петербургу; но мы этого и не оспариваемъ и не въ томъ вовсе вопросъ. Мы позволимъ себѣ сравненіе столицы съ захолустьемъ, по *территоріи* и *числу* судей,

для того, чтобы наглядно пояснить, какое значеніе *для провинціи* могъ бы получить *почетный* мировой судья, какъ судъ *ближайшій*, такъ какъ у насъ на каждаго изъ участковыхъ судей приходится по 2,400 квадр. верстъ, а на столичнаго—всего отъ 2 до 3 кв. верстъ; къ тому же въ столицѣ, гдѣ мнѣ нужно лишь *полчаса ходьбы* для того, чтобы добраться до своего участковаго судьи, а *не 5 часовъ ѣзды*, какъ въ провинціи, я во всякое время года могу пройти въ камеру по удобному тротуару, а въ провинціи часто вовсе не смѣю помышлять о поѣздкѣ за нѣсколько десятковъ верстъ, такъ какъ изъ-за невылазной грязи я едва въ силахъ пѣшкомъ перейти черезъ дворъ. Земство экономически не въ силахъ организовать столько мировыхъ участковъ, чтобы для большинства сельскихъ жителей судъ оказался *близкимъ*, такъ какъ на содержаніе участковымъ мировымъ судьямъ пришлось бы затратить огромныя суммы денегъ; оставалось бы земству воспользоваться институтомъ почетныхъ мировыхъ судей, не получающихъ содержанія и избираемыхъ въ такомъ числѣ, что этимъ самымъ значительно сокращаются разстоянія, отдѣляющія публику отъ мѣстъ пребыванія судей. Но для того, чтобы почетные мировые судьи приносили пользу, необходимо, чтобы они дѣйствовали, а намъ отовсюду заявляютъ, что они бездѣйствуютъ.

Нельзя отрицать исключеній: есть и почетные мировые судьи, къ которымъ часто обращаются тяжущіеся и которые часто замѣняютъ участковыхъ мировыхъ судей. Но въ большинствѣ случаевъ почетные мировые судьи ограничиваются участіемъ въ съѣздахъ мировыхъ судей, которые посѣщаютъ изрѣдка, крайне неисправно. Польза ихъ на съѣздѣ несомнѣнна и при томъ, если не всегда при рѣшеніи вопросовъ юридическихъ, то безспорно при рѣшеніи вопросовъ факта. Съ этой точки зрѣнія почетные мировые судьи и въ настоящее время оказываютъ значительную услугу обществу. Что же касается того, чтобы мечтать о распространеніи ихъ единоличной судебной дѣятельности по гражданскимъ дѣламъ и уголовнымъ, могущимъ прекратиться примиреніемъ, то едва ли было бы благоразумно мечтать объ этомъ: въ участковые судьи избираются, по возможности, лица съ юридическою подготовкою и избраннымъдается такая обстановка, которая позволяетъ судьѣ посвятить все время судебной дѣятельности. Такой подготовки и подобнаго отношенія къ дѣлу избиратели не въ правѣ требовать отъ почетнаго мироваго судьи, не бросающаго своего хозяйства или промысла и могущаго заниматься судебною практикою лишь

между прочимъ. Послѣ этого понятно, что публика, при полнѣйшемъ довѣріи къ дарованіямъ и добросовѣстности *почетнаго* судьи, болѣе довѣряетъ познаніямъ и вниманію къ дѣлу *участковаго* судьи, а потому крайне рѣдко, почти никогда не обращается къ единоличному разбору почетнаго мироваго судьи. Избраніе мировыхъ почетныхъ судей въ возможно большемъ числѣ вполнѣ соотвѣтствуетъ тѣмъ мотивамъ, которыми руководились составители судебныхъ уставовъ. Такъ, мы читаемъ въ этихъ мотивахъ, обнародованныхъ государственною канцеляріею: «Чтобы по возможности усилить дѣятельность мирового судьи лучшими людьми, желающими посвятить обществу свои услуги безвозмездно, дабы, съ одной стороны, облегчить земство въ содержаніи большаго числа мировыхъ судей, а съ другой стороны привлечь къ сему дѣлу людей, которые по своимъ домашнимъ или служебнымъ отношеніямъ не могутъ принять на себя постоянныхъ обязанностей участковаго мироваго судьи... *весьма желательно, чтобы число такихъ почетныхъ дѣятелей было сколь можно большее*». Столь же «желательно», добавимъ мы, чтобы почетные дѣятели «были» сколь можно дѣятельнѣе. Но мы уже указали на одну изъ существеннѣйшихъ причинъ, по которой только въ исключительныхъ случаяхъ возможно ожидать отъ почетнаго судьи единоличной судебной дѣятельности; добавимъ теперь, что эта дѣятельность ограничивается самимъ закономъ. Въ ст. 46 учр. суд. установл. изображено, что почетный мировой судья творитъ судъ лишь въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, подлежащихъ мировому разбирательству, «*когда обѣ стороны обратятся къ его посредничеству*».

Мы уже видѣли, что составителями судебныхъ уставовъ была предусмотрѣна невозможность для *почетнаго* судьи по его домашнимъ или служебнымъ отношеніямъ принять на себя *постоянныя* обязанности участковаго мироваго судьи; судя по тому, что въ мотивахъ составители уставовъ неоднократно возвращаются къ мысли о томъ, что «мировые судьи, какъ почетные, такъ и участковые, должны пользоваться одинаковыми правами и преимуществами», мы полагаемъ, что ограниченіе ихъ судебной дѣятельности разборомъ лишь дѣлъ по заявленію *обѣихъ* заинтересованныхъ въ дѣлѣ сторонъ не имѣло другаго значенія, кромѣ желанія *облегчить* дѣятельность почетныхъ судей. Въ этомъ убѣждаетъ насъ и сличеніе вышеприведенной 46-й ст. съ 47-ю, въ которой сказано: «почетный мировой судья разбираетъ дѣла на томъ же основаніи, какъ и участковый...»

Намъ кажется вполнѣ цѣлесообразнымъ то, что законодатель былъ озабоченъ мыслію объ облегченіи обязанностей почетныхъ судей; иначе невозможно было поступить, не рискуя запугать избираемыхъ въ почетные судьи, въ виду желанія привлечь къ вліянію на мировую юстицію лицъ, которыя могли бы служить обществу, «*не оставляя своихъ домашнихъ занятій и обязанностей*». Глазами составителей судебныхъ уставовъ взглянуло на почетныхъ судей и общество: оно не считаетъ себя въ правѣ затруднять безвозмезднаго слугу общества, а сами слуги общества считаютъ себя въ правѣ удѣлять ему только свой досугъ, котораго у иного изъ нихъ и весьма мало. Въ результатѣ оказывается, что стороны почти никогда не обращаются къ почетному мировому судьѣ, а большинство почетныхъ судей и не желало бы себѣ единоличной судебной дѣятельности, не имѣя для нея времени.

Слѣдуетъ ли, однако, изъ этого, чтобы дѣятельность *почетныхъ* судей должна была ограничиваться участіемъ въ коллегіяльныхъ засѣданіяхъ съѣзда? Отнюдь нѣтъ. Начать съ того, что по ст. 10-й устава уг. судопр., разъясненной мотивами, «*каждый* судья», а слѣдовательно и почетный мировой судья, *обязанъ* немедленно освободить задержаннаго подъ стражею безъ постановленія уполномоченныхъ на то мѣстъ и лицъ. Въ силу этой одной статьи закона почетный мировой судья уже имѣетъ огромное значеніе, какъ власть единоличная. Кромѣ того, ст. 47-я учр. судебн. установл., установляя, что почетный судья разбираетъ дѣла на томъ же основаніи, какъ и участковый, давала нѣкоторое основаніе думать, что къ разбору дѣлъ уголовныхъ *почетный* мировой судья *можетъ* приступать наравнѣ съ участковымъ, согласно ст. 42 уг. судопроизвод. «по непосредственно усмотрѣннымъ имъ преступнымъ дѣйствіямъ, подлежащимъ преслѣдованію независимо отъ жалобъ частныхъ лицъ». Право на такое толкованіе давали мотивы къ судебнымъ уставамъ и рѣшенія уголовнаго кассаціоннаго департамента 1867 г. №№ 71 и 512. Въ комментаріяхъ къ ст. 42 уг. судопр. сказано, съ полнѣйшимъ основаніемъ, что мировой судья «не можетъ быть поставляемъ закономъ въ крайне *затруднительное*, даже *неестественное* положеніе — быть очевидцемъ преступнаго дѣйствія и не имѣть права подвергнуть виновнаго заслуженному имъ взысканію». Затѣмъ вышеуказанными рѣшеніями сената было разъяснено, что «мировой судья», усмотрѣвъ изъ разбора гражданскаго дѣла такое преступное дѣяніе, которое подле-

житъ преслѣдованію, независимо отъ жалобъ частныхъ лицъ, можетъ возбудить преслѣдованіе по 3 п. 42 ст. уг. судопр. т. е. по личному усмотрѣнію. Въ виду того, что ст. 47 учр. суд. установл. предоставляетъ *почетнымъ* мировымъ судьямъ *разборъ* дѣлъ на одинакихъ правахъ съ участковыми; въ виду того, что не только участковому, но и почетному судьѣ было бы «*крайне затруднительно*» и «*неестественно*» бездѣйствіемъ прикрывать преступленіе; въ виду того, что и сенатомъ за мировыми судьями было признано право возбужденія дѣлъ уголовныхъ изъ разбора дѣлъ гражданскихъ возникающихъ,—не безъ основанія многіе полагали, что не только участковый, но и почетный мировой судья въ правѣ возбуждать преслѣдованіе по лично имъ усмотрѣннымъ преступнымъ дѣйствіямъ. А какое бы это было благо для провинціи: тамъ строятъ зданіе гдѣ попало, тутъ мочатъ ленъ и коноплю въ рѣкѣ, тамъ валяется падаль, здѣсь не чинятъ моста, тамъ не прививаютъ оспы и нанимаютъ въ богадѣльню кухарку-сифилитика (фактъ изъ жизни), тутъ обираютъ людей посредствомъ рулетки, тутъ валяется пьяный на улицѣ, тамъ высыпали среди двора золу съ огнемъ и проч.... *Участковыхъ* мировыхъ судей всего пять на 1,200 квадр. верстъ; скоро ли наткнется на эти безобразія участковый судья, изъ шести дней просиживающій четыре безвыходно въ своей камерѣ и настолько занятый судебною практикою вообще, что онъ старается *не* усматривать *лично* никакихъ преступныхъ дѣяній. Это было бы дѣломъ почетныхъ мировыхъ судей, еслибы имъ принадлежало право, предоставленное 3 п. ст. 42 уг. судопр.; ихъ такъ много въ уѣздѣ, что еслибы каждый изъ нихъ возбудилъ въ теченіе года только по десяти дѣлъ такого рода, то уже значительно выиграли бы общественное благоустройство и безопасность.

Прислушаемся къ тому, какъ прекрасно высказался о назначеніи почетныхъ мировыхъ судей комментарій къ ст. 16 учр. судебн. установл. Они должны, по смыслу мотива къ этой статьѣ, «оказывать своимъ вліяніемъ содѣйствіе къ охраненію общественнаго порядка и спокойствія, къ развитію мѣстнаго благосостоянія». Затѣмъ мотивъ къ ст. 42-й уст. уг. судопр. какъ бы цѣликомъ продиктованъ требованіями жизни: «Мировой судья (не сказано: *участковый* мировой судья) одинаково долженъ привлекать къ отвѣтственности какъ вора или самовольнаго порубщика, такъ и торговца, продающаго вредные для здоровья припасы, или человѣка, намѣренно повреждаю-

щаго дорогу или мостъ, какъ купца, употребляющаго невѣрные вѣсы и мѣры, или нищаго, испрашивающаго подаяніе по лѣни и привычкѣ къ праздности, такъ и буяна...» Еще бо́льшее право предполагать, что законодатель имѣлъ въ виду предоставить не только участковому, но и почетному мировому судьѣ возможность, не являясь безмолвнымъ зрителемъ правонарушеній, такъ-сказать, ежечасно и повсемѣстно служить обществу, давалъ мотивъ къ ст. 16 учр. судебн. установл., въ которомъ выражено *категорически*: «*почетному* мировому судьѣ (NB) можетъ быть предоставлено и разсмотрѣніе тѣхъ дѣлъ о маловажныхъ преступленіяхъ или проступкахъ, которые во-1-хъ относятся до явнаго нарушенія законовъ, ограждающихъ общее спокойствіе и частную безопасность, въ предѣлахъ указанной въ законѣ власти мирового судьи, въ особенности (не сказано: «исключительно») когда на мѣстѣ нѣтъ участковаго мирового судьи, и во-2-хъ, по закону, могутъ быть начинаемы не иначе, какъ по жалобамъ частныхъ лицъ и оканчиваемы примиреніемъ». Къ сожалѣнію, этому мотиву не соотвѣтствуетъ редакція ст. 46 учр. судебн. установл., по которой почетный судья приступаетъ къ разбору дѣлъ только въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда *обѣ* стороны обратятся къ его посредничеству. Правда, что въ большинствѣ правонарушеній, перечисленныхъ нами выше, преслѣдованіе которыхъ должно бы, по нашему мнѣнію, зависѣть отъ личнаго усмотрѣнія, можетъ оказаться потерпѣвшее лицо, которое занесетъ жалобу почетному судьѣ; но въ такого рода проступкахъ трудно предположить, чтобы *обѣ* стороны, т. е. обвиняющая и обвиняемая *искали* суда; послѣдняя, напротивъ, будетъ уклоняться отъ суда и такимъ образомъ обращеніе *обѣихъ* сторонъ къ почетному судьѣ не состоится. Редакція ст. 46 учр. судебн. установленій, только по сличеніи ея со ст. 47-ю, вполнѣ приравнивающею почетнаго судью къ участковому, могла давать основаніе предоставить и почетному судьѣ возбужденіе преслѣдованія независимо отъ жалобы лицъ потерпѣвшихъ, по лично усмотрѣннымъ имъ преступнымъ дѣйствіямъ. Но не такъ истолковалъ эту статью кассаціонный деп. сената въ рѣшеніи 1869 года № 58. Согласно этому толкованію, обязательному для цѣлой Россіи, статья 42 уг. судопр. относится къ праву *участковыхъ* мировыхъ судей приступать къ разбирательству дѣла, но не распространяется на мировыхъ судей *почетныхъ*, которымъ, какъ говоритъ сенатъ, по смыслу 46 ст. учр. суд. установл. предоставленъ разборъ тѣхъ только проступковъ, по коимъ дѣла начинаются не иначе, какъ по

жалобамъ потерпѣвшихъ отъ проступка лицъ и только въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда потерпѣвшее лицо обратится къ суду почетнаго мирового судьи, а обвиняемый не будетъ настаивать на судѣ у участковаго судьи.

Вполнѣ признавая обязательность такого примѣненія закона, пока сенатъ не дастъ инаго толкованія, мы позволяемъ себѣ, однако, усомниться въ безошибочности и цѣлесообразности его: если составители судебныхъ уставовъ признавали «*неестественнымъ*» и «*крайне затруднительнымъ*» для мирового судьи вообще безмолвно присутствовать при въ-очію совершающихся правонарушеніяхъ; если составители судебныхъ уставовъ старательно избѣгали всякаго постановленія, которое хотя бы на волосъ уменьшало права *почетнаго* судьи сравнительно съ правами *участковаго* мирового судьи, — то изъ этого прямо слѣдуетъ, по нашему мнѣнію, что законодатель не могъ имѣть въ виду не поддержать значенія почетнаго мирового института, лишивъ его возможности возбужденія преслѣдованій. Намъ самимъ уже не разъ случалось слышать упреки: «что вы дѣлаете; на глазахъ вашихъ валяется падаль, засоряются рѣки, а отъ этого гибнутъ люди и скотъ; вы судья, а на все это смотрите хладнокровно, не принимая никакихъ мѣръ». «Такое право принадлежитъ только участковому судьѣ», отвѣчали мы; но отвѣтъ нашъ не удовлетворялъ собесѣдниковъ и намъ возражали: «помилуйте, до участковаго судьи 40 верстъ, онъ здѣсь никогда не бываетъ и бывать не можетъ, а вы тутъ постоянно живете». Вотъ какъ высказывается провинціальная жизнь.

При написаніи судебныхъ уставовъ вѣроятно предполагали, что на практикѣ судьѣ только въ рѣдкихъ случаяхъ придется самому возбуждать преслѣдованія, а что въ большинствѣ случаевъ это будетъ исполняться полиціею, *спеціальную* обязанность которой это и составляетъ по закону. Въ Петербургѣ такъ и оказалось: тамъ не судъ, а полиція, обвиняя предъ судомъ, блюдетъ за благоустройствомъ и безопасностію. Но что дѣлается въ провинціи? Въ провинціи, въ большинствѣ случаевъ, полиція существуетъ только по названію и не только сотскіе, сельскіе старосты и старшины, но и становые пристава почти никогда не возбуждаютъ никакихъ преслѣдованій, развѣ если поймаютъ вора. Огромное большинство сотскихъ, старостъ и старшинъ даже вовсе и не знаютъ своихъ правъ и обязанностей и съ удивленіемъ выслушиваютъ рѣчь о томъ, что на нихъ законъ возла-

гаетъ долгъ блюсти за благоустройствомъ и безопасностію. Почти каждый изъ сельскихъ урядниковъ настолько бездѣйствуетъ въ этомъ отношеніи, что подлежалъ бы преданію суду за бездѣйствіе власти; но кромѣ преданія суду общихъ судебныхъ, а не мировыхъ учрежденій, и не существуетъ никакихъ мѣръ взысканія, которыя убѣдили бы сельское начальство въ томъ, что законъ признаетъ ихъ лицами, отвѣтственными за порядокъ. Но преданіе суду сельскаго начальства сопряжено съ такими сложными формальностями и настолько затрудняетъ прокурорскій надзоръ, обремененный работой, что избѣгается всячески; отсюда же является полнѣйшая безконтрольность и ненаказуемость дѣйствій сельской полиціи. Теоретики, не знающіе провинціи, могутъ возразить на это, что сельскіе урядники состоятъ въ административномъ подчиненіи у мировыхъ посредниковъ и чиновъ уѣздной полиціи, которые и могутъ настаивать на исполненіи ими ихъ обязанностей. Но такое возраженіе было бы несогласно съ указаніями провинціальной жизни: въ провинціи большинство мировыхъ посредниковъ безмятежно выжидаютъ того времени, когда это учрежденіе отойдетъ въ вѣчность, а большинство чиновъ полиціи еще не освоилось съ мыслію о томъ, что оно не только исполняетъ порученія, но должно быть *самодѣятельно*, и селеніе, въ которомъ живетъ становой приставъ, по благоустройству, ничѣмъ не отличается отъ остальныхъ селъ. При такомъ взглядѣ на дѣло начальства можетъ ли оно явиться воспитателемъ сельской полиціи и подвергать послѣднюю взысканіямъ за бездѣйствіе? Трудно не согласиться съ тѣмъ, что большинство мировыхъ судей болѣе большинства чиновъ уѣздной полиціи—и по относительному образованію своему, и по общественному положенію, и по способу назначенія на должность—заинтересовано въ мѣстномъ благоустройствѣ и мѣстномъ благосостояніи; поэтому, казалось бы, трудно не согласиться и съ тѣмъ, что мировые судьи скорѣе и успѣшнѣе чиновъ уѣздной полиціи сколько-нибудь воспитали бы намъ сельскую полицію.

По вышеизложеннымъ соображеніямъ, судьи-практики, какъ граждане, страдающіе отъ провинціальной неурядицы, полагаютъ полезнымъ, чтобы мировому судьѣ, независимо отъ теперь существующаго порядка преданія суду, принадлежало право привлекать къ отвѣтственности сотскихъ, старостъ и старшинъ въ случаѣ усмотрѣннаго судьею нерадѣнія этихъ лицъ къ возбужденію преслѣдованій и обнаруженію виновныхъ въ проступкахъ противъ благочинія, порядка и спокой-

ствія, противъ общественнаго благоустройства, уставовъ о паспортахъ, строительнаго и путей сообщенія, пожарнаго, почтоваго и телеграфнаго, противъ народнаго здравія, личной и имущественной безопасности. Во всѣхъ означенныхъ случаяхъ сотскіе, старосты и старшины могли бы подлежать оштрафованію мировымъ судьею, согласно 29 ст. устава о наказ., какъ за неисполненіе законныхъ постановленій правительства. Самая мысль о подчиненіи полиціи мировому судьѣ не будетъ новостью; она уже выражена въ ст. 47 уг. судопр., дающей право судьѣ «*поручать*» что-либо полиціи, и въ ст. 53 уг. судопр., дающей ему даже право «дѣлать полицейскимъ чинамъ предостереженіе» въ извѣстныхъ случаяхъ. Оставалось бы только сдѣлать вліяніе мирового судьи на сельскую полицію болѣе дѣйствительнымъ, и съ *бумаги*, которою оно пока ограничивается, перенести въ самую жизнь.

Если не ошибаемся, то съ предоставленіемъ вышеуказанныхъ правъ *почетнымъ* и *участковымъ* мировымъ судьямъ, измѣнится въ провинціи и характеръ выборовъ почетныхъ судей Земскія собранія будутъ продолжать избирать ихъ въ «*возможно*» бо́льшемъ числѣ, но перестанутъ избирать «невозможное», сообразно мѣстному контингенту людей, число почетныхъ судей и отнесутся къ этимъ выборамъ поосторожнѣе и построже. Каждый избиратель перестанетъ думать, что избраніемъ почетнаго судьи онъ какъ-бы говоритъ комплиментъ человѣку за то, что онъ—«человѣкъ добрый» и этимъ и ограничивается; избиратель, опуская шаръ въ ящикъ, вспомнитъ о томъ, что власть почетнаго мирового судьи не ограничивается на практикѣ правомъ раза три въ годъ, украсивъ себя цѣпью, посидѣть на съѣздѣ мировыхъ судей, но что ему предоставлена возможность возбужденіемъ преслѣдованій и наблюденіемъ за сельскою полиціею, *не покидая своихъ домашнихъ занятій*, при всякомъ удобномъ случаѣ, въ предѣлахъ цѣлаго уѣзда, служить благосостоянію роднаго края; избиратель вспомнитъ, наконецъ, о томъ, что нѣтъ такого закона, которымъ нельзя было бы злоупотребить, и что поэтому онъ не долженъ избирать въ почетные судьи такое лицо, власть котораго могла бы обратиться во вредъ населенію, или по бездарности, или по недобросовѣстности, или по невѣжеству избираемаго.

Намъ уже не разъ случалось указывать на то, что судебные уставы писались въ такое время, когда въ столицѣ знали провинцію только изъ замѣтокъ проѣзжихъ туристовъ и изъ отчетовъ проѣзжихъ, или

пріѣзжихъ чиновниковъ, т. е. почти не знали ея вовсе. Мы говорили также, что поэтому нельзя удивляться и нѣкоторымъ неудобствамъ, встрѣчаемымъ нынѣ при примѣненіи въ провинціи судебныхъ уставовъ, не принаровленныхъ къ ея быту. Какъ на одно изъ доказательствъ такой несоотвѣтственности мы можемъ указать на 182 ст. уг. судопр., столь краткую и ясную, что она, съ перваго взгляда, и не можетъ возбуждать, казалось бы, никакихъ недоразумѣній. Приведемъ текстъ этой статьи: «Приговоръ, вступившій въ законную силу, обращается немедленно къ исполненію». Для того, чтобы осязательно представить, къ какимъ затрудненіямъ можетъ вести примѣненіе этой статьи закона, приведемъ примѣръ. Въ началѣ августа, крестьянинъ, идя по проселочной дорогѣ, укралъ съ поля арбузъ изъ кучи сорванныхъ арбузовъ; обвиненный въ воровствѣ, онъ сознался и, согласно ст. 169 и 171 устава о нак. нал. м. суд., долженъ быть заключенъ въ тюрьму *не менѣе*, чѣмъ на *6 недѣль*, а можетъ быть заключенъ, согласно рѣш. сената 1868 г. № 908, и на *шесть мѣсяцевъ*. Допустимъ, что дѣло рѣшено около перваго сентября, и что крестьянинъ изъявилъ удовольствіе на приговоръ, который, какъ вошедшій въ законную силу, долженъ быть приведенъ немедленно въ исполненіе. Крестьянина арестуютъ и везутъ въ острогъ, въ уѣздный городъ, откуда онъ возвращается приблизительно лишь въ концѣ октября мѣсяца. Этотъ несчастный просидѣлъ за кражу арбуза, при возможно болѣе снисходительномъ приговорѣ, единственное время въ году, когда на югѣ Россіи, гдѣ хлѣба въ овинахъ не сушатъ, молотятъ; этотъ несчастный возвращается домой, когда уже поздно везти хлѣбъ въ портъ и когда съ хлѣбомъ ранѣе весны некуда цѣваться, еслибы хлѣбъ и былъ вымолоченъ; безъ него работа дома стояла, потому что у него нѣтъ работниковъ въ семьѣ. Что ему предстоитъ? Зимою будутъ требовать податей, а выручить не изъ чего! Такихъ примѣровъ можно представить сотни: допустите, что ничтожнѣйшая кража совершена крестьяниномъ предъ наступленіемъ весны, и въ такомъ случаѣ немедленное исполненіе приговора о заключеніи въ тюрьму главы семейства не только можетъ на рабочую пору оставить хозяйство безъ призрѣнія, а дѣтей безъ пропитанія, но и навсегда пустить цѣлую семью по міру; крестьянинъ за этотъ годъ не произведетъ посѣва, а таковы ли запасы у нашего крестьянина, чтобы онъ могъ обойтись безъ урожая одного года, или чтобы онъ хоть скоро оправился, не получивъ за одинъ рабочій годъ никакого дохода!

Еслибы провинція и семь лѣтъ тому назадъ хоть сколько нибудь заявила себя; еслибы въ то время уже знали экономическое положеніе крестьянина, то, при составленіи судебныхъ уставовъ, не упустили бы изъ виду того, что для крестьянъ, т. е. для значительнаго большинства подданныхъ, личное задержаніе въ извѣстную пору года равняется голоду, продолжительному раззоренію, а потому можетъ не только не исправить однажды провинившагося, но вывести его изъ острога, въ которомъ его старательно развращали товарищи, на путь болѣе серьезныхъ преступленій. Но тутъ все дѣло только въ томъ, что провинцію не знали, а не въ стремленіяхъ закона; что же касается стремленій судебныхъ уставовъ, то вездѣ просвѣчиваетъ забота о томъ, чтобы распоряженіе суда не оказалось слишкомъ обременительнымъ для бѣдняка и чтобы экономичеекія послѣдствія его не были слишкомъ отяготительны. Такъ напримѣръ, по ст. 974 гр. судопр. земледѣльческія орудія, рабочій скотъ и годовой запасъ экономическихъ продуктовъ могутъ быть арестованы по взысканію, къ которому присужденъ владѣлецъ ихъ, *«только за неимѣніемъ другаго имущества»*. Это сдѣлано, какъ поясняетъ комментарій къ этой статьѣ закона, *«съ цѣлію отстраненія крайняго для отвѣтчика стѣсненія»*. Слѣдовательно, еслибы составители судебныхъ уставовъ вспомнили о значеніи личнаго присутствія хозяина и его личнаго труда въ рабочую пору, то они несомнѣнно внесли бы и оговорку въ уставъ. Мы убѣждаемся въ этомъ еще болѣе, при чтеніи мотива къ 187 ст. уг. судопр., по которой уплата какъ денежнаго взысканія (по приговору *уголовнаго* суда), такъ и вознагражденія за вредъ и убытки, въ случаѣ неимѣнія у виновнаго никакихъ наличныхъ средствъ для внесенія присужденной съ него денежной суммы, *можетъ быть разсрочено на опредѣленные сроки*, смотря по количеству взысканія и способамъ къ уплатѣ». Въ мотивѣ къ этой статьѣ сказано между прочимъ: «Эта статья принята въ видахъ облегченія людей небогатыхъ въ уплатѣ наложенныхъ на нихъ денежныхъ взысканій».

Не ясно ли теперь, что составители судебныхъ уставовъ вполнѣ сознавали, что одно и то же наказаніе можетъ повлечь за собою совершенно иныя экономическія послѣдствія, глядя по состоятельности наказуемаго лица, по его экономической обстановкѣ? Не ясно ли, что судебные уставы имѣли въ виду такъ обставить дѣло, чтобы наказаніе не карало строже, чѣмъ это имѣлось въ виду закономъ? Не ясно

ли, наконецъ, что если судебными уставами и не дано права мировому судьѣ въ извѣстныхъ случаяхъ отсрочивать исполненіе приговора о личномъ задержаніи, то только потому, что во время составленія судебныхъ уставовъ, бытъ провинціи, бытъ русскаго крестьянина еще слишкомъ мало былъ извѣстенъ. Простая послѣдовательность требовала бы того, чтобы тому же судьѣ, которому предоставлена возможность разсрочить уплату денежнаго взысканія, принадлежало и право отсрочить наложеніе наказанія личнаго, если немедленное исполненіе приговора можетъ вести къ нищетѣ, раззоренію и преступленію.

Скажемъ еще разъ: въ то время, когда писались судебные уставы, наша провинція спала сномъ непробуднымъ. Благодаря судебной, земской и школьной реформамъ, провинція проснулась, протираетъ глаза и начинаетъ лепетать. Пусть же она *говоритъ* и пусть найдутся люди, готовые *послушать* ее.

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ДУХОВНО-ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ.

I.

ДУХОВНАЯ АДМИНИСТРАЦІЯ.

Одна изъ силъ, наиболѣе благотворно или вредно вліяющихъ на каждую среду, есть администрація въ ней. Строго честная, вся, до послѣднихъ проявленій своихъ, основанная на неподкупной и ни передъ чѣмъ не склоняющейся правдѣ, она укореняетъ и развиваетъ въ данной средѣ то стремленіе къ законности, которое есть одна изъ самыхъ прочныхъ основъ общественнаго благоденствія. Администрація, держащаяся противоположнаго направленія, если и достигаетъ чего-либо съ внѣшней стороны, то внутрь среды вноситъ самую опасную язву—язву невѣрія къ людскую и общественную правду, за которымъ неизбѣжно слѣдуетъ отрицаніе всего, что называется закономъ и законностью. Если администрація, въ своемъ дѣйствованіи, допускаетъ ложь, то какая же можетъ быть въ данной средѣ вѣра въ правду закона? А безъ этой вѣры, что̀ такое законъ, какъ не внѣшнее стѣсненіе, которое можно обходить и отстранять, лишь съ осторожностью и не черезчуръ рѣзко? — Отсюда, если какая-либо среда представляетъ изъ себя неотрадную картину всяческихъ уклоненій отъ закона и правды, то это служитъ несомнѣннымъ признакомъ, что администрація идетъ тутъ неправильнымъ путемъ и преслѣдуетъ не общественно-полезныя, а какія-либо свои, личныя цѣли.

Что наше духовенство, въ большинствѣ своей среды, никогда не

отличалось особенно крѣпкими стремленіями къ жизненной правдѣ и къ законности дѣйствій, — это настолько извѣстно нашему обществу, что всякое новое слово тутъ было бы лишнимъ. Для всѣхъ же тѣхъ, которые, искренно или лишь ради офиціальной защиты отъ мнимаго нареканія сказанной среды, захотѣли бы утверждать, что говорить такъ о духовенствѣ значитъ взводить на него оскорбительную напраслину, стоитъ только замѣтить, что архивы консисторій, переполненные такъ-называемыми «дѣлами» о духовенствѣ, не остаются безъ новыхъ пополненій ни на одинъ годъ, ни на одинъ мѣсяцъ; что эти «дѣла» шли и идутъ нескончаемой и никогда непрерывающейся вереницей. А извѣстно, что не все дѣлаемое возводится въ «дѣло»; что большая часть этого, лучше или хуже, улаживается и проходитъ безъ слѣдственныхъ и судебныхъ процедуръ. Значитъ, въ сказанномъ нѣтъ не только лжи, но и тѣни преувеличенія.

Чему же, какимъ вліяніямъ обязано духовенство такими ненормальными стремленіями своими? Не будетъ ошибкой сказать — своей администраціи, главнымъ образомъ, и ея вліяніямъ.

Странно высказывать такія вещи: духовенство — призванный стражъ и, ex officio, проповѣдникъ правды и закона, — и въ немъ же, въ немъ самомъ — недостатокъ, нерѣдко отсутствіе стремленій къ правдѣ и законности! Но если странно *высказывать* такія вещи, то насколько страннѣе *видѣть* все это въ дѣйствительной жизни!

«Ab Iove principium». Въ дѣлахъ управленія, меньшія — второстепенныя и третьестепенныя — власти слишкомъ немного значатъ: они лишь исполнители. Поэтому, въ рѣчи о духовной администраціи нѣтъ особенной нужды распространяться объ исполнителяхъ, — вся сила тутъ въ главныхъ дѣятеляхъ.

Всѣ они, почти безъ исключенія, по рожденію и воспитанію, принадлежатъ къ духовной средѣ; слѣдовательно, по естественному порядку вещей, самыя искреннія и глубокія ихъ симпатіи должны также принадлежать ей. Всѣ они, безъ исключенія, до конца проходятъ путь духовнаго образованія; слѣдовательно, если и не ко всѣмъ къ нимъ прививается любовь къ наукѣ, если не всѣ они съ своихъ учебныхъ скамей выносятъ серьезныя знанія, то тѣмъ не менѣе благотворное вліяніе образованія должно отразиться на нихъ на всѣхъ, — то вліяніе, которое сглаживаетъ всѣ шероховатости, полученныя отъ рожденія и развитыя дикимъ воспитаніемъ; которое, словомъ, вызываетъ и возбуждаетъ къ дѣятельности всѣ лучшія стороны духовной при-

роды человѣка. Всѣ они, по даннымъ обѣтамъ, не принадлежатъ міру, съ его грѣховными влеченіями, съ его эгоистическими стремленіями, въ которыхъ сѣмена всякаго зла — частнаго и общественнаго; слѣдовательно, ихъ жизненной цѣлью не можетъ быть ничто иное, кромѣ искренняго, чистаго и самоотверженнаго служенія добру, во всѣхъ его видахъ. И что другое могло бы быть этой цѣлью? — Пріобрѣтенія? но ради какой напасти они человѣку одинокому, во всемъ съ избыткомъ обезпеченному и дѣтей послѣ себя не оставляющему? — Удовлетвореніе разнымъ суетамъ тщеславія? Но развѣ мыслимая вещь, чтобы работали бѣсу тщеславія ставшіе внѣ міра и, значитъ, чуждые его нечистыхъ страстей? — Чтожъ еще, наконецъ? Удовольствія жизни? Наслажденія мірскими благами и т. п.? Но достаточно вспомнить о даваемыхъ ими обѣтахъ, чтобы понять всю нелѣпость подобнаго предположенія. Наконецъ, назначеніе и сущность служенія всѣхъ ихъ — «быть свѣтомъ передъ людьми, чтобы видѣли ихъ *добрыя дѣла* и прославляли за то общаго Отца небеснаго». И чѣмъ другимъ, какъ не свѣтомъ, должны быть они, такъ высоко поставленные среди православныхъ? И какой другой свѣтъ можетъ служить къ наибольшей славѣ Отца небеснаго, какъ не свѣтъ *добрыхъ дѣлъ*?

Послѣ этого, могутъ ли быть сомнѣнія въ томъ, что администраторы изъ такихъ личностей — образцы честности, правды и любви? Не всѣ ли тутъ данныя, не самыя ли надежныя тутъ гарантіи, чтобы среда благоденствовала подъ ихъ вліяніями и направленіями, сколько разумными, столько же и плодотворными; чтобы эта среда, въ свою очередь, разумно и плодотворно вліяла и на міръ православный? — Да, жизнь представляетъ образчики именно *такихъ* администраторовъ изъ этихъ личностей: время отъ времени, тамъ и здѣсь, являются они среди духовенства, какъ особенная милость, какъ особенное благословеніе Божіе; вносятъ свѣтъ и жизнь въ данную мѣстность и оставляютъ послѣ себя не мильоны, явные или сокровенные, племянникамъ и племянницамъ своимъ, а долго неизгладимые плодотворные слѣды правды и любви.

Но та же жизнь представляетъ образчики администраторовъ иного строя, иныхъ направленій, прямо противоположные первымъ, — и неособенно рѣдкіе образчики. Имъ-то, ихъ администраторской дѣятельности, главнымъ образомъ, и обязана среда наибольшею частью нравственныхъ недуговъ, разъѣдающихъ ее.

Начать съ симпатіи къ средѣ. Въ чемъ могла бы и должна бы

выражаться эта симпатія: не въ томъ ли, чтобы нравственно, ма-матерьяльно, всячески, поднять и возвысить эту среду, приниженную, придавленную и оттого безвліятельную; чтобы дать ей ту свободу духа, тотъ разумный смыслъ жизни, съ которыми она могла бы занять свое, давно потерянное мѣсто въ общественной средѣ?—Конечно, въ томъ, и тѣмъ болѣе въ томъ, что, по существу дѣла, между администраторомъ и средой самая тѣсная и неразрывная солидарность: администраторъ и подвѣдомые ему священники—пастыри народа и апостолы евангельской истины между христіанами; администраторъ, безъ пособія разумно дѣйствующихъ священниковъ, съ точки зрѣнія истиннаго апостольства, также безполезенъ въ каждой данной мѣстности, какъ безполезенъ въ своемъ приходѣ всякій нерадивый о своемъ дѣлѣ священникъ; словомъ, администраторъ можетъ удовлетворить своему главному назначенію—архи*пастырства*—подъ единственнымъ условіемъ,—conditio sine qua non, — самаго тѣснаго взаимнодѣйствія съ подвѣдомымъ ему пастырствомъ. Между тѣмъ, что же мы видимъ на дѣлѣ? Иные изъ администраторовъ ставятъ себя на такую недосягаемую высоту по отношенію къ управляемымъ, что эти послѣдніе имѣютъ все право говорить: «между ими и нами утверждена великая пропасть». И пусть бы только; пусть бы довольствовались они этимъ недоступнымъ для простыхъ смертныхъ самовозношеніемъ, — нѣтъ, тутъ систематическое, полное подавленіе личности. Даже крѣпостничество, подъ добрый часъ, съ снисхожденіемъ относилось къ уму, къ заслугѣ, по крайней мѣрѣ, къ сѣдинѣ; а тутъ нерѣдко умъ и заслуги всего болѣе и придавливаются, отчего и самая сѣдина не спасаетъ. Справедливость требуетъ замѣтить, что въ послѣднее время это придавливанье человѣческой личности начало нѣсколько смягчаться въ своихъ *внѣшнихъ* формахъ; но легче ли отъ того духовенству? При такомъ порядкѣ возможно ли взаимнодѣйствіе, о которомъ сказано выше? — Очевидно, невозможно и даже немыслимо. И дотого немыслимо, что эти администраторы, по самымъ серьезнымъ вопросамъ о православіи, довольствуются предписаніями и донесеніями на бумагѣ, и никогда и никакъ не снисходятъ до искренней, откровенной бесѣды съ тѣми, которые стоятъ лицомъ къ лицу съ жизнью, и считаютъ величайшей дерзостью, если кто-либо изъ таковыхъ осмѣлится сдѣлать полезнѣйшее для дѣла указаніе. Исполняя внѣшнюю сторону своихъ обязанностей, реченные администраторы, чаще или рѣже, «обозрѣваютъ» ввѣренныя ихъ управленію мѣстности; но что эти «обозрѣ-

нія»—желаніе ли лично узнать духовныхъ дѣятелей каждаго мѣста, ихъ силы и способности; повѣрить ихъ дѣятельность, дать имъ нужныя указанія, чтобы, при посредствѣ ихъ, вліять на народъ; желаніе ли ближе и точнѣе ознакомиться съ религіознымъ и нравственнымъ уровнемъ православныхъ, чтобы давать то или другое направленіе непосредственнымъ дѣятелямъ въ ихъ средѣ и т. п.? — Ничуть. Эти «обозрѣнія» — помпы встрѣчъ и проводовъ, причемъ подвѣдомое пастырство играетъ жалкую и нелѣпо-смѣшную роль всполошенныхъ и трясущихся отъ страха школьниковъ, надъ чѣмъ съ такой наглостью всегда потѣшается почтенное гражданство въ провинціи. Спрашивается: на какомъ разумномъ основаніи и ради какого блага православія творится все это? — Быть можетъ, по византійскимъ обычаямъ, или по какимъ-либо высшимъ соображеніямъ, всему этому такъ и быть слѣдуетъ... ad majorem dei gloriam. Но по обще-человѣческому закону, систематическое давленіе человѣческихъ личностей—самый вѣрный способъ убить все, что есть лучшаго въ ихъ природѣ. Безправное и безпощадное давленіе личностей неразвитыхъ огрубляетъ и оскотиниваетъ ихъ; таковое же давленіе личностей развитыхъ неизбѣжно толкаетъ ихъ на тотъ путь лжи, всяческихъ продѣлокъ, всяческихъ уклоненій отъ правды и закона, весь вредъ котораго, для какой бы то ни было соціальной жизни, и представить себѣ трудно. Не это ли, въ большей или меньшей степени, сообразно съ силой давленія, и можно замѣтить въ массѣ низшаго духовенства, если всмотрѣться въ его жизнь, въ его отношенія къ тѣмъ, отъ которыхъ оно само зависитъ и которые отъ него зависятъ? Извѣстна епархія, въ которой долговременное, образцовое давленіе администратора, въ свое время знаменитости, довело сказанное духовенство до nec plus ultra умственно-нравственнаго упадка.

Давленіе человѣческихъ личностей само собою предполагаетъ отсутствіе положительнаго закона, который гарантировалъ бы слабыхъ отъ гнетущихъ вліяній сильныхъ, и дѣйствованіе личнаго произвола власти, которая не хочетъ признавать за подвластными никакихъ правъ—ни соціальныхъ, ни даже общечеловѣческихъ. Такъ оно и есть въ дѣйствительности. Чтобы видѣть, до какой крайности можетъ доходить личный произволъ власти, стоитъ только навести справку о дѣйствованіи иныхъ администраторовъ, особенно гдѣ-либо въ провинціальныхъ тундрахъ. На этотъ разъ мы не считаемъ удобнымъ воспользоваться богатымъ запасомъ свѣдѣній, доставленныхъ намъ

изъ многихъ, даже очень многихъ мѣстностей Руси православной, касательно крайностей этого произвола. Не считаемъ нужнымъ указывать и на всѣ тѣ печатныя свѣдѣнія объ нихъ, которыя въ послѣдніе годы сообщались въ газетахъ. Укажемъ лишь на одну черту этого произвола, общую у реченныхъ администраторовъ,—на ту легкость, съ какой иные изъ нихъ переводятъ священниковъ съ мѣста на мѣсто и даже совсѣмъ лишаютъ ихъ мѣстъ—безъ вины, безъ суда, а просто въ силу личнаго усмотрѣнія. Вотъ что, между прочимъ, разсказывалось не очень давно о самарскомъ администраторѣ: «одни переводы священниковъ съ мѣста на мѣсто,—причемъ въ цѣлой губерніи только нѣсколько священниковъ, имѣвшихъ возможность откупаться, избѣгли этой бѣды,—довели почти всѣхъ до всецѣлаго разоренія; дѣло доходило до того, что изъ одного отдаленнаго уѣзда въ другой одни и тѣ же лица переводились по десяти и болѣе разъ (№ 256 «Голоса», 1866 г. «Путевыя письма»)». Что могло быть побужденіемъ для этого почтеннаго администратора гонять священниковъ съ мѣста на мѣсто?—Ничего разумнаго, ничего осмысленнаго; а о чемъ-либо въ родѣ правды и закона и поминать уже нечего. Ничѣмъ незаслуженное, кромѣ неимѣнія чѣмъ откупаться, разореніе священниковъ—значитъ, неисходное нищенство священническихъ семей—тутъ еще не самое главное. Главное тутъ—уничтоженіе всякой возможности дѣйствовать священникамъ, какъ пастырямъ душъ. Не нужно великой мудрости, достаточно здраваго смысла, чтобы сообразить, что нравственное вліяніе пастыря на пасомыхъ пріобрѣтается многими трудами и продолжительнымъ временемъ, и что, поэтому, гонка пастырей съ мѣста на мѣсто была ни меньше, ни больше, какъ поруганіемъ всего пастырскаго служенія и дѣла. Не забудемъ, что противъ этого произвольнаго «усмотрѣнія» у пастырей нѣтъ надежной защиты, нѣтъ вѣрной обороны: гонимые, безпрекословно должны они мыкаться съ мѣста на мѣсто, подъ страхомъ быть лишенными всякаго мѣста, или, что и того хуже, попасть въ пожизненные пономари. Не скажутъ ли, что послѣ Высочайше утвержденнаго «Положенія 16 апрѣля 1864 г.» такія явленія сдѣлались уже невозможными? А печатно извѣстныя исторіи, курско-бѣлгородская, владимірская, иркутская и т. п., развѣ не послѣ этого Положенія сотворились, и не служатъ неопровержимыми доказательствами, что произволъ не особенно готовъ склоняться даже передъ Высочайше утвержденными «Положеніями»? Послѣ всего этого и предлагаемъ на общественное обсужденіе вопросъ:

каково должно быть вліяніе подобныхъ администраторовъ на управляемую ими среду?... Если они, поставленные на такой видной высотѣ, позволяютъ себѣ такъ смѣло попирать законъ евангелія, такъ небоязненно идти противъ ученія и примѣра того «пастыря добраго», о которомъ говорится въ евангеліи, да и къ законоположеніямъ относиться черезчуръ ужъ своеобычно, то, подражая имъ, до какой смѣлости беззаконія не дерзнутъ доходить стоящіе на нижнихъ степеняхъ администраціи, а чрезъ нихъ и вся масса духовенства? Примѣръ главнаго администратора—вѣдь это чуть-чуть не законъ для всей администраціи и для всѣхъ управляемыхъ, и особенно администратора облеченнаго священной властью... Да и помимо управляемой среды, само общество развѣ настолько слѣпо и безсмысленно, чтобы не видѣть и не понять страшнаго разлада, между тѣмъ, что проповѣдуетъ и заповѣдуетъ ему администраторъ, и тѣмъ, какъ онъ самъ дѣйствуетъ въ своей средѣ? Развѣ общество приметъ за правду цвѣтистыя фразы о правдѣ, любви и прочихъ матерьяхъ важныхъ, когда наглядно знаетъ, сколько зла въ дѣйствіяхъ фразера? — А еще недоумѣваютъ, отчего такое гибельное отсутствіе всего, что зовется правдой и законностью дѣйствій, чуть не во всѣхъ отправленіяхъ нашей частной и общественной жизни; откуда такой глубокій упадокъ началъ религіозныхъ и нравственныхъ чуть не во всемъ нашемъ обществѣ! Отчего и откуда?!.. Примѣры слишкомъ авторитетны, чтобы не слѣдовать имъ.

Мы затронули лишь одну черту произвола реченныхъ администраторовъ. Въ свое время правда явится немезидой для всѣхъ тѣхъ, которые воображаютъ, что никому невѣдомы тайны громадныхъ капиталовъ, то при жизни превращаемыхъ въ дома и земли на имя какихъ-нибудь родственниковъ, то по смерти остающихся въ разныхъ бумагахъ и всяческихъ цѣнностяхъ. Но и на основаніи представленной черты общественное сознаніе не можетъ ошибиться въ опредѣленіи значенія той реформы, которая затронула бы лишь кое-какія внѣшнія стороны, а не коснулась самой сущности дѣла, которая бы измѣнила лишь формы и оставила неприкосновенными принципы и которая дѣлала бы компромиссы съ тѣмъ, откуда и идётъ все зло. Не ошибется общественное сознаніе, если придетъ къ заключенію о безплодности и безполезности для жизни такой реформы.

Но если реформа, столько времени ожидаемая, не внесетъ «духа жизни» въ среду, о которой была выше рѣчь, то во что же превра-

тится она, эта среда, и теперь уже только-что только терпимая, а въ нѣкоторыхъ слояхъ общества и совсѣмъ нетерпимая?—Приходитъ ли это на мысль тѣмъ, которые горой стоятъ за всяческіе компромиссы въ проэктируемой реформѣ духовной администраціи?..

II.

ВЫХОДЪ ИЗЪ ДУХОВНАГО ЗВАНІЯ.

Въ числѣ вопросовъ, вызванныхъ необходимостью преобразованій въ духовенствѣ, по важности своей, не послѣднее мѣсто долженъ бы занимать вопросъ о выходѣ изъ этого сословія тѣхъ лицъ, которыя, почему-либо, поставлены въ необходимость прибѣгнуть къ этой мѣрѣ. Между тѣмъ, этотъ вопросъ доселѣ остается въ совершенномъ забвеніи. Считается ли онъ лишнимъ, отложено ли его обсужденіе,—неизвѣстно. А отъ этой неизвѣстности тяжело страдаетъ не малое число духовныхъ лицъ. Этотъ вопросъ необходимо постановить, обсудить и рѣшить, потому что съ нимъ соединено слишкомъ многое въ пастырскомъ служеніи; и именно теперь, потому что другаго, болѣе благопріятнаго для удовлетворительнаго рѣшенія его времени трудно ожидать.

Два главныхъ мотива, въ силу которыхъ духовныя лица поставляются въ необходимость оставлять свое служеніе и самое званіе: вдовство и убѣжденіе въ своей неспособности быть истиннымъ пастыремъ. Оба мотива, съ точки зрѣнія евангельской, настолько важны и даже законны, что казалось бы духовнымъ лицамъ должна быть предоставлена полная свобода, въ томъ или другомъ случаѣ, поступить именно такъ, какъ требуетъ ихъ собственная совѣсть, единственно компетентный судья въ дѣлахъ такого рода. Между тѣмъ, для этого выхода поставлены такія условія, что онъ почти невозможенъ. Что имѣлось при этомъ въ виду, неизвѣстно; но упущено изъ виду самое главное—результаты такого насилія пастырской совѣсти.

Что пастырь, какъ представитель и проводникъ началъ нравственныхъ въ общественной средѣ, долженъ быть самъ нравственно чистымъ, говорить объ этомъ нѣтъ нужды, — это понятно само собой. Пастырь безнравственный, въ извѣстномъ смыслѣ, не просто недостойный служитель религіи, а величайшее, какое только можетъ быть, общественное зло: онъ, такъ сказать, авторизуетъ ту самую

гангрену, которая разъѣдаетъ до всецѣлаго разложенія человѣческія общества. Отсюда глубокое разумѣніе жизни выразилось въ заповѣди апостола: «епископъ (епископъ и пресвитеръ на языкѣ апостоловъ безразличны) *долженъ быть* безукоризненъ, одной жены мужъ, нравственно чистъ» и т. д. Отсюда бракъ обязателенъ для того, кто желаетъ принять на себя званіе и служеніе пастырства.

Но вотъ пастырь прожилъ съ женою года два-три, годъ, или даже нѣсколько мѣсяцевъ,— бываютъ случаи, и того меньше,—и овдовѣлъ: въ состояніи ли кто-либо, самъ не испытавшій, составить себѣ настоящее понятіе о положеніи пастыря, лишившагося жены въ тѣ годы, когда, не говоря уже ни о чемъ прочемъ, женщина составляетъ самую существенную, физіологическую потребность человѣческой природы? Если блаженный Іеронимъ, по его собственному сознанію, страшными, для насъ почти невѣроятными подвигами самоумерщвленія, до конца жизни не могъ добиться того, чтобы избавиться отъ «обуреваній плоти»; точно такъ же, какъ и извѣстный кіевскій подвижникъ—Іоаннъ многострадальный, то какой выходъ изъ этого положенія пастырю?

Говорятъ—«борьба». И замѣчательно, что крѣпче всѣхъ настаиваетъ на этой борьбѣ свѣтское фарисейство, то самое, которое, при самой безобразной нравственной распущенности, по тѣмъ или другимъ житейскимъ соображеніямъ маскируется въ фанатическую ревность о благочестіи. Что это дѣйствительно такъ, то вотъ отвѣтъ пишущему эти строки одного очень авторитетнаго въ духовномъ управленіи лица, когда рѣчь велась о «вдовствѣ священниковъ»: «это дѣло давно въ ходу, и было бы окончено, еслибъ не вмѣшивались свѣтскіе ревнители благочестія» (отвѣтъ *писанный*, а не словесный)... Разумѣла ли и разумѣетъ ли эта фарисейская ревность о благочестіи, что творитъ? Разумѣетъ ли значеніе борьбы, которой требуетъ, и всѣ послѣдствія, для самаго благочестія, если пастырь не устоитъ въ этой борьбѣ?

«Ad impossibilia nemo obligatur»—жизненно-юридическая аксіома, противъ которой, конечно, сказать нечего. А къ ней—другая аксіома, противъ которой, надѣемся, самое фанатическое фарисейство не найдетъ, что сказать: «не всѣ вмѣщаютъ это слово (о безженной жизни), но которымъ дано...; могущій вмѣстить, да вмѣститъ». Очевидно, для безженной жизни требуются совершенно особенныя органическія условія, съ отсутствіемъ которыхъ такая жизнь—физіологическая невозможность. Отсюда безженная жизнь и предоставлена лишь «могущимъ вмѣстить», т. е. сознавшимъ въ себѣ особенныя органическія условія,

необходимыя для такой жизни. Кто рѣшается вступить въ монашество, тотъ, значитъ, созналъ въ себѣ эти условія; оттого монашество и представляется вездѣ образцомъ нравственной чистоты. А рѣшающемуся сдѣлаться пастыремъ нужно ли что-либо въ родѣ такого сознанія? Нисколько. Впереди всего стоитъ у него жена. Поэтому, лишившись жены, какъ же онъ «вмѣститъ» то, чего не можетъ, не въ силахъ, не въ состояніи вмѣстить, чего ему даже *не дано* вмѣстить? Вѣдь что ни дѣлай онъ, какъ блаженный Іеронимъ, а существеннаго закона своей физической природы уже не передѣлаетъ. Еще будь его жизнь, какъ монашествующихъ, стѣнами и запорами ограждена отъ внѣшнихъ вліяній и соблазновъ, борьба могла бы быть не столь тяжкой и опасной въ смыслѣ паденій; но пастырь, по самымъ условіямъ своего служенія, поставленъ въ непосредственныя отношенія къ міру вообще и къ женщинѣ въ особенности, болѣе непосредственныя, чѣмъ кто-либо другой: ему открываются самыя сокровенныя тайны жизни и совѣстей. Что же остается пастырю при сознаніи невозможности борьбы, при сознаніи опасности паденій, отъ которыхъ онъ ничѣмъ не гарантированъ, какъ оказался не гарантированнымъ тотъ пустынникъ, уже старикъ, который послѣ сорокалѣтнихъ одиночныхъ подвиговъ палъ въ первую же ночь—когда представился удобный къ тому случай?

Остается одно — вступить въ новый бракъ. А такъ какъ, оставаясь пастыремъ, онъ не можетъ сдѣлать этого, то очевидно, единственно законный выходъ для него—выйти изъ той среды, въ которой онъ, по собственному сознанію, оставаться не можетъ, не долженъ. Именно на этомъ прежде всего и останавливаются тѣ изъ пастырей, овдовѣвшихъ въ молодости, которые вступили на путь пастырства не ради лишь средствъ къ жизни, а ради дѣйствительнаго пастырскаго служенія. По здравому смыслу, по совѣсти, съ точки зрѣнія нравственныхъ вліяній на общество, не должны ли быть облегчены для нихъ всѣ способы для этого выхода, тѣмъ болѣе, что онъ не можетъ не быть тяжкимъ и самъ по себѣ? Казалось бы такъ. Но вотъ тутъ-то гражданское законоположеніе и является тормазомъ, да такимъ, переступить черезъ который изъ тысячъ рѣшаются развѣ единицы *). Какой смыслъ, какая цѣль этого, что достигается этимъ тормазомъ?

*) По послѣднимъ свѣдѣніямъ, впрочемъ, «св. синодъ заваленъ просьбами вдовыхъ священниковъ объ увольненіи изъ духовнаго званія». Заваленъ просьбами, и никакихъ общихъ мѣръ не предпринимается!..

Что достигается, объ этомъ мы пока умолчимъ. Замѣтимъ только, что, за невозможностью имѣть законную жену, совершенно естественно заводятся незаконныя связи. Духовное начальство, конечно, беретъ противъ такихъ соблазнительныхъ связей тѣ или другія мѣры, но едва ли не ради лишь очищенія своей совѣсти: не можетъ же оно не знать, что пастырь,—пусть онъ не держитъ ни молодыхъ работницъ, ни молодыхъ родственницъ въ своемъ домѣ (да и не держатъ развѣ что сельскіе бѣдняки, потому что не въ состояніи держать «экономокъ»),—имѣетъ всю возможность образовать столько связей въ своемъ приходѣ, сколько захочетъ, и особенно въ народной средѣ, гдѣ подобныя связи почти и въ грѣхъ не ставятся; по крайней мѣрѣ считаются меньшимъ грѣхомъ, чѣмъ напр. хлебнуть ложку молока въ постъ. Но самъ попавшій въ эту погибельную колею, самъ подающій примѣръ безнравственности, какъ бы сталъ пастырь бороться съ нравственнымъ растлѣніемъ пасомыхъ, до какихъ крайностей ни доходило бы оно? Поневолѣ долженъ молчать. Если же мы представимъ себѣ, что вдовство пастырей самое обычное явленіе и въ общемъ счетѣ представляется въ пропорціи неменьшей, какъ 4:10; что объ-руку съ нравственными паденіями неминуемо идетъ тотъ порокъ, который, разъ привившись, превращается въ неизцѣлимую страсть, то и поймемъ настоящее значеніе тормазовъ, какъ по отношенію къ дѣлу пастырства, такъ и по отношенію къ жизни общества.

Что до другаго мотива, то онъ лучше всего объясняется наглядным примѣромъ, который въ прошломъ году былъ заявленъ въ одной газетной корреспонденціи изъ Касимова. Одинъ изъ мѣстныхъ священниковъ, 25-ти лѣтъ отъ роду, неукоризненно-честнаго поведенія, обратился къ епархіальному начальству съ просьбою объ увольненіи его изъ духовнаго званія. Видимыхъ побужденій къ такой страшной для священника рѣшимости не было никакихъ. Но вотъ какъ объясняетъ ее корреспондентъ. Двадцати лѣтъ онъ кончилъ семинарскій курсъ и посвященъ на мѣсто своего отца. Увлекшись юношескими порывами служить дѣлу пастырства, но не соразмѣривъ своихъ силъ и способностей съ этимъ дѣломъ, онъ скоро увидѣлъ и созналъ, что ошибся. А когда затѣмъ его стала затягивать эта грязь жизни, что такъ обычна среди пастырства, эта необходимость вытягивать послѣдніе гроши у бѣдняка, у вдовы и сироты, побираться хлѣбомъ у полунищихъ своихъ прихожанъ, тогда совѣсть его не вынесла больше: послѣ долгихъ и мучительныхъ колебаній, онъ рѣ-

шился, во что бы то ни стало, выбиться изъ среды, для которой оказался совсѣмъ непригоднымъ. Едва ли можетъ подлежать сомнѣнію, что епархіальная власть не особенно благопріятно отнеслась къ такой рѣшимости и употребила, съ своей стороны, все возможное и отъ нея зависящее, чтобы парализовать ее; но какъ намъ, тоже пережившимъ кое-что на своемъ вѣку, представляется,—это героизмъ честности, на который способны лишь исключительныя натуры; и задержать этого священника тамъ, гдѣ онъ самъ созналъ себя не на мѣстѣ, значитъ совсѣмъ и непоправимо загубить его. А это лишь примѣръ того, что весьма и весьма нерѣдко творится въ средѣ пастырства. Какъ ни уродуетъ человѣка семинарство, но юноши-идеалисты не особенная рѣдкость и здѣсь. И вотъ юноша съ самыми идеальными стремленіями, объ условіяхъ и требованіяхъ дѣйствительной жизни, благодаря системѣ классическаго quasi-образованія, никакого понятія не имѣющій, прямо съ семинарской скамьи дѣлается пастыремъ. Что же онъ встрѣчаетъ? Съ самыхъ первыхъ шаговъ такую грязь и пошлость всѣхъ этихъ поборовъ и выжиманій съ прихожанъ, а изъ-за нихъ непрестанныхъ столкновеній съ самой лютой язвой пастырства—пономарствомъ, всѣхъ этихъ уродливыхъ отношеній, вѣками закрѣпленныхъ, пасомыхъ къ пастырямъ, въ основѣ которыхъ лежитъ—водка, водка и опять-таки водка, и пр., и пр., отъ которыхъ и не идеалиста, а просто честнаго человѣка не можетъ не коробить. Затѣмъ, такъ называемое, сельское хозяйство, безъ всякихъ средствъ вести его сколько-нибудь правильно; вслѣдствіе чего необходимость или самому отработывать все, отъ навозницы и до овиносушенія включительно, или прибѣгать къ помощи прихожанъ, причемъ требуется уже цѣлые потоки водки. Pour la bonne bouche, — эти праздничныя хожденія по приходу, свадьбы, похороны и т. д., гдѣ пьянственныя безобразія, самый существенный, необходимый по укоренившемуся обычаю элементъ. По началу, молодой пастырь горячо принимается за борьбу съ грязью и пошлостью; но увы, скоро убѣждается, что борьба слишкомъ непосильна: онъ одинъ, а противъ него весь «причетъ церковный» съ невообразимой мерзостью каждоминутныхъ козней, кляузъ, заглазной ругани и личныхъ дерзостей; противъ него горланы прихода, всегда горой стоящіе за пьянственныя безобразія; противъ него его непосредственное начальство, для котораго подобные пастыри—самое несносное бѣльмо на глазу; противъ него почти все, иногда и самая жена его, никакихъ идеальныхъ стрем-

леній не разумѣющая, а знающая, что съ такими порядками натерпишься и голоду, и холоду, и всяческихъ житейскихъ невзгодъ, особенно «какъ пойдутъ еще ребятишки». Отвелъ бы свою измученную душу молодой пастырь хоть на чемъ-нибудь; но на чемъ? Журналъ, газета, новая книга—для него вещи всецѣло недоступныя; семинарское старье,—но ему ужъ и въ семинаріи оскомину набила вся эта схоластика; собесѣдованіе съ сосѣдними священниками, — но тѣ ужъ закаленные практики... Мы еще и тысячной доли не представили того, что есть въ дѣйствительности; тѣмъ не менѣе спрашиваемъ всякаго, способнаго дать честный отвѣтъ: чтожъ остается этому священнику?... Очевидно бѣжать оттуда, куда онъ попалъ не вслѣдствіе зрѣлаго, окрѣпшаго сознанія, а вслѣдствіе юношескаго увлеченія. Бѣжать?.. Но онъ закрѣпощенъ; но ему заперты законные выходы. Остается, значитъ, кинуться въ тотъ самый омутъ, противъ котораго по началу возмущалась вся его душа, и погрязнуть въ немъ на всю жизнь—что и есть, что и дѣлается. А еще со стороны дивятся, отчего это такъ скоро свертываются лучшія силы въ пастырской средѣ: попробовали бы!!..

Что до тормазовъ, представляемыхъ гражданскимъ законоположеніемъ, то мы упомянемъ лишь объ одномъ изъ нихъ. «Священнослужители бѣлаго духовенства, уволенные по собственному желанію изъ духовнаго вѣдомства, возвращаются въ *первобытное* свое состояніе, и не пользуются впредь иными выгодами, кромѣ присвоенныхъ тому состоянію; имъ воспрещается вступать въ государственную службу всякаго рода, *по познаніямъ и способностямъ*, священникамъ ранѣе десяти лѣтъ по увольненіи» (Св. зак. «О состояніяхъ» изд. 1842 г. ст. 266 и дал.). Переведите это законоположеніе на языкъ жизни, что выйдетъ? «Пастырь, по собственному желанію дерзающій выйти изъ своего званія, осуждается на голодную смерть». Да!.. не больше и не меньше. Права, пріобрѣтенныя имъ образованіемъ, отняты; служебная дѣятельность, *по познаніямъ и способностямъ*, для него закрыта на цѣлыя десять лѣтъ,—на время совершенно достаточное, чтобы отъ пріобрѣтенныхъ познаній и тѣни не осталось, а способности заглохли. Какіе же остаются ему способы существованія? Частная служба? Но, благодаря системѣ классическаго образованія, онъ не знакомъ ни съ агрономіей, ни съ бухгалтеріей и ни съ какимъ родомъ частной дѣятельности. Уроки, письмоводство? Но отъ этого и безсемейные едва прокармливаются, а въ провинціи

еще и этого не найдешь. О занятіяхъ торговыхъ и промышленныхъ съ ремесленными и говорить нечего. За какую же вину такая страшная кара? Лишь за ту, что пастырь-вдовецъ не хочетъ быть соблазномъ для пасомыхъ; что пастырь, сознавшій свою непригодность къ необдуманно-избранному имъ дѣлу пастырства, желаетъ исправить свою ошибку, въ которой видитъ собственную погибель, съ неисчислимымъ вредомъ для пасомыхъ. Тяжкая вина, заслуживающая «лишенія правъ», пріобрѣтенныхъ такъ дорого купленнымъ образованіемъ, и осужденія на голодную смерть!.. Во всякомъ родѣ человѣческой дѣятельности, во всякомъ родѣ общественной службы, человѣкъ, сознавшій, что онъ не пригоденъ въ данномъ мѣстѣ и добровольно оставляющій его, не только не карается за то, не только не теряетъ ничего при этомъ, но, совершенно напротивъ, пріобрѣтаетъ особенное право на уваженіе, потому что такъ могутъ поступать лишь люди несокрушимо-честныхъ убѣжденій, для которыхъ общественное дѣло безконечно выше какихъ бы то ни было ихъ личныхъ интересовъ и житейскихъ разсчетовъ. А тутъ—сознавай свою ошибку, свою непригодность, насилуй свою совѣсть, свои честныя убѣжденія, — и все-таки до конца оставайся тамъ, куда разъ имѣлъ несчастіе попасть: подобный nonsens и могъ сочиниться только подъ византійскими вліяніями.

О предлогахъ закрѣпощать такъ пастырей, въ родѣ того, что «позорно-де для сословія, что священникъ слагаетъ съ себя санъ», и говорить не стоитъ. Позорны соблазны, позорны дѣянія, совершаемыя пастырями, во-время невыпущенными изъ среды, которая должна быть нравственно-безупречною, а не въ высшей степени честный поступокъ священника, когда онъ слагаетъ съ себя санъ, вслѣдствіе сознанія и твердаго убѣжденія, что по той или другой причинѣ не можетъ болѣе носить его достойно.

Веллюстинъ.

КАКЪ БЫТЬ СО СКОПЦАМИ?

Расколъ принадлежитъ къ одному изъ крупныхъ явленій русской общественной и исторической жизни. Уже одна цифра раскольниковъ, до 10-ти милліоновъ, показываетъ его важность. Но что такое расколъ? Что онъ такое—какъ фактъ нравственнаго порядка, какъ извѣстное явленіе въ области человѣческаго духа, этой безпокойной, вѣчно стремящейся куда-то силы, ищущей свѣта и вѣчной правды? Чего хотятъ люди, чего они ищутъ, чѣмъ недовольны? Почему эта кажущаяся смѣсь предразсудковъ и темнаго невѣжества обнаруживаетъ такое могучее вліяніе на умы и завлекаетъ милліоны? Неужели все это мракъ и невѣжество, и люди предпочитаютъ тьму свѣту? Неужели въ расколѣ нѣтъ лучей свѣта и его магнетическое вліяніе заключается только въ его отрицательныхъ сторонахъ? Что въ немъ истиннаго и вѣчнаго, присущаго природѣ человѣка и потому неискоренимаго? Что вредно этой природѣ и должно быть разсматриваемо какъ отклоненіе отъ вѣчныхъ законовъ духа, ведущаго человѣчество къ правдѣ и счастію? Что такое расколъ, какъ явленіе психологическое; что онъ такое, какъ явленіе общественное и политическое? На эти вопросы нѣтъ отвѣтовъ; на чьей сторонѣ правда, на чьей заблужденіе, въ чемъ правда и въ чемъ заблужденіе — кто изъ насъ дастъ отвѣтъ? Все, что писалось о русскомъ расколѣ и о русскихъ сектахъ, не уходило дальше оцѣнки внѣшней и формальной стороны, дальше догадокъ и умозаключеній, дальше горизонтальнаго изслѣдованія и никогда не шло, да и не могло идти, въ глубь явленія, перпендикулярно къ самому его источнику.

Въ послѣдніе пятнадцать лѣтъ вопросъ о расколѣ, оттѣсненный реформаціоннымъ движеніемъ, сталъ на второй планъ. Расколъ не только какъ бы забылся нашимъ обществомъ, но оно и дѣйствительно обнаружило гораздо большую къ нему терпимость. Но вотъ года два назадъ поднимается Плотицинское дѣло—и затѣмъ начинается непрерывный рядъ скопческихъ процессовъ, обнаружившихъ всю смутность общественнаго сознанія, всю неясность общественной мысли и полное невѣдѣніе общества по одному изъ важнѣйшихъ явленій его внутренняго духовнаго содержанія.

Плотицинское дѣло вызвало въ обществѣ и въ литературѣ рядъ запальчивыхъ и страстныхъ порывовъ, никакъ не могшихъ подѣйствовать благотворно на общественное сознаніе. Оно вызвало полемику, забывшую о границахъ благопристойности, и поставило весь вопросъ на такую почву, на которой разрѣшеніе его совершенно невозможно. Публика, желавшая научиться и разъяснить себѣ, что такое скопчество, находила въ газетахъ «патріотическаго» оттѣнка, какъ «Московскія Вѣдомости», «Вѣсть», «Современныя Извѣстія» и «Биржевыя Вѣдомости», только пышныя тирады, взывавшія къ безпощадному гоненію и преслѣдованію, пугавшія общественное мнѣніе и возбуждавшія дурные, страстные инстинкты. «Вотъ уже болѣе двухъ мѣсяцевъ предметомъ разговоровъ во всѣхъ кругахъ общества служатъ,—кто бы подумалъ?—скопцы!» писала одна московская газета. «Дѣло идетъ о раскрытіи зла, которое издавна гнѣздится въ нашемъ народѣ, о сектѣ въ полной мѣрѣ противуобщественной, число приверженцевъ которой повидимому не только не уменьшается, но возрастаетъ. Само собою разумѣется, что относительно скопческой секты не должно быть рѣчи о вѣротерпимости, которая не можетъ такъ далеко простираться, чтобы во имя ея была допускаема организованная пропаганда секты, подрывающей самыя основы человѣческаго общежитія. При самой широкой свободѣ ни одно цивилизованное общество не можетъ терпѣть въ своихъ нѣдрахъ подобную секту, если она пріобрѣтаетъ власть и становится вооруженною организаціей. Именно интересъ самой свободы требуетъ энергическаго противодѣйствія темнымъ властямъ, которыя заводятся въ обществахъ и захватываютъ людей въ свои сѣти».... Въ другой газетѣ писали: «кто бы подумалъ, что у насъ, въ концѣ девятнадцатаго столѣтія, будетъ играть такую видную роль скопчество; кто бы могъ вообразить, что въ вѣкъ религіознаго, повидимому, индиферентизма, всплываетъ на поверхность

житейскихъ интересовъ самая фанатическая, самая изувѣрная секта, что въ правительственныхъ сферахъ, въ обществѣ, въ печати будетъ еще происходить борьба противъ явленій, считавшихся безумными и отвратительными не только въ средніе вѣка, но даже въ эпоху отдаленной древности, и борьба—безуспѣшная... Слово скопецъ, солидарность скопцовъ, ихъ пропаганда, собираніе для этой пропаганды средствъ, безсиліе предъ скопцами властей—все это понятія почти нарицательныя. Обязанность общества и власти вести борьбу съ этимъ изувѣрнымъ status in statu, съ этимъ вылитымъ изъ денегъ колосомъ общественнаго развращенія—никогда не подлежала сомнѣнію. Мириться со скопчествомъ невозможно. Съ этой изувѣрной и подземной пропагандой можно только бороться, бороться энергически и неутомимо. Условіе этой борьбы — отысканіе и преслѣдованіе враговъ и ихъ денежныхъ арсеналовъ»... «Было время, писали еще въ третьемъ мѣстѣ, когда организованный заговоръ людорѣзовъ-скопцовъ противъ всего человѣчества имѣлъ просторъ въ своихъ дѣйствіяхъ, и люди на Руси, особливо простонародье, рѣзались скопцами, какъ бараны; когда золото скопческое, жадно собираемое желтолицыми фанатиками на воцареніе на Руси новаго скопческаго царя, имѣющаго прійдти изъ Иркутска и возсѣсть на престолѣ русскихъ царей, вмѣсто нынѣ царствующаго дома, неустанно подкупало правосудіе, принимавшее иногда мѣры къ наказанію виновныхъ въ людорѣзничествѣ. Нынѣ времена эти кончились. Пробилъ на Руси часъ, когда подкупъ правосудія сдѣлался почти немыслимъ — и въ это-то новое время начинается Плотицинское дѣло». Среди этого браннаго клича, обращавшагося къ страсти и нисколько не уяснявшаго сущности вопроса, являлись и кое-какія фактическія указанія, по характеру впрочемъ очень преувеличенныя. Такъ, «Биржевыя Вѣдомости» указываютъ, какъ производится скопческая пропаганда. «Скопцы для мѣняльныхъ лавокъ своихъ стараются со своей родины брать мальчиковъ, но чтобы исключительно они были изъ сиротъ, или имѣли бы родственниковъ самыхъ дальнихъ. Выбираютъ мальчиковъ наиболѣе красивыхъ. Найдя такого подходящаго мальчика, они пріучаютъ его къ лавкѣ и къ своему образу жизни, отнюдь не допуская его до отлучекъ изъ дому и до развлеченій. И когда мальчикъ начинаетъ дѣлаться прекраснымъ юношею (это ихъ выраженіе), тогда они стараются не упустить времени, соблазняютъ его къ оскопленію разными обѣщаніями богатства. Это имъ почти всегда удается. Оскопивъ, они

его вылечиваютъ, потомъ посылаютъ его къ мѣняламъ въ Ригу или Петербургъ, смотря по тому, какъ по обстоятельствамъ они найдутъ удобнѣе. Проживъ 5, 6 и болѣе лѣтъ (тоже смотря по обстоятельствамъ), этотъ юноша новокрещенный (какъ они его называютъ) является въ Москву, къ своему прежнему патрону (или даютъ ему хорошее мѣсто у другаго), уже взрослымъ мужчиною и выработаннымъ купчиною. Онъ является здѣсь совершенно за новое лицо, такъ что иногда и сосѣди по лавкѣ съ трудомъ узнаютъ въ немъ бывшаго хорошенькаго мальчика. Та же участь постигаетъ и дѣвочекъ «сиротъ», только этихъ послѣднихъ, по обрѣзаніи, оставляютъ большею частью здѣсь же, въ своихъ вертепахъ-домахъ. А сколько умираетъ отъ этой проклятой ихъ операціи малолѣтковъ и взрослыхъ! Живутъ эти люди по виду тихо и смирно, какъ будто ангелы настоящіе, зла никому не дѣлаютъ. А на самомъ дѣлѣ эта еретическая лига есть общество, кощунствующее надъ духомъ и плотію человѣка и большею частью производящее свои варварскія операціи надъ человѣкомъ въ такихъ лѣтахъ, когда онъ не имѣетъ еще полнаго сознанія въ той потерѣ, которую ему причиняютъ». Вспомнили и отыскали Надеждина, который въ запискѣ, составленной имъ въ 1845 году для министра внутреннихъ дѣлъ, писалъ, что «скопцы не умѣютъ представить себѣ иначе утвержденія для нихъ царства небеснаго на землѣ, какъ въ воцареніи на россійскомъ престолѣ Императора Петра III, котораго они считаютъ вторымъ Христомъ, истиннымъ сыномъ Божіимъ, живымъ донынѣ. Онъ-то долженъ прійдти къ нимъ съ восточной Иркутской стороны, зазвонить въ Успенскій колоколъ, созвать своихъ дѣтушекъ, завладѣть короною съ державою и потомъ надъ всѣми людьми свершить страшный судъ». Такимъ образомъ, скопчеству придавался политическій характеръ и значеніе революціонной пропаганды. Находили даже связь въ Плотицынскомъ дѣлѣ съ подпольной польской интригой и приводили списки лицъ поляковъ-участниковъ. Заявлялось желаніе, чтобы слѣдствіе надъ скопцами было поручено графу М. Н. Муравьеву, ибо только ему одному «можетъ быть по плечу отвѣтственность по Плотицынскому дѣлу—и передъ правительствомъ, и передъ обществомъ, и даже передъ потомствомъ».

Изъ словъ защиты по Плотицынскому дѣлу публика узнала, что скопчество выродилось изъ такъ-называемой хлыстовщины, появившейся въ 1733 году въ царствованіе Анны Іоанновны. Начало скоп-

честву положилъ, въ концѣ прошлаго столѣтія, Кондратъ Селивановъ, выдававшій себя за Петра III и за Христа. Селивановъ былъ наказанъ кнутомъ и сосланъ въ Сибирь. Въ царствованіе Павла I онъ былъ вызванъ изъ ссылки и посаженъ въ домъ сумасшедшихъ. Въ 1802 году онъ былъ выпущенъ; въ періодъ религіозной терпимости, въ началѣ царствованія Императора Александра I, снова дѣйствовалъ и пропагандировалъ, наконецъ въ 1820 году былъ заключенъ въ Суздальскій монастырь, гдѣ и умеръ. Относительно Плотицына оказалось, что онъ вовсе не скопецъ, онъ не воспріялъ ни огненнаго крещенія, ни такъ-называемой царской (большой) печати. Жившіе въ домѣ Плотицына мужчины оказались тоже не оскопленными, женщины оказались только сомнительными скопчихами, но не всѣ—иныя не были вовсе оскоплены. Самъ Плотицынъ никого не совращалъ, жилъ очень уединенно, даже странно—онъ и всѣ находившіеся при немъ лица не ѣли мяса и жизнь вели затворническую. Тамбовская уголовная палата судила ихъ по уликамъ, по вещамъ и предметамъ, найденнымъ при обыскѣ, и по совокупности тѣхъ данныхъ, которыя палата назвала скопческой обстановкой. «Гг. сенаторы! говорилъ защитникъ Татьяны Плотицыной и Іова Зыкина, вы должны примѣнить законъ, какъ бы онъ строгъ ни былъ; вы судьи, а судъ не милуетъ, онъ только примѣняетъ законъ. Но самый законъ долженъ быть примѣненъ съ толкомъ и разумѣніемъ; одно толкованіе даетъ закону жизнь и смыслъ; толкованіе его можетъ быть широкое и узкое; то толкованіе истинно, которое ближе всего подходитъ къ цѣлямъ и намѣреніямъ законодателя». И защитникъ спрашиваетъ: какая цѣль руководила законодателемъ, ради чего преслѣдуютъ скопцовъ? Изъ-за вѣры?..! «Не намъ, людямъ XIX вѣка, возстановлять память о прежнихъ гоненіяхъ, пятиться въ средніе вѣка; намъ законъ—святая вѣротерпимость, неприкосновенность личныхъ убѣжденій». Но если преслѣдованіе проистекаетъ не изъ религіозныхъ убѣжденій, не совершается ли оно изъ видовъ политическихъ?—спрашиваетъ защитникъ. Этотъ взглядъ дѣйствительно когда-то господствовалъ; подъ его вліяніемъ сложились наши законы о скопцахъ и имъ пропитана книга Надеждина. Но развѣ исторія послѣднихъ лѣтъ не доказала, что вообще расколъ въ Россіи нисколько не опасенъ, что онъ не имѣетъ никакого значенія и лишенъ политическаго элемента? Онъ не поддается ни искушеніямъ, ни навѣтамъ, и раскольники такіе же вѣрные слуги государства и Государя, какъ православные. И такъ,

что же остается отъ скопчества, во имя чего оно преслѣдуется? «Во имя человѣческой природы, во имя чувствъ человѣческихъ, оскорбляемыхъ жестокимъ изувѣрствомъ. Государству нѣтъ дѣла до того, во что кто вѣруетъ, но оно можетъ сказать: живите смирно, не смѣйте калѣчить другъ друга, не смѣйте вредить другъ другу, не смѣйте и сами себя калѣчить. Всякаго нарушителя этого запрета государство вправѣ подвергнуть самому строгому наказанію, все равно съ какою бы цѣлью онъ ни сдѣлалъ это нарушеніе».

Дѣло Плотицына кончилось; голосъ защиты оказался недостаточно сильнымъ, Максимъ Плотицынъ и сестра его Татьяна сосланы въ Восточную Сибирь—и вопросъ о скопцахъ затихъ.

Что же вынесло общественное мнѣніе, то самое общественное мнѣніе, голосъ котораго высказывается въ приговорѣ присяжныхъ, изъ суда надъ Плотицынымъ? Что это за секта? Какъ на нее смотрѣть? Вредна ли она? На сколько и чѣмъ именно? Слѣдуетъ ли вооружаться противъ нея по религіозному принципу? Слѣдуетъ ли видѣть въ ней вредный политическій элементъ или смотрѣть на нее какъ на простое членовредительство? Какую программу могли извлечь себѣ будущіе присяжные для всѣхъ будущихъ дѣлъ подобнаго рода? Печать требовала энергическаго преслѣдованія, усматривая въ скопчествѣ кромѣ *людорѣзанія* политическую опасность, горючій матеріалъ, которымъ покушалась пользоваться подпольная интрига. Защита, отрицая политическій элементъ и не допуская гоненія религіознаго, сводила вопросъ къ членовредительству или къ тому же людорѣзанію. Среди этого неустановившагося и невыяснившагося мнѣнія началось въ Москвѣ дѣло Кудриныхъ, а въ Калугѣ—дѣло о Перемышльскихъ и Лихвинскихъ скопцахъ.

Кудринское дѣло производилось въ особенно полной обстановкѣ—были приглашены врачи и эксперты. Московскій окружной судъ придавалъ очевидную важность дѣлу, и данныя, доставленныя предварительнымъ слѣдствіемъ, считалъ, конечно, недостаточными для составленія безошибочнаго заключенія.

На судебномъ слѣдствіи было выяснено многое, что по существу Плотицынскаго дѣла и не могло быть выяснено. Кудринское дѣло поэтому можно считать уже значительнымъ шагомъ впередъ въ отношеніи разъясненія скопческаго вопроса. Вотъ что узнала публика.

Дмитрій Кудринъ показалъ, что *случайность* произошла съ нимъ въ дѣтскомъ возрастѣ, когда ему было лѣтъ десять, и по волѣ отца.

Было это такъ, разсказывалъ Кудринъ: «отецъ однажды весной ласкалъ меня и спросилъ, хочу ли я быть счастливымъ и любимымъ его сыномъ. Я сказалъ, что хочу. Отецъ на это сказалъ, что я долженъ слушаться, не ѣсть мяса, потому что тогда былъ такой день, и не пить. На третій день отецъ позвалъ меня въ садъ, въ уединенное мѣсто и сказалъ, что *вотъ что* нужно сдѣлать со мною. Я, выслушавъ отца, заплакалъ; но онъ говорилъ, что это будетъ легко, и повелъ меня въ садъ. Тамъ я сказалъ ему, что мнѣ очень больно, что я закричу, потому что не было возможности терпѣть. Отецъ говорилъ, что я буду угоденъ Богу, потомъ закинулъ мнѣ рубашку на голову, что-то щелкнуло и я почувствовалъ боль. Послѣ этого я былъ боленъ недѣль шесть и отецъ лечилъ меня и что-то прикладывалъ».

Андрей Кудринъ, пріѣхавъ въ 1829 году въ Москву, познакомился тамъ съ унтеръ-офицеромъ Горшковымъ. Горшковъ этотъ жилъ въ Кремлѣ на казенной квартирѣ, читалъ очень часто Андрею Кудрину священное писаніе и говорилъ, какъ надобно жить, чтобы спастись. Затѣмъ Горшковъ оскопилъ Кудрина, который сейчасъ же послѣ оскопленія пошелъ отъ него къ себѣ на квартиру къ Харитонію въ Огородникахъ. Экспертъ-врачъ замѣтилъ при этомъ, что при подобной операціи истекаетъ много крови и что Андрей Кудринъ не могъ дойти послѣ операціи изъ Кремля къ Харитонію въ Огородникахъ.

Подобныя же показанія были и со стороны женщинъ. Такъ, Павлова показала, что тетка ея сдѣлала съ нею «*что-то*» въ деревнѣ, когда Павловой было 10 лѣтъ. Тетка говорила, что безъ этого нельзя ѣхать въ Москву. Съ Кузмичевой это «*что-то*» сдѣлала тоже тетка, когда Кузмичевой было 12 лѣтъ. Но что именно сдѣлала тетка, Кузмичева не знаетъ.

Врачи-эксперты объяснили, что неполное оскопленіе мужчинъ *врядъ-ли* достигаетъ цѣли и что даже при полномъ, надо полагать, влеченіе къ женщинамъ у такихъ субъектовъ не прекращается совсѣмъ; что ovariotomia—операція очень трудная, лишаетъ женщину способности къ дѣторожденію. Вырѣзываніе же грудныхъ желѣзъ лишаетъ лишь возможности кормить грудью; другіе пріемы оскопленія не лишаютъ способности рожанія.

Свидѣтель Василій Михайловъ показалъ, что когда ему было лѣтъ 11, то у него не держалась моча, поэтому надъ нимъ смѣялись. Ходилъ тогда къ нимъ въ домъ Николай Родіоновъ. Родіоновъ сказалъ Михайлову, что вылечитъ его—позвалъ къ себѣ и оскопилъ. Гово-

рилъ онъ тогда, чтобы Михайловъ не пилъ вина, мясного не ѣлъ и не ругался. «Я знаю обрядъ скопцовъ, говорилъ Михайловъ, и первая у нихъ молитва за Государя, потомъ за начальство и за весь христіанскій родъ. На моленіяхъ у нихъ бываютъ пророки и пророчицы; напримѣръ: когда дождя не бываетъ, то молитва пророка доходитъ до Бога и посылается дождь, или если война, то войну утишаетъ.... Я имѣлъ связь съ женщиной уже оскопленной, также какъ и Дмитрій Кудринъ. Прежде у женщинъ скопцы отрѣзали груди, но дѣлали это больше изъ глупости...»

Эксперты показали, что сущность скопческаго ученія состоитъ въ ниспроверженіи основнаго догмата въ православномъ и вообще христіанскомъ ученіи — догмата объ искупленіи міра чрезъ крестную смерть Богочеловѣка. Искупителемъ скопцы считаютъ не Іисуса Христа, а своего лжехриста Селиванова. Историческое бытіе Христа они признаютъ, почитаютъ его даже и сыномъ Божіимъ, но всю евангельскую исторію, какъ и вообще библію, объясняютъ по-своему: такъ, Іисуса Христа они признаютъ скопцомъ же и проповѣдникомъ скопчества, крещеніе по ихъ мнѣнію было ничто иное, какъ оскопленіе, поэтому Іоаннъ Креститель пользуется у нихъ особеннымъ уваженіемъ; апостолы были будто бы тоже скопцами, а также и многіе святые христіанской церкви. Но какъ Іисусъ Христосъ принялъ не полное оскопленіе и скопчество вообще начало упадать, то для совершеннаго искупленія людей отъ грѣха и явился новый по ихъ мнѣнію истинный Христосъ, сынъ божій—Селивановъ. Селивановъ есть средоточіе всего скопческаго ученія; онъ явится, какъ Мессія, открыто и со славою и тогда наступитъ царство скопцовъ и все человѣчество будетъ состоять изъ нихъ. Скопцы хотя и говорятъ, что признаютъ царствующій домъ и вообще правительство, но трудно помирить ихъ увѣреніе въ вѣрноподданствѣ съ ихъ ученіемъ о Петрѣ III, какъ о царѣ, который долженъ наконецъ воцариться открыто. Главная обрядовая сторона заключается въ радѣніи. Имъ скопцы хотятъ достигнуть вдохновенія свыше и послѣ усиленныхъ тѣлодвиженій, прыганья и пѣнья доходятъ дѣйствительно до экстаза. При радѣніяхъ скопцы одѣваются въ длинныя рубашки и халаты. Обряды христіанской церкви они исполняютъ, въ церковь ходятъ, исповѣдуются и причащаются. Оскопленію подвергаются уже тѣ, кто изъявилъ готовность поступить въ секту и кто уже допускается на радѣнія. Оскопленіе бываетъ полное и неполное. Полное оскопленіе называется

«царской печатью», «большой печатью», «второй чистотой». Относительно символическихъ предметовъ и вещественныхъ доказательствъ экспертиза уяснила, что пояски употребляются скопцами при радѣніяхъ; портретъ Петра III пользуется особеннымъ почетомъ, портретъ Селиванова также очень уважается, картина распятаго монаха есть картина несомнѣнно скопческая; одинъ современный Селиванову скопецъ призналъ въ распятомъ монахѣ самого Селиванова, съ которымъ изображаемый имѣетъ дѣйствительное сходство; картина царя Давида можетъ имѣть значеніе для скопцовъ, такъ какъ свои радѣнія они оправдываютъ примѣромъ псалмопѣвца, о которомъ церковная пѣснь говоритъ: «скакаше играя»; въ ладонки скопцы имѣютъ обыкновеніе зашивать и носить разныя реликвіи своего лжехриста и пророковъ—волосы, ногти и т. п.; книга Эккартзгаузена «Ключъ къ таинствамъ природы», какъ и вообще мистическія сочиненія, проповѣдующія превосходство внутренней церкви предъ внѣшнею, пользуются уваженіемъ у скопцовъ; что же касается до книги «Таинственная Капля», изданной за границею, то въ ней нѣтъ ничего сомнительнаго для православныхъ читателей. Съ разрѣшенія духовной цензуры книга эта напечатана теперь въ Россіи, впрочемъ съ нѣкорыми измѣненіями и дополненіями, направленными противъ скопцовъ.

Скопческая секта, какъ и всякая секта и ученіе, продолжающее существовать, не есть ученіе закостенѣвшее; она развивается и измѣняется. Поэтому ученіе это еще не такъ всесторонне изслѣдовано, чтобы о немъ можно было сказать послѣднее слово, тѣмъ болѣе, что скопцы сохраняютъ свое ученіе въ глубокой тайнѣ и вообще облекаютъ глубокой таинственностью все свое поведеніе. Извѣстны только главные пункты ихъ вѣроученія и тѣ коренныя основанія, изъ которыхъ они исходятъ, напримѣръ ложное толкованіе XIX гл. 20 ст. евангелія отъ Матѳея. Источникомъ для изученія скопчества служилъ до сихъ поръ сборникъ соловецкаго архимандрита Досиѳея, записки о скопческой ереси преосвященнаго Іакова, епископа нижегородскаго, и сочиненіе Надеждина. Источники эти не провѣрены критикой, и съ какой осторожностью, въ какихъ именно пунктахъ ими слѣдуетъ пользоваться—не установлено. На вопросъ защиты, можно ли считать радѣніе безнравственнымъ, экспертиза не дала общаго отвѣта, но объяснила, что ихъ нельзя считать безнравственными въ тѣсномъ, исключительномъ смыслѣ, какъ напримѣръ хлыстовскія радѣнія, но они безнравственны на основаніи общаго понятія о хри-

стіанской нравственности, какъ такія дѣйствія, которыя не согласны съ христіанскимъ представленіемъ о чинности и благоприличіи богослужебныхъ дѣйствій. На другой вопросъ защиты—полезно ли преслѣдовать религіозныя секты именно въ видахъ ихъ ослабленія и прекращенія, экспертиза объяснила, что, на основаніи историческихъ данныхъ, строгія мѣры гоненія противъ такъ-называемыхъ старообрядцевъ служили только къ усиленію и распространенію раскола; напротивъ, расколъ, оставленный въ покоѣ, самъ собою ослабѣвалъ. Но это общее основаніе не примѣнимо къ скопческой сектѣ, самой вредной, ибо время, когда Селивановъ жилъ на свободѣ и когда радѣнія совершались у него торжественно, скопцы зовутъ «золотымъ ихъ времечкомъ». Защита указала, что извѣстный профессоръ казанскаго университета Добротворскій, въ предисловіи своей книги «Изслѣдованія о людяхъ божьихъ», высказываетъ относительно хлыстовъ другія мнѣнія.

Сводя мнѣнія экспертизы, защита высказала вотъ что: «Одинъ экспертъ прямо сказалъ, что скопческая секта соединена съ изувѣрствомъ, а другой объяснилъ болѣе уклончиво, что она только близка къ сектамъ, соединеннымъ съ изувѣрствомъ. Оба эксперта въ этомъ случаѣ, какъ и вообще, смотрятъ на дѣло съ точки зрѣнія строгаго православія. Поэтому вопросъ объ изувѣрствѣ можно совершенно устранить и затѣмъ остается только безнравственность, которая по словамъ экспертовъ заключается въ радѣніяхъ и скаканіяхъ скопцовъ, но ни въ чемъ больше. Нельзя согласиться въ этомъ случаѣ съ экспертами; радѣнія скопцовъ можно считать нелѣпыми, безобразными, но безнравственнаго въ нихъ ничего нѣтъ. Другой признакъ безнравственности есть самое оскопленіе. На вопросъ: почему оскопленіе слѣдуетъ считать безнравственнымъ, экспертиза отвѣтила: потому что оно противоестественно; но не все, что противоестественно, безнравственно. Безнравственныя преступленія исчислены и точно опредѣлены ст. 993—1003 Улож.; это—непотребство, противозаконное сожительство, противоестественные пороки, сводничество; поэтому, не оставляя почвы закона, можно утверждать, что оскопленіе противоестественно, но въ немъ нѣтъ ни свирѣпаго изувѣрства, ни безнравственности. Оно—цѣломудріе, возведенное, подъ вліяніемъ религіознаго фанатизма, до послѣдней, конечной его степени. И такъ, предметомъ обсужденія остается религіозная секта. Какіе бы ни были ея доводы, какъ бы ни уклонились ея послѣдователи отъ догматовъ

православной вѣры, но во всякомъ случаѣ они по своему ищутъ истины; истина—главная цѣль нхъ. Сектаторъ заблуждается; онъ въ своихъ поискахъ сбился съ прямого пути, отошелъ отъ истины на тысячу верстъ, но онъ все-таки ищетъ истину. Вопросъ: «что есть истина?» остается неразрѣшеннымъ и до сихъ поръ. Истину и въ частныхъ случаяхъ и въ наукѣ ищутъ тысячу лѣтъ и въ тысячу первый не находятъ. Искать истину не предосудительно; но не далеко еще то время, когда за исканіе истины люди платились жизнью. Вспомните средніе вѣка, когда такъ называемыхъ еретиковъ жгли на кострахъ; но то время прошло; теперь ихъ не сжигаютъ и даже преслѣдуютъ не вездѣ. Надъ человѣкомъ занимается новая заря, заря новаго, высокаго ученія о томъ, что сфера мысли и совѣсти должна быть свободна, что преслѣдовать и карать человѣка за свободу мысли и совѣсти нельзя, что, не смотря на многочисленные костры, разныя религіозныя ученія продолжали и продолжаютъ существовать. Это высокое ученіе о свободѣ убѣжденія привилось еще не вездѣ; оно существуетъ въ сѣверной Америкѣ, и тамъ однакоже люди живутъ не только не хуже, но гораздо лучше, чѣмъ въ другихъ странахъ».

Обвинительная власть смотрѣла на скопчество съ другой точки. Для нея вопросъ о значеніи преслѣдованія различныхъ сектъ и религіозныхъ ученій, т. е. вопросъ о вѣротерпимости, являлся вопросомъ несущественнымъ. Задача суда не въ провѣркѣ правильности и полезности извѣстной законодательной мѣры, а единственно въ правильномъ и справедливомъ приложеніи къ данному дѣянію относящагося къ нему закона. Въ настоящемъ случаѣ законъ требуетъ преслѣдованія скопческой ереси. Ересь эта вредная, пользующаяся всѣми средствами для пропаганды и ея распространенія. «Подкупъ, принужденіе въ силу власти и вліянія и даже физическое насиліе, все служитъ для этой цѣли. Оскопленіе малолѣтнихъ есть фактъ доказанный. А это представляетъ ужасное, потрясающее преступленіе. У мальчика, едва поднявшагося на ноги, не понимающаго, что съ нимъ дѣлаютъ, отнимаютъ всю его жизнь, отрываютъ отъ другихъ людей, обрекаютъ на лишенія семейной жизни, лишаютъ всѣхъ его радостей, не даютъ возможности и впослѣдствіи отказаться отъ гнуснаго ученія, дѣлаютъ навсегда уродомъ, калѣкой, больнымъ, ибо оскопленіемъ, какъ доказано, разрушается организмъ человѣка». Кромѣ этого, скопчество имѣетъ политическій характеръ, потому что отожествляетъ Селиванова съ Петромъ III и проповѣдуетъ пришествіе

и воцареніе Петра III. «Для скопцовъ церковь—муравьиное гнѣздо; правительство—черные вороны; всѣ не скопцы—іудеи и фарисеи, лютые звѣри, міръ проклятый, о сокрушеніи и уничтоженіи котораго они непрестанно молятся; что же касается до посѣщенія церквей и исполненія обрядовъ, то это только лицемѣріе, предписанное скопцамъ ихъ пророками-наставниками».

Присяжные признали: тринадцать человѣкъ невиновными; Андрея Кудрина виновнымъ во вторичномъ самооскопленіи, въ принадлежности къ сектѣ и въ распространеніи ея; Дмитрія Кудрина только въ принадлежности къ скопчеству и заслуживающимъ снисхожденія, остальныхъ тринадцать человѣкъ виновными по извѣстнымъ пунктамъ, но тоже заслуживающими снисхожденія. Судъ постановилъ: всѣхъ подсудимыхъ, признанныхъ виновными, лишивъ всѣхъ правъ состоянія, сослать на поселеніе въ отдаленный край восточной Сибири, съ порученіемъ ихъ строжайшему надзору мѣстнаго начальства.

Послѣ всего того, что было выяснено и высказано въ московскомъ судѣ, калужское дѣло не представляетъ уже никакого интереса новизны и не заключаетъ въ себѣ ничего руководящаго; но для полноты вывода въ немъ нельзя обойти слѣдующихъ фактовъ. Въ числѣ 11 обвиняемыхъ находился Титъ Григорьевъ Гонцовъ; ему 96 лѣтъ, онъ судился въ 1815 году и былъ оставленъ безъ преслѣдованія, какъ уличившій своего оскопителя. Гонцовъ слабо держится на ногахъ, едва двигается и, будучи подведенъ къ судебному столу, едва слышитъ предлагаемые ему вопросы. На обвиняемыхъ женщинахъ признаковъ оскопленія не найдено. Аѳанасій Варѳоломеевъ Глумовъ, 19 лѣтъ, Максимъ Варѳоломеевъ Глумовъ, 21 года, Павелъ Павловъ Шароновъ, 21 года и Романъ Петровъ Чиревъ, 20 лѣтъ—оскоплены, но виновными себя въ самооскопленіи не признали. Обвинительная власть, раздѣляя скопцовъ на оскопленныхъ и не оскопленныхъ или такъ называемыхъ духовныхъ скопцовъ, не признавала оскопленіе необходимымъ условіемъ принадлежности къ скопческой сектѣ. Присяжные по всѣмъ вопросамъ суда отвѣчали: «да, виновенъ», но Тита Гонцова признали заслуживающимъ снисхожденія, а Аѳанасія Глумова дѣйствовавшимъ безъ полнаго разумѣнія. Судъ приговорилъ Аѳанасія Глумова заключить въ тюрьму на одинъ годъ, а Тита Гонцова, лишивъ всѣхъ правъ состоянія, сослать въ мѣста Сибири не столь отдаленныя; всѣхъ же остальныхъ, лишивъ всѣхъ правъ состоянія, сослать въ отдаленный край вос-

точнѣо Сибири, съ порученіемъ ихъ строжайшему надзору мѣстнаго гражданскаго начальства.

Смутность и противорѣчіе неустановившихся понятій, обнаружившіяся въ приведенныхъ трехъ процессахъ, имѣютъ болѣе широкое значеніе, чѣмъ кажется, ибо переступаютъ тѣсныя границы исключительно скопческаго вопроса. И защита и обвиненіе стали ниже своей задачи. Во имя чего дѣйствуетъ обвиненіе—во имя ли одной мертвой буквы карающаго закона или во имя истины, т. е. общественнаго блага? Допускаетъ ли законъ толкованіе, долженъ ли онъ заключать въ себѣ начало прогрессивности, или же онъ сила, заставляющая костенѣть жизнь и парализующая ея развитіе? Нѣтъ, говоритъ наука, законъ есть жизненное явленіе, развивающееся параллельно съ создающей его жизнью и изъ нея почерпающее свое обновленіе. Но въ такомъ случаѣ зачѣмъ же и на судѣ и въ московской печати по поводу дѣла Кудриныхъ были высказаны мысли противоположныя? Мы слышали другія слова, мы читали не такое толкованіе. Было сказано, что задача суда не въ провѣркѣ правильности закона, а только въ правильномъ примѣненіи его къ данному случаю. Вопросъ о томъ, насколько основательно такое-то постановленіе закона, на судѣ не можетъ быть и возбужденъ, ибо для этого существуетъ другой путь—законодательный. Это вѣрно. Но въ судѣ есть еще и другой элементъ—элементъ общественнаго мнѣнія, выражающійся въ голосѣ присяжныхъ. Присяжные не законодательная власть, они не могутъ ни создать, ни измѣнить закона, но въ ихъ нравственномъ убѣжденіи, въ ихъ закрытой отъ глазъ суда совѣсти кроется та сила, которая и закону и приговору суда даетъ жизнь и прогрессивность. Не допуская критики закона и подвергая обсужденію только фактъ преступности, присяжные своимъ короткимъ «да» или «нѣтъ» обнаруживаютъ на законъ то нравственное давленіе, вслѣдствіе котораго тѣ или другія статьи его могутъ или измѣнить или даже совершенно утратить свое значеніе. Сказать присяжнымъ, что они должны только прилагать правильно законъ къ данному факту, значитъ отрицать весь институтъ присяжныхъ, сводить ихъ значеніе къ нулю, ставить ихъ на невѣрную точку зрѣнія и превращать ихъ въ исключительное орудіе обвиненія. Судъ не есть карающая сила—задача его выше и гуманнѣе, и эта-то гуманность входитъ въ него дѣйствующимъ факторомъ изъ закрытой совѣсти присяжныхъ. Защита и обвиненіе, допросъ свидѣтелей и экспертовъ даютъ только сырой матеріалъ, который, очистившись и пе-

реработавшись въ убѣжденіи присяжныхъ, является тѣмъ законченнымъ выраженіемъ общественной совѣсти, на основаніи котораго судъ произноситъ свой приговоръ. Мы, публика, не знаемъ, что происходитъ въ душѣ каждаго присяжнаго; мы, публика, еще меньше знаемъ, путемъ какой борьбы мнѣній, убѣжденій и чувствъ присяжные выработываютъ свой приговоръ; но въ ихъ «да» или «нѣтъ» заключается не одна фактическая оцѣнка даннаго случая, заключается еще и нравственная его оцѣнка. Вотъ почему, если бы присяжные, какъ выраженіе общественной совѣсти и общественной справедливости, усматривали бы напримѣръ въ дѣтоубійствѣ явленіе исключительно ненормальнаго соціальнаго порядка и стали бы оправдывать его во всѣхъ случаяхъ—законъ, карающій дѣтоубійство, утратилъ бы свою карающую силу.

Причина того давленія на присяжныхъ, о которомъ мы говоримъ, заключается въ неясности неустановившагося общественнаго мнѣнія на значеніе суда, и вотъ почему наши судебные ораторы еще и до сихъ поръ излагаютъ въ своихъ рѣчахъ азбуку гласнаго судебнаго института, вносятъ въ свои толкованія личный элементъ и, увлекаясь обвиненіемъ или защитой, съ энергіей усиленной настойчивости вступаютъ даже въ тѣ предѣлы, гдѣ уже нѣтъ мѣста для справедливости. Слѣдовательно неясность общественнаго сознанія превращается въ личное орудіе ораторовъ той или другой стороны и дѣлается средствомъ, которое эксплуатируетъ возбужденная страсть.

Скопческій вопросъ, въ томъ видѣ, въ какомъ онъ до сихъ поръ являлся на судъ общественнаго мнѣнія, носилъ преимущественно страстный характеръ. По Плотицинскому дѣлу извѣстными органами печати было высказано столько тревожащаго и запугивающаго, скопческая секта была представлена въ такомъ грозномъ обобщеніи и въ такомъ грозящемъ общественному счастію Россіи видѣ, точно вопросъ заключается въ возможности насильственнаго обращенія въ скопчество всѣхъ и каждаго, точно каждому приходится дрожать за свою жизнь. Надеждинъ считалъ всѣхъ скопцовъ въ Россіи отъ 8 до 10 тысячъ; возьмемъ вдвое—20 тысячъ, или въ теченіи ста лѣтъ существованія этой секты среднее ея увеличеніе въ годъ составляетъ 200 человѣкъ. Мы беремъ уголовную статистику и въ ней находимъ, что за смертоубійство наказывается ежегодно около 1500 человѣкъ, за воровство, мошенничество, разбой, грабежъ и другіе виды преступленій противъ собственности наказывается ежегодно около 24,000 человѣкъ—про-

центъ громадный сравнительно съ количественнымъ размѣромъ скопчества, а между тѣмъ ни смертоубійство, ни разбой и грабежъ не возбуждаютъ въ общественномъ мнѣніи никакой страстности, не затрогиваютъ его дурныхъ инстинктовъ, не поднимаютъ изъ глубины души его мстительнаго чувства. Почему? Только потому, что по отношенію ко всѣмъ видамъ прочно установившихся въ обществѣ уголовныхъ преступленій точно также прочно установилось и извѣстное выработанное на нихъ воззрѣніе, извѣстный размѣръ примиренія и интеллектуальнаго отношенія, исключающаго паническое чувство. Въ отношеніи же скопчества мы находимся въ моментѣ неустановившейся мысли, въ моментѣ совершеннаго невѣденія, какъ намъ оріентировать свой надъ нимъ взглядъ, судъ и сужденіе.

Новизна вопроса и смутность общественной мысли отразились и въ дѣйствующемъ законодательствѣ по скопческому вопросу. Эти неясности и разнорѣчія уже вступаютъ на путь кассаціоннаго ихъ разрѣшенія и мы касаемся ихъ не въ смыслѣ законодательнаго предрѣшенія, а только въ смыслѣ того давленія общественнаго мнѣнія, которое обнаружило свое вліяніе на характеръ предшествовавшаго нашему времени уголовнаго законодательства по скопческому вопросу.

Рѣшеніемъ московскаго окружнаго суда всѣ признанные присяжными виновными были осуждены судомъ на ссылку въ отдаленныя мѣста Восточной Сибири, не смотря на то, что относительно нѣкоторыхъ присяжные усмотрѣли облегчающія обстоятельства. А между тѣмъ по 134 ст. уложенія—«если преступленіе учинено по легкомыслію или же слабоумію, глупости, крайнему невѣжеству, которымъ воспользовались другіе для вовлеченія въ преступленіе убѣжденіями, приказаніями, или дурнымъ примѣромъ людей, имѣвшихъ надъ нимъ по природѣ или по закону высшую сильную власть» (пунк. 4 и 6), то суду по 135 ст. «предоставляется уменьшить мѣру слѣдующаго виновному наказанія въ предѣлахъ назначенной закономъ степени или понизить оное одною или двумя степенями». Такъ и поступилъ калужскій судъ. Но почему же калужскій судъ поступилъ не одинаково съ московскимъ? Отвѣтъ—въ той же новости скопческаго вопроса, по которому еще не успѣло выработаться на него ни точное общественное, ни точное законодательное воззрѣніе. Взглядъ на скопчество какъ бы выходитъ изъ общей рамки сложившагося воззрѣнія на другія нарушенія условій русскаго соціальнаго порядка. На московскомъ судѣ экспертиза, признававшая справедливымъ принципъ непреслѣдованія

сеятъ вообще, отрицала его въ отношеніи скопчества, точно принципъ можетъ двоиться и точно могутъ существовать рядомъ двѣ взаимно исключающія правды. По 197 ст. уложенія «послѣдователи сектъ, именуемыхъ духоборцами, иконоборцами, молоконами, іудѣйствующими, а равно и другіе принадлежащіе къ ересямъ, которыя, установленнымъ для сего порядкомъ, признаны или впослѣдствіи будутъ признаны особенно вредными, за распространеніе своей ереси и совращеніе въ оную другихъ, по совершенномъ изобличеніи въ семъ преступленіи, подвергаются: лишенію всѣхъ правъ состоянія и ссылкѣ изъ Европейской Россіи въ Закавказкій край, изъ Ставропольской губерніи и Закавказскаго края въ Сибирь, а по Сибири въ отдаленнѣйшія оной мѣста, для водворенія особо отъ другихъ поселенцевъ и старожиловъ». «Скопцы же, по лишеніи всѣхъ правъ состоянія, *отправляются* изъ всѣхъ мѣстъ въ отдаленный край Восточной Сибири съ порученіемъ ихъ строжайшему надзору тамошняго гражданскаго начальства»; значитъ всѣ послѣдователи сектъ *подвергаются* лишенію всѣхъ правъ состоянія и ссылкѣ, но скопцы *отправляются*, гдѣ бы они ни судились, гдѣ бы они ни были изобличены, непремѣнно въ отдаленный край Восточной Сибири, и это безразлично, не смотря ни на уменьшающія, ни на усиливающія обстоятельства, а исключительно за одну принадлежность къ скопческой сектѣ. И вотъ мы видимъ, что одни суды, примѣняя общій законодательный принципъ допускаютъ относительно скопцовъ принципъ смягченія, другіе же, основываясь на спеціальной статьѣ, относящейся къ скопчеству, его не допускаютъ.

Происходитъ-ли это отъ неясности закона, или же отъ давленія общественнаго мнѣнія? Если бы неопредѣлительность закона была единственнымъ фактомъ, вліяющимъ на рѣшеніе, то при отсутствіи исключительнаго возбужденія мысли, примѣненіе закона совершалось бы въ направленіи общаго духа нашего законодательства, т. е. въ смыслѣ суда милостиваго; но если подобное направленіе усматривается не всегда, то очевидно, что есть обстоятельства, вліяющія мѣстами на его уклоненія и эти обстоятельства заключаются—еще разъ—въ смутности возбужденной общественной мысли, не нашедшей себѣ еще твердой точки опоры.

И дѣйствительно, твердой точки опоры въ воззрѣніи на скопчество у насъ не существуетъ. Обвинительная власть, держась на точкѣ воззрѣнія, установленной Надеждинымъ, усматриваетъ въ скопчествѣ са-

мые вредные, разрушительные элементы. Эта секта, по ея мнѣнію, разъѣдаетъ весь соціальный и политическій бытъ, разрушаетъ семью, разрушаетъ человѣческій организмъ. Поэтому «скопчество по самой сущности своей есть язва, которую можно, искоренить, но измѣнить нельзя». Исходя изъ этого приговора, высказаннаго надъ скопчествомъ Надеждинымъ, обвинительная власть проводитъ его въ строгой послѣдовательности, какъ въ общемъ воззрѣніи на вопросъ, такъ и въ частности, въ приложеніи къ отдѣльнымъ фактамъ и подробностямъ. Поэтому для обвинительной власти не существуетъ ни ослабляющихъ, ни увеличивающихъ вину обстоятельствъ, она относится безразлично къ скопчеству духовному и къ скопчеству физическому, къ скопческой пропагандѣ и къ простой принадлежности къ скопческой сектѣ, къ оскопленію и къ самооскопленію. Достаточно одной принадлежности къ скопчеству, одного названія «скопецъ», чтобы нести на себѣ всю тягость отвѣтственности за свою или за чужую вину. Для всѣхъ преступниковъ есть разныя степени виновности—для убійцъ, разбойниковъ, грабителей, поджигателей—нѣтъ ихъ только для скопцовъ: шестнадцатилѣтній мальчикъ, оскопленный фанатикомъ скопцомъ, идетъ вмѣстѣ съ своимъ оскопителемъ въ тотъ-же отдаленный край Восточной Сибири. Нѣтъ исключенія даже для столѣтнихъ старцевъ.

Но это по крайней-мѣрѣ послѣдовательно. Защита въ своемъ дѣлѣ оказалась много слабѣе. Конечно, средства обвиненія богаче, задача его легче и вліяніе его болѣе глубокое и потрясающее, ибо оно дѣйствуетъ на чувство страха, на самый могущественный изъ всѣхъ человѣческихъ инстинктовъ — инстинктъ самосохраненія. Защита же выходитъ больше изъ общихъ воззрѣній и общихъ теоретическихъ началъ и въ тоже время ставитъ себя въ зависимость отъ частностей извѣстнаго факта. Отъ этого ея противорѣчія и въ противорѣчіяхъ ея слабость. Такъ, въ дѣлѣ Плотициныхъ все сводились къ простому членовредительству, потому что судимые не были оскоплены; вѣротерпимость становилась внѣ всякаго сомнѣнія, политическій элементъ скопчества отрицался; «государству нѣтъ дѣла до того, во что кто вѣруетъ, но оно можетъ сказать: живите смирно, не смѣйте калѣчить другъ друга, не смѣйте вредить другъ другу, не смѣйте и сами себя калѣчить,» говорила защита. Въ дѣлѣ Кудриныхъ, гдѣ судились оскопленные, гдѣ обвиненіе исходило изъ того мнѣнія, что «скопцы враги человѣчества, развратители нравственности, нарушители зако-

новъ Божіихъ и человѣческихъ; что скопцовъ можно искоренить, а не измѣнить»—защита ставила внѣ сомнѣнія вопросъ объ изувѣрствѣ и спрашивала, что нравственно, и что безнравственно, что истина и что не истина; защита видѣла въ скопчествѣ одинъ религіозный элементъ, простое исканіе истины, ошибку ищущаго, но заблуждающагося ума. Противъ воззрѣній, установленныхъ Надеждинымъ и на которыхъ строились обвиненія, защита не выставила ничего болѣе новаго, ни одного вновь изслѣдованнаго факта, ослабляющаго воззрѣнія Надеждина, не заручилась никакими статистическими данными. Конечно, защита и не располагала средствами для подобныхъ, и особенно статистическихъ, изслѣдованій и ей не оставалось другаго пути, кромѣ единственнаго ею избраннаго; въ такомъ положеніи дѣла аргументація обвиненія должна была оказаться болѣе сильною. Экспертиза стала тоже на сторону обвиненія.

Гдѣ же правда? Право и обвиненіе, права и защита—истина лежитъ въ серединѣ, внѣ крайностей, внѣ страстныхъ увлеченій, внѣ преувеличеній—истина въ спокойномъ, разсудочномъ взглядѣ на дѣло.

Скопчество есть одно изъ явленій нравственнаго порядка; это—доведенное до крайняго фанатизма, стремленіе къ нравственной чистотѣ. Ложное толкованіе священнаго писанія, ссылки на Христа, апостоловъ, отцевъ церкви, примѣры Оригена и другихъ архіереевъ, не больше какъ средство. Начало скопческихъ побужденій лежитъ въ глубинѣ души человѣческой, въ томъ стремленіи духа, по которому съ самаго начала міра и до сихъ поръ происходитъ борьба двухъ противоположныхъ стремленій, выразившихся въ древности въ двухъ противоположныхъ философскихъ ученіяхъ—въ философіи стоиковъ и въ философіи эпикурейцевъ. Одно начало аскетизма, другое—наслажденія. Этотъ порывъ человѣческаго духа гораздо глубже и общѣе, чѣмъ можетъ казаться. Все человѣчество дѣлилось и дѣлится на эти два противоположные лагеря, каждый тяготѣетъ къ одному изъ нихъ, поведеніе каждаго изъ насъ, все наше личное міровоззрѣніе опредѣляется именно этимъ тяготѣніемъ. Аскетизмъ и его порожденіе—скопчество и эпикуризмъ и его порожденіе—философія наслажденія, кончающаяся нравственнымъ растлѣніемъ, только крайніе полюсы извѣстныхъ душевныхъ противорѣчій, доведенныхъ до абсурда; потому-то аскетизмъ есть явленіе нравственнаго порядка, и средства противъ него заключаются исключительно въ явленіяхъ нравственнаго порядка.

Скопчество въ своемъ основаніи есть ученіе въ высшей степени

породилъ скопчество. Скопцы исходятъ изъ того, что міръ слишкомъ грѣховенъ, что онъ растлѣваетъ безсмертную человѣческую душу. Взгляните на русскую жизнь, на мракъ, обитающій въ душѣ и въ мысли и въ поведеніи простонародья—развѣ на сторонѣ скопцовъ не оказывается значительной доли правды? Развѣ появленіе ихъ было бы возможно среди свѣта и чистоты? Порожденіе невѣжества, скопчество питается невѣжествомъ и только въ немъ находитъ свою точку опоры. Скопцы—враги общества; но кто же, кромѣ этого самого общества, создалъ и воспиталъ въ своемъ собственномъ нѣдрѣ этихъ враговъ? Слѣдовательно все, что способствуетъ свѣту, изгоняетъ и уничтожаетъ мракъ, и только въ свѣтѣ корень противоядія и торжество побѣды. Фанатическіе противники скопчества проповѣдуютъ противъ нихъ мечь и разрушеніе; они ссылаются на опытъ терпимости, который былъ сдѣланъ безуспѣшно въ началѣ нынѣшняго столѣтія. Но кто вамъ говоритъ о равнодушіи и бездѣятельности; кто вамъ говоритъ, что съ мракомъ не слѣдуетъ бороться? Слѣдуетъ, но только нужно избрать вѣрное и дѣйствительное оружіе. Если вы тушите пожаръ, вы льете въ огонь воду, а не подкладываете дровъ. Преслѣдованіе ведетъ только къ лукавству и къ болѣе утонченному обману. Развѣ скопцы не соблюдаютъ всѣхъ внѣшнихъ обрядовъ христіанской церкви? Точно также они или откажутся отъ оскопленія, или найдутъ средство производить свои операціи иначе, съ менѣе замѣтными наружными слѣдами; они откажутся и отъ бѣлыхъ платковъ, и отъ темныхъ одеждъ; но тогда опасность будетъ больше.

Общественное мнѣніе народа вовсе не относится индеферентно къ скопчеству. Скопчество не имѣетъ у него кредита и не пользуется его уваженіемъ. На каждомъ скопцѣ лежитъ печать отчужденія, пришитъ ярлыкъ, котораго народъ пришпиливать къ себѣ не захочетъ. Поэтому-то скопцы усиливаютъ свои ряды или вербованіемъ ничего не понимающихъ дѣтей, которыхъ они за тѣмъ ростятъ въ фанатизмѣ нетерпимости, или среди людей съ фанатическимъ образомъ мыслей, наклонныхъ къ мистицизму. Но послѣдніе исключеніе, ибо фанатизмъ и мистицизмъ не народная русская черта, а противорѣчіе русскому здравомыслію. Слѣдовательно остается только воспользоваться народнымъ здравымъ смысломъ, чтобъ само общественное мнѣніе народа сдѣлало невозможнымъ дальнѣйшую пропаганду скопчества и чтобы оно само собою угасло, какъ секта и ученіе.

Защита уже высказала слѣдующую мысль: «Для совершеннаго

уничтоженія этого вида преступленій—было сказано на московскомъ судѣ—нужно было бы только, чтобы уголовная палата увѣдомляла о своемъ приговорѣ то общество, къ которому принадлежитъ обвиняемый, что вотъ такой-то признанъ скопцомъ; при такомъ правилѣ, положительно можно сказать, что подобныя преступленія уничтожались бы въ какіе нибудь десять лѣтъ». Предлагая эту мѣру, чѣмъ пользуется защита? Она пользуется уже существующимъ народнымъ общественнымъ мнѣніемъ, которое клеймитъ скопчество презрѣніемъ и насмѣшкой. Быть скопцомъ—позоръ и стыдъ; кто же захочетъ добровольно подвергать себя презрѣнію и оскорбленію? Фанатики? Но фанатизмъ невозможенъ, если онъ будетъ разоблаченъ, если нелогичность и безсмыслица скопческихъ догматовъ и символистики сдѣлаются извѣстными народу, если разоблачающему опроверженію будетъ дана самая широкая гласность. Кафедра духовнаго проповѣдника лучшее для этого мѣста, и простая, вразумительная, ясная и прямо дѣйствующая на здравый смыслъ пропаганда—самое могучее средство борьбы и искорененія. Было ли когда нибудь испытано это средство? Было ли когда нибудь возбуждено народное общественное мнѣніе? Обращались ли когда нибудь къ народному здравомыслію? Нѣтъ. Слѣдовательно пока это средство не было испытано, извѣстные органы печати лишаютъ себя права говорить что нибудь противъ терпимости.

Терпимость не есть индеферентизмъ; терпимость, о которой мы говоримъ, есть тоже борьба, но борьба не физическими средствами, а средствами нравственными; она есть обращеніе не къ страсти, а къ разсудку. Нужно, чтобы оглашенное скопчество утратило въ народѣ весь свой кредитъ, чтобы разоблаченіе его абсурдовъ сдѣлалось полнымъ. Откуда же скопчество почерпнетъ свою силу—когда источникъ, его формирующій, изсякнетъ; когда въ замѣнъ преслѣдованія, укрѣпляющаго фанатизмъ и создающаго ложное понятіе о мученичествѣ, явится насмѣшливое равнодушіе?

Н. Ш.

ОТДѢЛЪ ВТОРОЙ

ЛИТЕРАТУРНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКІЙ.

КЛАССИЧЕСКАЯ СТРАНА

КРУПНАГО ЗЕМЛЕВЛАДѢНІЯ.

I.

Ничто не можетъ быть поразительнѣе той крайней безцеремонности, съ которою представители идей крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ англо-саксонскаго племени подстрекаютъ своихъ послѣдователей отстаивать самыя несправедливыя, самыя гибельныя для страны и для нихъ самихъ начала. Характеристическій образецъ въ этомъ отношеніи представляютъ сочиненія въ родѣ брошюры Фитцгиббона *) по ирландскому поземельному вопросу. Въ этой брошюрѣ, напр. Милль называется мечтательнымъ новаторомъ, человѣкомъ, который говоритъ съ ложнымъ сознаніемъ своего философскаго превосходства, со всей смѣлостью *глубокаго невѣжества*; далѣе знаменитый англійскій экономистъ сравнивается съ мореплавателемъ, который придерживается правила „ничего не знать, это значитъ ничего не бояться.“ Читая исторію, безпрестанно приходится наталкиваться на разсказы о взяткахъ, которыя брали съ чужихъ правительствъ дипломаты и государственные люди при разрѣшеніи международныхъ вопросовъ. Историки сообщаютъ эти факты безъ малѣйшаго негодованія, съ какою-то апатическою привычкою къ подобнымъ явленіямъ, какъ будто-бы все это такъ и должно быть. Точно также

*) Geald Fitzgibbon: The Land difficulty of Ireland.

апатично смотритъ общественное мнѣніе на самыя нелѣпыя подстрекательства къ сопротивленію прогрессивнымъ мѣрамъ со стороны руководителей реакціонерныхъ партій, на самую недобросовѣстную ложь, на самое искусственное развитіе реакціонерныхъ чувствъ посредствомъ возбужденія неосновательнѣйшихъ страховъ въ наиболѣе слабыхъ личностяхъ, заинтересованныхъ въ реакціи. Обществу кажется, что такой образъ дѣйствія реакціонеровъ совершенно естественъ; оно нетолько не встрѣчаетъ его съ негодованіемъ, но самые передовые люди иногда косвенно поощряютъ его своимъ примѣромъ. Такое безтактное поведеніе со стороны общественнаго мнѣнія и со стороны представителей прогрессивныхъ и реакціонерныхъ интересовъ имѣетъ самыя плачевныя послѣдствія. Когда началась первая борьба между патриціями и плебеями, когда Аппій Клавдій, рѣшившись дѣйствовать такъ, какъ дѣйствуютъ теперь въ Англіи какіе нибудь Фитцгиббоны, гордился народной ненавистью къ себѣ, и считалъ для себя высшимъ достоинствомъ свою проповѣдь насилія, тогда, въ рѣшительную минуту, патриціи отвернулись отъ него и сосредоточили свой выборъ на человѣкѣ болѣе мягкихъ воззрѣній. Такой образъ дѣйствія со стороны патриціевъ подготовилъ великую будущность Риму. Общественное мнѣніе обыкновенно незнакомо съ тѣми тяжкими послѣдствіями, которыя порождаются для развитія общества крайней безцеремонностью и грубостью, съ какими руководители реакціонерныхъ элементовъ возбуждаютъ ихъ къ сопротивленію прогрессу; оно не понимаетъ, какъ должно себя держать для обузданія этого прискорбнаго направленія. Если общественное мнѣніе будетъ твердо знать, какія страшныя бѣдствія могутъ угрожать обществу отъ безцеремоннаго возбужденія реакціонеровъ къ сопротивленію прогрессу, оно станетъ отворачиваться отъ реакціонеровъ, лишь только они задумаютъ дѣйствовать черезъчуръ безцеремонно. Опасеніе лишиться всякой поддержки со стороны общественнаго мнѣнія и вооружить противъ себя слишкомъ большую силу, заставитъ самихъ реакціонеровъ отталкивать отъ себя слишкомъ безцеремонныхъ приверженцевъ. Если общественное мнѣніе будетъ высказываться противъ регрессивныхъ поползновеній съ достаточною энергіею и тактомъ, тогда и самая реакціонерная пресса будетъ выполнять лишь прямое свое назначеніе, т. е. будетъ облегчать для реакціонеровъ тѣ уступки, которыя имъ придется дѣлать прогрессу. Но какъ скоро общественное мнѣніе вы-

сказывается слишкомъ слабо, чтобы препятствовать реакціонернымъ излишествамъ, оно непремѣнно накликаетъ на общество и на страну самыя тяжкія испытанія. Незнакомому съ дѣломъ человѣку трудно себѣ представить, до какого нелѣпаго и гибельнаго упрямства можетъ доводить реакціонерная пресса своихъ читателей; она заставляетъ ихъ дѣйствовать наконецъ уже нетолько противъ прогресса и общаго блага, но очевидно во вредъ себѣ и увлекаться самой нераціональной горячностью. Подобное настроеніе реакціонерныхъ элементовъ дѣлаетъ невозможнымъ распространеніе въ обществѣ тѣхъ неизбѣжныхъ здравыхъ идей, которыя обезпечиваютъ самыя насущныя потребности населенія и прогресса, даже такія потребности, безъ обезпеченія которыхъ спокойствіе и порядокъ дѣлаются невозможными. Исторія указываетъ намъ, что при подобной обстановкѣ, самое безспорное и несомнѣнно доказанное наукою можетъ считаться спорнымъ въ теченіе долгаго времени; общество въ страхѣ отъ анархическаго и ожесточеннаго сопротивленія реакціонеровъ, боится высказывать свое сочувствіе очевидной истинѣ; оно страдаетъ, оно предвидитъ печальный исходъ, а между тѣмъ даже его лучшіе писатели боятся высказывать тѣ идеи, безъ осуществленія которыхъ зло никакимъ образомъ не можетъ быть излѣчено. Реакціонеры не хотятъ и думать объ уступкахъ, они все болѣе и болѣе выказываютъ безсмысленное упрямство, которое доводитъ ихъ до крайнихъ степеней одичанія и грубой ненависти къ общественному мнѣнію, и наконецъ наступаетъ моментъ, когда дальнѣйшая жизнь общества сдѣлается невозможною безъ уступокъ съ ихъ стороны. Можетъ ли быть что-нибудь очевиднѣе несовмѣстимости представительнаго демократическаго управленія съ учрежденіемъ рабства? Точно также очевидно, что спокойное и правильное развитіе демократическаго общества можетъ быть обезпечено только широкимъ развитіемъ народнаго образованія. Плантаторы Соединенныхъ Штатовъ очень легко могли убѣдиться, что чувство самосохраненія должно неизбѣжно побудить американцевъ и уничтожить рабство, и образовать негровъ. Однакожъ вмѣсто того, чтобы приготовиться къ такому исходу и открыть себѣ путь къ сближенію, плантаторы возбуждали другъ друга къ самому нелѣпому и упрямому сопротивленію. Подобно римлянамъ въ послѣднее время республики, они вели политическую борьбу съ помощью политическихъ дуэлей, тайныхъ и явныхъ убійствъ и такихъ пріемовъ, которые встрѣчаются

только въ самыхъ варварскихъ обществахъ. Чего могли они достигнуть такой борьбой противъ неизбѣжнаго, кромѣ деморализаціи общества? Они это знали, но ихъ безконечное упрямство вызвало тяжкую, продолжительную междоусобную войну, которая потребовала страшныхъ жертвъ и расплодила въ странѣ непримиримую ненависть. Въ этой войнѣ они были побѣждены. Что же, воспользовались ли они урокомъ, сдѣлались ли они благоразумнѣе? Стали ли они думать о томъ, какъ бы согласовать свои собственные интересы съ общественными? Приняли ли образъ дѣйствія, при которомъ неизбѣжное могло мирно совершиться? Нѣтъ! Вмѣсто того, чтобы научиться быть гражданами, они выродились въ разбойниковъ. Всякому извѣстно, сколько лѣтъ теперь прошло послѣ подавленія рабовладѣльческаго возстанія, но южные штаты до сихъ поръ не могутъ успокоиться: упрямство бывшихъ рабовладѣльцевъ постоянно держитъ ихъ въ такомъ состояніи анархіи, которое встрѣчается только въ азіятскихъ государствахъ. Тенесси, Сѣверная и Южная Каролина, Георгія, Алабама и Техасъ наводнены тайными обществами плантаторовъ, которые содержатъ вооруженныя шайки тайныхъ убійцъ и различныхъ анархистовъ. Сенаторъ Скотъ, предсѣдатель спеціальнаго по этому предмету слѣдственнаго комитета, насчитываетъ въ одной Сѣверной Каролинѣ до сорока тысячъ человѣкъ, которые принадлежатъ къ организованнымъ тайнымъ обществамъ плантаторовъ *). Чтобы охарактеризовать образъ дѣйствія этихъ тайныхъ обществъ, можно привести слѣдующіе примѣры. По свѣдѣніямъ изъ Нашвиля (въ Тенесси) отъ 25 февраля 1871 года, въ окрестностяхъ этого города закрыты почти всѣ школы, въ которыхъ обучались негры, по причинѣ оскорбленій, наносимыхъ учителямъ и ученикамъ; владѣльцы не доплачиваютъ заработной платы, а работники не смѣютъ настаивать, опасаясь тайныхъ убійствъ, совершаемыхъ надъ неграми, и оскорбленій, которыя грозятъ негритянкамъ. Если убійца будетъ схваченъ, то его большею частію освобождаютъ товарищи. Во Франкфуртѣ (въ Кентуки), по свѣдѣніямъ отъ того же 25 февраля, двадцать человѣкъ въ маскахъ ворвались въ тюрьму и освободили Скрогинса, обвинявшагося въ убійствѣ негра. Негры, которые осмѣливаются принимать должности и подавать голоса противъ плантаторовъ, убиваются или подвергаются безчис-

*) New-York Tribune March. I. 1871.

ленпымъ оскорбленіямъ. Въ одной Колумбіи изслѣдованіемъ обнаружено до тысячи подобныхъ случаевъ. Шайки по нѣсколько сотъ человѣкъ изъ бывшихъ сепаратистскихъ солдатъ всюду шатаются по южнымъ штатамъ и производятъ безчисленныя безчинства. Часто они лучше вооружены и обучены, чѣмъ мѣстная милиція изъ негровъ. Такимъ образомъ плантаторы поддерживаютъ въ южныхъ штатахъ духъ распущенной солдатчины, который такъ долго былъ язвою средневѣковой Европы. Увлекаясь своимъ упрямствомъ, они не думаютъ о томъ, что впослѣдствіи сами сдѣлаются жертвою тѣхъ анархическихъ и разбойничьихъ наклонностей, которыя они сами развиваютъ въ странѣ своими деньгами. Чтобы имѣть возможность дѣйствовать посредствомъ разбойничьихъ шаекъ, тайныхъ убійствъ и пр., они деморализировали судъ. Къ убійствамъ и угрозамъ они присоединили подкупъ и наконецъ дошло до того, что часто невозможно достигнуть осужденія за тайное злодѣяніе даже отъ присяжныхъ изъ самихъ негровъ. Деморализація суда и полиціи естественно привела къ тому, что воры и обыкновенные мошенники совершаютъ свои преступленія съ той же самой дерзостью, какъ и шайки, поддерживаемыя тайными обществами, и конечно не разбираютъ цвѣтъ и партію ограбленнаго и обворованнаго. Чтобы положить конецъ подобному анархическому положенію, приходится прибѣгать къ чрезвычайнымъ мѣрамъ. Въ февралѣ 1871 года губернаторъ Южной Каролины обратился къ президенту съ требованіемъ войска, и ему послано было нѣсколько полковъ, съ правомъ употреблять ихъ по произволу губернатора. Не трудно себѣ представить, до какой степени необходимость прибѣгать къ подобнымъ мѣрамъ должна разрушать идею свободы.

Какъ слѣдуетъ смотрѣть на тотъ классъ общества, который препятствуетъ развитію въ народныхъ массахъ образованія нетолько пассивнымъ своимъ сопротивленіемъ, но и прямымъ насиліемъ, который деморализируетъ народъ, обманывая его на заработной платѣ и умышленно развращаетъ судъ? Какъ слѣдуетъ смотрѣть на тотъ классъ, который не довольствуется тѣмъ, что развиваетъ въ народѣ невѣжество и мошенничество, но дѣлаетъ его еще и разбойникомъ, содержитъ тайныхъ убійцъ и многочисленныя вооруженныя шайки искателей приключеній? Какъ слѣдуетъ смотрѣть на тотъ классъ, который взятками и терроризмомъ деморализируетъ судъ и полицію, уничтожаетъ свободу, пріучая народъ

къ насильямъ во время выборовъ и къ произвольнымъ вмѣшательствамъ въ дѣла гражданъ съ помощью военной силы. Очевидно, что тотъ классъ, который такими путями борется противъ прогресса столь неизбѣжнаго, что или прогрессъ этотъ долженъ совершиться или общество должно погибнуть, — дѣйствуетъ прямо противъ собственныхъ своихъ интересовъ и изъ ни чѣмъ не оправдываемаго упрямства, столько же вредитъ обществу, сколько и самому себѣ.

Оказывается однакожъ, что реакціонеры дѣйствуютъ съ такимъ нераціональнымъ упрямствомъ не въ однихъ Соединенныхъ Штатахъ. Точно такая же деморализація и точно такое же анархическое состояніе, какое создано было американскими крупными землевладѣльцами на югѣ Соединенныхъ Штатовъ, порождено было англійскими въ Ирландіи. Одинъ англійскій писатель, говоря объ ирландцахъ, восклицаетъ: „Въ Ирландіи, въ общинѣ изъ четырехъ или пяти тысячъ жителей болѣе нищеты и страданій, чѣмъ можно найти на всемъ пространствѣ Франціи или Бельгіи!“ Другой, который приводитъ эти слова, спрашиваетъ, какъ же отозвался этотъ образъ дѣйствія на самихъ землевладѣльцахъ? Оказывается, что земли ихъ сдѣлались бездоходными; ничтожные доходы невѣрными; а положеніе землевладѣльцевъ опаснымъ. Все это дотого справедливо, что въ прошломъ году по оффиціальнымъ свѣдѣніямъ насчитывалось до трехъ-сотъ-шестидесяти аграрныхъ преступленій въ мѣсяцъ *). „Нужно сознаться, говоритъ тотъ же писатель, что въ цивилизованной Европѣ это единственная аристократія, которая для огражденія своихъ правъ можетъ опираться на одну только силу... Въ цивилизованныхъ странахъ очень мало собственниковъ, которые пользуются такой недостаточной безопасностью.... жизнь ирландскихъ землевладѣльцевъ тяжкая. Они постоянно служатъ предметомъ всеобщей ненависти и презрѣнія. Постоянно возобновляющіяся убійства возбуждаютъ въ нихъ самихъ мрачныя воспоминанія и рисуютъ имъ ужасающія воображеніе картины въ будущемъ.“ Благодаря политической анархіи, которая распространена была въ этой несчастной странѣ, Ирландія сдѣлалась источникомъ слабости, а не силы для Англіи **), точно также какъ Аравія, верховья Евфрата

*) The Times, № 26. 980. февраля 7, 1871 г.

**) I. G. Mac. Carthy: Irisch land questions pleinly Stated and answered. London 1870 г.—стр. 9, 17, 18, 19, 22.

и другія одичалыя или мятежныя владѣнія Турціи. Дѣйствія англійскихъ землевладѣльцевъ въ Ирландіи, которые довели страну до такого жалкаго положенія и породили для Англіи серьезную политическую опасность, заставили наконецъ мыслящихъ англичанъ и всѣхъ мыслящихъ людей вообще внимательнѣе взглянуть на это крупное англійское землевладѣніе, которое такъ усердно воспѣвалось и восхвалялось всякаго рода реакціонерами во всѣхъ частяхъ цивилизованнаго міра. Если оно было въ состояніи породить поразительныя и бросающіяся въ глаза бѣдствія и приготовить какъ для Ирландіи, такъ и для Англіи безвыходныя политическія страданія, то ясно, что на него нельзя было смотрѣть такъ легко, какъ смотрѣли прежде; невниманіе и легкомысліе могли дать въ этомъ случаѣ самые горькіе плоды. Весьма интересенъ тотъ новый свѣтъ, которымъ освѣтилось теперь англійское крупное землевладѣніе.

II.

До сихъ поръ наблюденія дѣлались по большей части слѣдующимъ образомъ: обращались къ странѣ крупнаго или мелкаго землевладѣнія и если находили въ ней благосостояніе, цвѣтущую торговлю, богатую производительность, то изъ этого обилія выводили заключеніе, что крупное или мелкое землевладѣніе (смотря по тому, какую страну наблюдали) приводитъ именно къ такому результату; а если оказывалось, что въ какой-либо странѣ съ крупнымъ землевладѣніемъ земледѣліе было въ болѣе цвѣтущемъ состояніи и урожаи обильнѣе, чѣмъ въ другой странѣ съ мелкимъ землевладѣніемъ, то доказательство въ пользу крупнаго землевладѣнія считалось совершенно убѣдительнымъ. Но наблюдатели, производившіе свои наблюденія этимъ первобытнымъ способомъ, забывали, что этимъ путемъ нетолько возможно доказывать, но и дѣйствительно доказывалась польза самыхъ зловредныхъ учрежденій. Въ древности мы видимъ цвѣтущія и просвѣщенныя государства, гдѣ главная масса труда производилась рабами. Въ эти времена наибольшая земледѣльческая и промышленная производительность была удѣломъ рабовладѣльческихъ странъ, каковы Греція, Римъ, Карѳагенъ. Страны, гдѣ вовсе

не было рабства или гдѣ оно существовало въ ограниченныхъ размѣрахъ, были по большей части бѣдны и непроизводительны. Указывая на превосходно воздѣланныя поля Карѳагена или Антики, поверхностнаго наблюдателя легко было убѣдить въ необходимости и пользѣ рабства. А между тѣмъ рабство сдѣлалось причиной паденія всѣхъ этихъ перловъ античной цивилизаціи, и если бы оно пустило такіе же глубокіе корни въ Соединенныхъ Штатахъ Америки, то, нѣтъ сомнѣнія, оно погубило бы и эту богатую, цвѣтущую республику. Восточный деспотизмъ, съ его произволомъ и жестокостями, съ политическимъ вліяніемъ гарема и евнуховъ, существовалъ въ аравійской цивилизаціи въ ея самыя цвѣтущія времена, и если дѣлать такіе выводы, какіе дѣлали реакціонеры относительно англійскаго крупнаго землевладѣнія, то можно было бы заключить, что восточный деспотизмъ — весьма благодѣтельное учрежденіе, а господство евнуховъ способствуетъ развитію науки. Точно такія же заключенія можно было бы вывести изъ исторіи Египта и Индіи для того, чтобы доказать пользу кастъ и теократическаго управленія. Пользу наслѣдственныхъ должностей и феодальнаго устройства можно было бы доказывать цвѣтущимъ состояніемъ Нидерландовъ во время среднихъ вѣковъ; пользу борьбы партій, гдѣ побѣдители изгоняютъ цѣликомъ побѣжденныхъ, можно было бы доказывать богатствомъ городовъ средневѣковой Италіи; наконецъ, самую пользу анархіи можно было бы доказать тѣмъ, что въ бывшей аравійской цивилизаціи наука достигла высшаго развитія именно въ то время, когда анархія была въ самомъ разгарѣ. Конечно, теперь всякій мыслящій человѣкъ понимаетъ, что такія доказательства слишкомъ шатки и что для правильнаго пониманія фактовъ и событій необходимо прежде всего поставить читателя на настоящую точку зрѣнія посредствомъ раціональнаго анализа явленій и затѣмъ уже представлять ему факты въ надлежащемъ ихъ свѣтѣ. Если вмѣсто того, чтобы сравнивать страны, которыя пользовались благосостояніемъ или бѣдностью при свободномъ и при рабскомъ трудѣ, при деспотическомъ и народномъ правленіи и т. д., мы возьмемъ одно общество, положимъ даже такое, которое пользовалось благосостояніемъ въ то время, когда въ его средѣ господствовало рабство или деспотизмъ, и покажемъ дѣйствительную роль, какую въ его исторіи играло это рабство или этотъ деспотизмъ, то результатъ у насъ выйдетъ совершенно другой, и мы составимъ себѣ пра-

вильное понятіе о дѣлѣ. При сколько-нибудь правильномъ изслѣдованіи, мы никакимъ образомъ не можемъ прійти къ заключенію, что рабство способствовало благосостоянію Греціи, Карѳагена или Рима, что арабы были обязаны своею цивилизаціею гаремамъ или евнухамъ. Точно также только такимъ путемъ можно получить правильное понятіе о значеніи крупнаго землевладѣнія въ Англіи, которая постоянно была идеаломъ и образцомъ для защитниковъ крупной собственности. Когда норманны завоевали Англію, они ввели тамъ феодальную систему, однакожъ они ее ввели не въ томъ видѣ, въ какомъ она господствовала на материкѣ Европы, а сдѣлали въ ней усовершенствованіе, заключавшееся въ томъ, что они ослабили отдѣльныхъ крупныхъ феодальныхъ владѣльцевъ въ пользу центральной власти. Это ослабленіе, какъ извѣстно, сдѣлалось первымъ источникомъ благосостоянія и величія Англіи, потому что оно заставило англійскую аристократію поневолѣ соединиться съ городами и положить краеугольный камень для зданія представительныхъ политическихъ формъ. При всемъ томъ англійская аристократія неохотно шла на соединеніе съ городами; она не видѣла ничего хорошаго въ новомъ своемъ устройствѣ, напротивъ, завидовала силѣ и могуществу континентальныхъ феодаловъ; она пропагандировала не сближеніе съ народомъ, а отдаленіе отъ него. Это, напр., весьма ясно обрисовывается во время первыхъ ея завоеваній въ Ирландіи. Въ то время, когда Англія стояла сравнительно на высокой степени цивилизаціи, Ирландія была полудикой страной. Въ двѣнадцатомъ вѣкѣ въ ней насчитываютъ только до трехъ сотъ тысячъ жителей. Каково было настроеніе этого населенія, видно изъ того, что послѣ первыхъ столкновеній съ англійской аристократіей, когда ирландцы захватили множество англійскихъ военнопленныхъ и рабовъ, выборные страны изъ числа мѣстныхъ аристократовъ, на армагскомъ (Armagh) синодѣ постановили освободить всѣхъ рабовъ изъ военноплѣнныхъ англичанъ. Англійская аристократія, конечно, рада была воспользоваться такимъ благодушіемъ ирландской аристократіи, но она за это стала ее глубоко презирать и постаралась излѣчить отъ такого недостатка, она стала убѣждать ее въ необходимости отдѣлиться отъ народныхъ массъ и унизить ихъ насколько возможно въ чемъ, по мнѣнію англійской аристократіи, заключалась истинная цивилизація. Современные писатели разсказываютъ, какъ много стоило труда Ричарду II, въ концѣ XIV вѣка, хотя нѣсколько цивили-

зовать важнѣйшихъ изъ ирландскихъ аристократовъ, въ родѣ потомковъ королей Макъ Морро; нужно было много ловкости, чтобы заставить ихъ не держать себя со своею дружиною и своими слугами на ровной ногѣ, не сидѣть съ ними за однимъ столомъ, не ѣсть изъ одного блюда и не пить изъ одной чаши. Однако въ концѣ концовъ попытки англійскихъ аристократовъ по отношенію къ ирландскимъ удались, ирландцы поняли всю суть цивилизаціи, и въ Ирландіи явились настоящіе аристократы въ англійскомъ смыслѣ, въ родѣ Оконора и Ольфельда; первый отдалъ двѣ трети Конота, котораго онъ былъ предводителемъ, Вильяму де-Бергъ, чтобы обезпечить за собою остальную треть въ видѣ наслѣдственной бароніи, а послѣдній уступилъ свои владѣнія англійскому королю съ тѣмъ, чтобы двѣ части получить въ пожизненное владѣніе, а остальную треть въ наслѣдственное. Этотъ родъ цивилизаціи возбуждалъ въ массахъ ирландскаго населенія глубокое негодованіе и ожесточеніе; ирландцы утверждали, что мѣстные аристократы не имѣли права распоряжаться землями, которыя принадлежали народу, а не имъ, что они были только избранные начальники и не имѣли права превращаться въ наслѣдственныхъ, но англійскіе мечи были сильнѣе—и идеи англійской аристократіи восторжествовали *).

Такое направленіе цивилизиціи, которое развивало въ высшихъ слояхъ англійскаго общества страсть уединяться и замыкаться въ недоступное величіе, привело только къ тому, что члены англійской аристократіи постоянно грызлись между собою; междоусобіямъ, грабежамъ, кровопролитію не было конца. Аристократія сдѣлала изъ Англіи такую разбойничью яму, въ которой самимъ аристократамъ было такъ же невыносимо жить, какъ и народу. Такъ было до конца XII вѣка. XIII и XIV вѣка были для Англіи временемъ объединенія и конституціонной практики. Въ теченіе всего XIII вѣка мы видимъ цѣлый рядъ замѣчательнѣйшихъ законодательныхъ памятниковъ, которыми ограждаются права всѣхъ слоевъ англійскаго общества; одинъ домъ Плантаженетовъ, начиная съ Генриха III, издалъ тридцать семь конституцій, подтверждавшихъ права народа **). XIV вѣкъ отличается возрастаніемъ вліянія городовъ въ предста

*) H. Iervis: Ireland under british rule, London, 1868 г. стр. 19, 36, 66 и т. д.

**) F. Schubert: Die Verfassungsurkuden und Grundgesetze der Staaten Europa Königsberg 1848 г. ч. I, стр. 30.

вительномъ собраніи, стремленіемъ въ рабочемъ населеніи къ свободѣ, къ обезпеченію за собою правъ на землю и къ ограниченію произвола въ поборахъ съ земледѣльцевъ. Въ англійскомъ правѣ создалась аксіома, что никто не можетъ имѣть безусловной собственности надъ землею, всякое право на нее можетъ быть только ограниченное; но всѣ эти зачатки великаго будущаго, при которомъ и земледѣліе и промышленность Англіи одинаково начинали процвѣтать, были погублены направленіемъ, которое приняла аристократія во имя своихъ воззрѣній на цивилизацію. Въ XV вѣкѣ господство аристократическихъ стремленій снова проявилось съ особенною силою; движеніе къ свободѣ и объединенію прекратилось; снова начались междоусобія и кровопролитія; въ половинѣ этого вѣка массы земледѣльцевъ лишились своихъ земель. Несмотря однакожъ на то, что аристократія такимъ образомъ уничтожила благосостояніе народа, она сама отъ этого выиграла такъ мало, что ея права на земли сдѣлались въ высшей степени шаткими и невѣрными. Ни одинъ крупный землевладѣлецъ, который владѣлъ сегодня богатыми имѣньями не могъ поручиться за то, что онъ будетъ владѣть ими и завтра. Въ концѣ XV столѣтія пятая часть англійской земли посредствомъ конфискацій перешла отъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ въ руки короля, и кончилось тѣмъ, что въ Англіи почти совсѣмъ изчезла свобода, утвержденная прежними хартіями. Въ XVI вѣкѣ положеніе земель, которыя находились въ рукахъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ Англіи, вполнѣ напоминаетъ тѣ же самыя явленія, какія повторялись вездѣ, гдѣ преобладало и преобладаетъ до сихъ поръ крупное землевладѣніе—въ Спартѣ, въ Римѣ, въ Испаніи, въ южной Италіи, въ бывшихъ испанскихъ колоніяхъ Америки и т. д. Огромныя пространства земли оставались невоздѣланными и были превращены въ пастбища, тысячи земледѣльцевъ лишились работы и сдѣлались нищими. На горькіе упреки, съ которыми обращались къ землевладѣльцамъ, они отвѣчали, что они имѣютъ право распоряжаться своею собственностью, какъ имъ угодно. Большія и малыя фермы уничтожались, вся земля превращалась въ пастбища для большихъ гуртовъ скота; съ семействами фермеровъ, которые тутъ жили, поступали самымъ безцеремоннымъ образомъ. Почти въ теченіи цѣлаго столѣтія Генрихъ VII, Генрихъ VIII и Эдуардъ VI боролись законодательными мѣрами противъ упадка земледѣлія, который порождался аристократическимъ хозяйствомъ, но ничего не могли сдѣлать, и массы

народа постоянно и все въ большихъ размѣрахъ доводились до нищеты. Когда-то говорили про Италію, что ее губятъ латифундіи; точно также въ одномъ сочиненіи, изданномъ въ 1581 году, авторъ восклицаетъ, что овцы сдѣлались источникомъ бѣдствій для Англіи и изгнали изъ страны земледѣліе *). Если Англія послѣ двухъ столѣтій живой общественной жизни, подавленная междоусобіями, залитая кровью, отъ истощенія и поддалась административному произволу, то она все-таки не могла скрывать то неудовольствіе, которое развивалось въ ней отъ жалкаго соціальнаго положенія и разстроеннаго земледѣлія, порожденнаго крупнымъ землевладѣніемъ. Просвѣщеніе развило потребности; неудовлетворенныя потребности увеличивали неудовольствіе народа, производили бродяжничество и т. д. Какъ скоро разшевеливаютъ умъ и чувства народа, онъ перестаетъ смотрѣть съ грубымъ равнодушіемъ на смерть своихъ дѣтей отъ нищеты и страданій. Народное возбужденіе привело въ Англіи къ подати для бѣдныхъ, къ тому, что короли стали неблагопріятно смотрѣть на роскошную столичную жизнь дворянства. Дворянство же, въ свою очередь, смотрѣло неблагопріятно на развитіе просвѣщенія и свободомыслія; точно такъ же какъ духовенство, оно видѣло прямую свою выгоду въ ихъ подавленіи. Въ Англіи оно встрѣчало препятствія къ осуществленію своего плана, которыя бѣсили его, и оно обзывало Тюдоровъ демагогами. Оно стремилось къ установленію наслѣдственности и къ устраненію способностей даже въ дѣлѣ науки. Всякаго рода свѣтскія и духовныя должности оно хотѣло замѣщать своими и на этомъ поприщѣ ему пришлось выдержать борьбу съ возникающей интеллигенціей изъ народа. Но если ей трудно было дѣйствовать въ Англіи, зато въ Ирландіи его мысль осуществлялась вполнѣ. Страну эту держали въ самомъ глубокомъ и грубомъ невѣжествѣ. Въ началѣ XIV вѣка въ Дублинѣ хотѣли учредить университетъ, но этому поставили препятствіе и мысль объ университетѣ была забыта; только черезъ полтораста лѣтъ вновь задумано было учредить университетъ въ Дрогедѣ „потому что въ Ирландіи не было ни одного общественнаго учрежденія, гдѣ можно было учиться“,—но и это не удалось; въ то же время ирландцевъ не принимали въ англійскіе университеты и они могли учиться только

*) The Laud question in England (The Westminster review, № LXXVI, October 1870 г. стр. 235).

въ очень немногихъ монастыряхъ. Между тѣмъ было время, что ирландскія школы процвѣтали. Такой образъ дѣйствія возбудилъ противъ англійской аристократіи и ея учрежденій всеобщую ненависть. Переселенцы, которые уходили за море, отвергали эти учрежденія съ безусловнымъ отвращеніемъ; всѣ усиллія привить къ нимъ крупную собственность и аристократическіе порядки оказались безуспѣшными. Когда въ Англіи настала критическая минута народнаго возстанія, народъ кричалъ: „смерть гордымъ лордамъ". Относительно Ирландіи лорды также жестоко обсчитались. То невѣжество, которое должно было обратиться на пользу аристократіи, обратилось противъ нея. Въ то время, когда политика Генриха VIII сдѣлала изъ Англіи реформатскую страну и англійская аристократія мѣняла вѣру, подкупленная раздачею дворянству конфискованныхъ церковныхъ имуществъ, составлявшихъ одну пятую англійской земли,— Ирландія, благодаря своему невѣжеству, осталась католическою. Когда же наступило критическое время борьбы между народомъ съ одной стороны и королемъ и аристократіею съ другой, тогда Ирландія нетолько не стала на сторонѣ аристократіи, но въ ней водворилась полнѣйшая анархія; страна раздѣлилась на множество мелкихъ партій, которыя истребляли другъ друга и этимъ значительно способствовали торжеству революціи. Послѣ революціи аристократія, окруженная народной ненавистью, подвергалась величайшей опасности. Гаррингтонъ даже предлагалъ Кромвелю издать аграрный законъ и принудить крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ къ раздѣлу своихъ земель *). Обираніе и раздѣлы земли были тогда въ большой модѣ: Генрихъ VIII обобралъ духовенство, Елизавета, Яковъ I, Вильгельмъ III, обирали ирландскихъ землевладѣльцевъ въ пользу англійскихъ, Кромвель—въ пользу людей своей партіи.

Всякая партія употребляла тогда конфискацію, какъ средство для одушевленія своихъ сподвижниковъ. Еслибы религіозная партія, на которую опирался Кромвель, была хотя на сколько-нибудь многочисленнѣе или благоразумнѣе, англійская аристократія никакъ не могла бы устоять послѣ революціи. Но трудно себѣ представить что-нибудь непрактичнѣе этой партіи; она тотчасъ же стала дѣйствовать самымъ непопулярнымъ образомъ и возбудила про-

*) Land Tenures and thers consequences (Westminster review, № LXXIII, January 1870 г. стр. 48).

тивъ себя всеобщую ненависть. Еслибы Кромвель могъ дѣйствовать подобно Генриху VIII, который раздѣлилъ земли католическаго духовенства между собою, дворянствомъ и земледѣльцами, если бы онъ не видѣлъ необходимости отдать все своей малочисленной и ненавистной народу партіи, какъ онъ вынужденъ былъ сдѣлать это въ Ирландіи, еслибы онъ могъ роздать земли среднему классу, который съ такой охотою бралъ фермы, и массѣ земледѣльцевъ, то англійская революція XVII вѣка имѣла бы тѣ же результаты, какъ французская въ XVIII; въ Англіи землевладѣніе приняло бы тѣ же формы, какія оно имѣетъ теперь въ Соединенныхъ Штатахъ. Если англійскую аристократію не постигла участь французской, то въ этомъ менѣе всего была виновата она сама; она удержалась потому, что у сподвижниковъ Кромвеля политическій и соціальный переворотъ былъ на второмъ планѣ, а на первомъ религіозный: ради религіи они оставляли въ сторонѣ всякія политическія соображенія и даже забывали разсчеты простого благоразумія. Кромвель однакожъ скоро увидѣлъ, въ какое положеніе поставлена была страна ошибками его партіи. Страна раздробилась на множество безсильныхъ партій, изъ которыхъ ни одна не была въ состояніи ни послужить опорою для правительства, ни представить рѣшительной опозиціи; оставалось прибѣгнуть къ механическому средству управленія съ помощью военной силы и чрезъ военныхъ начальниковъ. Однакожъ всѣ партіи сходились между собою въ одномъ: въ ненависти къ аристократіи. Аристократія была въ загонѣ, вліяніе ея уничтожалось, имущество конфисковалось. Передъ правительствомъ положеніе земледѣльцевъ изображалось въ такихъ же мрачныхъ краскахъ, въ какихъ въ болѣе близкое къ намъ время изображались бѣдствія ирландскихъ фермеровъ. Чрезмѣрная конкуренція дѣлала арендную плату совершенно невыносимою. Земледѣльцы, точно такъ же какъ въ Ирландіи, не рѣшались дѣлать никакихъ улучшеній, потому что всякое улучшеніе обогащало только землевладѣльца и вело къ безмѣрному увеличенію ренты. Бѣдствующіе, задавленные земледѣльцы погибали на землѣ, которая только ухудшалась, а не улучшалась. Аристократія была во власти правительства, но правительство слишкомъ хорошо чувствовало свою слабость, чтобы нанести ей рѣшительный ударъ и стать на ея мѣсто во главѣ страны. Кромвель слишкомъ хорошо зналъ, что блескъ, который его окружалъ, былъ блескъ мишурный.

Послѣ всѣхъ этихъ переворотовъ общественнаго мнѣнія значеніе крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ для Англіи выяснилось съ достаточною ясностью, но всего знаменательнѣе то направленіе, которое приняла тогда дѣятельность англійской аристократіи. Когда мы читаемъ, какъ въ Испаніи или Португаліи духовенство держало народъ въ самомъ грубомъ невѣжествѣ, разжигая нелѣпѣйшій фанатизмъ, какъ оно заставляло и короля, и дворянство, и даже ученыхъ и поэтовъ дѣйствовать въ свою пользу, но прямо противъ ихъ интересовъ, мы сознаемъ, что это духовенство было крайне вреднымъ сословіемъ, но въ то же время мы понимаемъ, какими стимулами оно руководилось: каждый членъ высшаго духовенства, каждый инквизиторъ или епископъ понималъ, что чѣмъ болѣе онъ будетъ фанатизировать народъ, тѣмъ болѣе духовенство, а вмѣстѣ съ нимъ и онъ, будетъ получать богатствъ чрезъ добровольныя приношенія и завѣщанія и тѣмъ болѣе оно возвысится въ обществѣ. Но какими стимулами руководилась англійская аристократія? Какой интересъ имѣлъ каждый отдѣльный аристократъ въ томъ, чтобы передавать свои земли въ наслѣдство не вмѣстѣ своимъ дѣтямъ, а только одному изъ нихъ, чтобы стѣснять распоряженіе этимъ имѣніемъ и пр.? Этимъ онъ, безъ всякаго сомнѣнія, уменьшалъ счастье своей жизни и наполнялъ ее безъ всякой нужды многими горькими минутами. Что онъ выигрывалъ оттого, что въ своемъ семействѣ порождалъ холодность и раздоръ; что онъ выигрывалъ оттого, что мучилъ дочерей своихъ старымъ дѣвствомъ, что онъ стѣснялъ себя въ распоряженіи своимъ имуществомъ дотого, что не могъ даже увеличить его доходность? Онъ лично только проигрывалъ отъ такого порядка и стѣснялъ себя, страдалъ всю свою жизнь даже не для того, чтобы одинъ изъ его дѣтей или внуковъ возвысился на счетъ другихъ. Чаще всего случалось, что на счетъ его страданій возвышался въ обществѣ совершенно посторонній ему человѣкъ и возвышался во вредъ обществу. Въ XVIII вѣкѣ 250,000 англійскихъ аристократовъ всячески стѣсняли себя и свои семейства для того, чтобы полтораста человѣкъ, совершенно чуждыхъ имъ людей, могли сдѣлаться черезъ сто лѣтъ послѣ ихъ смерти владѣльцами половины земли въ Англіи, къ крайнему ущербу для всего общества. Еслибы каждый англійскій аристократъ въ концѣ XVII вѣка въ своемъ образѣ дѣйствія исключительно руководствовался личнымъ своимъ интересомъ, то это, срав-

нительно, было бы для Англіи большимъ счастьемъ: людей, которые раціонально дѣйствуютъ во имя своихъ интересовъ, еще можно кое-какъ согласить. Но въ томъ-то и бѣда для Англіи, что англійскіе аристократы дѣйствовали самоотверженно, стѣсняя себя, ради интересовъ аристократіи. Во всѣхъ ихъ дѣйствіяхъ ими руководилъ глубоко укоренившійся предразсудокъ, своего рода суевѣріе. Конечно, сословный фанатизмъ англійской аристократіи оказался менѣе вреднымъ, чѣмъ религіозный фанатизмъ испанцевъ, хотя испанское духовенство дѣйствовало раціонально, а англійская аристократія въ разрѣзъ съ логикой. Но меньшій вредъ въ Англіи произошелъ только оттого, что въ Испаніи всѣ дѣйствовали самоотверженно ради предполагаемой пользы католической религіи, а въ сущности для пользы одного высшаго духовенства; въ Англіи же самоотверженіе на пользу своего сословія показывала одна аристократія въ то время, когда весь народъ ей противодѣйствовалъ. Люди имѣютъ сильное инстинктивное стремленіе дѣйствовать не исключительно для себя, а сообща и на общую пользу, и именно поэтому чрезвычайно опасно, если такое стремленіе получитъ ложное направленіе, фанатически-религіозное или сословное. Въ подобныхъ случаяхъ гораздо лучше, чтобы каждый человѣкъ отдѣльно преслѣдовалъ свои личные интересы, даже съ самымъ узкимъ эгоизмомъ. Англія, и въ особенности Ирландія и Индія, представляютъ намъ образецъ вреда, который можетъ сдѣлать хорошо организованное сословіе, преслѣдующее свои общественныя цѣли, не согласныя съ интересами всего народа. Съ реставраціей при Карлѣ II въ средѣ самой аристократіи возникъ вопросъ, какое положеніе она должна принять въ обществѣ. Она рѣшила, что ей прежде всего не слѣдуетъ сливаться съ народомъ, напротивъ, нужно выдѣлиться изъ него и управлять страною въ своихъ исключительныхъ интересахъ. Задача эта была не легкая, она была удобоисполнима только при условіи большихъ жертвъ и большихъ стѣсненій, но аристократія съ какимъ-то слѣпымъ фанатизмомъ рѣшилась вынести всѣ сопряженныя съ этимъ страданія. Она показала болѣе твердости, мужества и самообладанія, болѣе дисциплины, чѣмъ какая бы то ни было другая аристократія Европы. Къ несчастью, всѣ эти энергическія жертвы принесены были только для того, чтобы вредить обществу и народу. Опасное время революціи показало англійской аристократіи, гдѣ находится сила ея враговъ, съ чѣмъ

она можетъ бороться и съ чѣмъ бороться ей невозможно, но что она можетъ употреблять какъ орудіе для своей поддержки. Масса рабочаго населенія, какъ сельскаго, такъ и городскаго, была неорганизована и безсильна, на зато же ея неудовольствіе и отчаяніе могло послужить весьма опаснымъ орудіемъ въ рукахъ той партіи, которая съумѣла бы имъ воспользоваться. Власть короля и духовенства была надломлена, на за то же истинной и дѣятельной силой оказалось среднее сословіе въ союзѣ съ мелкими землевладѣльцами. Парализировать массы такъ, чтобы никто не могъ на нихъ опереться для своего возвышенія, разбить союзъ средняго сословія съ мелкими землевладѣльцами и составить одну партію изъ землевладѣльческой интеллигенціи, короля и духовенства, которая дѣйствовала бы, руководимая аристократіею и давала бы ей возможность бороться съ среднимъ сословіемъ, — таково было направленіе, принятое аристократіею. Но для того, чтобы оставаться во главѣ сплоченныхъ ею въ одно цѣлое разнородныхъ элементовъ, аристократія нуждалась въ большомъ единодушіи и въ строгой дисциплинѣ. Для того, чтобы установить эту дисциплину, ей нужно было управлять своими дѣлами желѣзною рукою, такъ что даже ея собственные члены постоянно возмущались противъ тѣхъ мученій и нравственныхъ страданій, которымъ ихъ подвергали. Деспотическая черствость, съ которою поступали другъ съ другомъ англійскіе аристократы, стоила той черствости, съ какою держали другъ друга въ рукахъ члены самыхъ вліятельныхъ монашескихъ орденовъ. Уже при Карлѣ II аристократія утвердила на прочномъ основаніи всѣ тѣ внутреннія стѣсненія, которыя послужили краеугольнымъ камнемъ для ея возвышенія. Въ то же самое время точно такія же, если не большія, стѣсненія введены были въ Шотландіи. Дѣти англійскихъ аристократовъ до такой степени возмущались аристократическими семейными порядками, что аристократія славилась несчастной семейной жизнью. Отсутствіе любви и взаимная ненависть между родителями и дѣтьми были такъ обыкновенны, что семействомъ можно было управлять только посредствомъ жестокихъ тѣлесныхъ наказаній, которыя сохранились въ англійскихъ аристократическихъ семействахъ до сихъ поръ, хотя они совершенно вывелись въ прочихъ частяхъ образованнаго общества. Замѣчательно, что старшіе привиллегированные дѣти часто доставляли своимъ родителямъ болѣе страданій и хлопотъ, чѣмъ младшіе. Оказывается, что если

человѣка искусственно выправляютъ, чтобы сдѣлать изъ него во что бы то ни стало законодателя, то это для него точно также невыносимо, какъ насильственное принужденіе сдѣлаться сапожникомъ или выправка фрунтовика. Рядомъ съ этимъ аристократія установила тотъ циклъ идей, который составилъ типическое англійское понятіе о свободѣ. Это хитросплетеніе, ловко измышленное для того, чтобы удерживать въ народѣ порывы къ развитію не посредствомъ какой-нибудь внѣшней, бросающейся въ глаза, а посредствомъ его собственной, внутренней силы, составляетъ одну изъ замѣчательнѣйшихъ интригъ, которыя когда-либо изобрѣтались во всемірной исторической жизни. Жалкія поддѣлки какого-нибудь Наполеона III — верхъ неловкости въ сравненіи съ этой, глубоко продуманной и, такъ-сказать, насквозь прочувствованной системой, которую могло создать только сословіе, вполнѣ сознававшее свою слабость и съ крайнимъ фанатизмомъ, во чтобы то ни стало желавшее превратить ее въ силу. Въ какомъ глупомъ и жалкомъ положеніи была бы англійская аристократія, еслибы она, подобно континентальной или подобно Наполеонамъ, выступила врагомъ свободы: какъ скоро пришелъ бы тогда конецъ ея господству! Мы видимъ, напротивъ, что многихъ писателей до сихъ поръ поражаетъ большое количество либеральныхъ законовъ, которые изданы были во время реставраціи,—есть такіе писатели, которые говорятъ, что это было плодоноснѣйшее время для англійской свободы. Если сопоставить основную идею англійской свободы съ ходомъ англійскаго законодательства и съ образомъ дѣйствій аристократіи, нельзя не удивляться тому, какимъ она оказалась удобнымъ и ловкимъ орудіемъ въ рукахъ аристократіи для достиженія ею своихъ цѣлей. Основная мысль англійской свободы заключается въ устраненіи вмѣшательства общественныхъ властей; каждый человѣкъ долженъ имѣть полную свободу дѣйствія въ своей сферѣ, долженъ быть полнымъ хозяиномъ своихъ дѣлъ и долженъ всего достигать безъ какой бы то ни было общественной помощи. Изъ этихъ убѣжденій вышли свобода рѣчи, свобода собраній, огражденіе личной безопасности, независимый судъ, свобода петицій и т. д. На всѣ эти права англичане и прогрессивные европейцы совершенно основательно смотрѣли, какъ на залоги здороваго общественнаго развитія, а европейскіе и континентальные аристократы— какъ на гибельное для нихъ своеволіе. Англійскіе аристократы

были гораздо проницательнѣе; они поняли, что такое понятіе о свободѣ, при отсутствіи другихъ идей, давало имъ въ руки могущественнѣйшее орудіе, и нетолько не способствовало противодѣйствію ихъ направленію, но даже парализировало его. Англійскіе аристократы создали для себя крайне стѣснительные законы о наслѣдствѣ и владѣніи имуществомъ, но вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, при Карлѣ II отстранили отъ себя всякое правительственное вмѣшательство и разрушили феодальныя связи съ королемъ или, лучше сказать, уничтожили феодальныя обязанности. Порядокъ наслѣдованія — это такой порядокъ, гдѣ вмѣшательство законодательства совершенно необходимо; а такъ какъ законодательство должно быть, по-возможности, для всѣхъ однообразное, то было совершенно естественно, что и по отношенію къ поземельной собственности дѣйствовали законы, по крайней мѣрѣ, до извѣстной степени однородные. Эти законы были стѣснительны даже для аристократіи, но она съ ними примирялась во имя властолюбія; такого стимула не было у мелкихъ собственниковъ, и законы о маіоратномъ наслѣдствѣ были для нихъ совсѣмъ ужъ неудобны. Семейная жизнь людей малаго достатка естественно приводитъ ихъ къ желанію одинаково надѣлять всѣхъ своихъ дѣтей; имущество дробилось, а долги на мелкой поземельной собственности, вслѣдствіе стѣснительныхъ условій владѣнія, росли все болѣе и болѣе. Къ этому примѣшались ловкія административныя мѣры и нѣсколько насилія—и обладаніе мелкою поземельною собственностью для бѣдныхъ людей становилось невыносимо и начинало возбуждать недовольство въ земледѣльческомъ населеніи. Аристократія воспользовалась такимъ положеніемъ мелкихъ собственниковъ, созданнымъ ею же: она стала пріобрѣтать ихъ земли; чрезъ это опасный союзникъ средняго класса нетолько ослаблялся, но еще превращался въ орудіе, которымъ могла располагать по своей волѣ аристократія. Всякое крупное землевладѣніе порождаетъ слѣдующее явленіе: какъ скоро землевладѣлецъ эксплуатируетъ свои права, раздавая свои земли мелкимъ арендаторамъ, то конкуренція между землевладѣльцами возвыситъ аренду до самыхъ неестественныхъ размѣровъ. Высокая аренда заставляетъ землевладѣльцевъ брать все болѣе мелкіе участки. Чрезъ это земледѣльческое населеніе впадаетъ въ крайнюю бѣдность, поземельные участки мельчаютъ неестественно, а въ то же время огромныя пространства земли лежатъ впустѣ. При бѣдности

сельскаго населенія не можетъ процвѣтать и городское населеніе; промышленность, его питающая, не можетъ развиваться потому, что массы населенія не имѣютъ средствъ для покупки фабрикатовъ и довольствуются домашнимъ производствомъ. Аристократія тоже не можетъ поддерживать вообще промышленность, потому что гоняется только за рѣдкимъ и дорогимъ производствомъ и можетъ развѣ дать неестественное развитіе заграничной торговлѣ. Пустыри, которыми наполняется страна, могутъ служить только какъ пособіе для разведенія скота, и въ этомъ дѣлѣ капиталистъ всегда можетъ успѣшно конкурировать съ земледѣльцемъ, и постоянно беретъ верхъ надъ нимъ. Разведеніе скота требуетъ большаго капитала и малаго числа рабочихъ, а тамъ, гдѣ нуженъ большой капиталъ и мало рабочихъ рукъ, тамъ крупный производитель всегда имѣетъ перевѣсъ надъ мелкимъ,—даже въ нашихъ степяхъ крупные скотопромышленники забиваютъ мелкихъ. Вотъ почему всѣ страны крупнаго землевладѣнія характеризуются малыми размѣрами земледѣльческаго производства, бѣднѣйшимъ земледѣльческимъ населеніемъ и до уродливости неестественнымъ развитіемъ скотоводства. Именно этимъ явленіемъ характеризуется бѣдственное положеніе сельскаго хозяйства въ южной Италіи, Испаніи, Португаліи и т. д. Затѣмъ, крупный арендаторъ не можетъ конкурировать съ мелкимъ, въ особенности по производству предметовъ потребленія массы народа. Публику обыкновенно увѣряютъ, что капиталистъ кладетъ въ землю капиталъ, чрезъ что увеличиваетъ производство, и, взявъ поэтому верхъ надъ мелкимъ производителемъ, способствуетъ развитію земледѣлія. Публика убѣждается такимъ доводомъ и окончательно перестаетъ понимать дѣло. Крупный арендаторъ дѣйствительно употребляетъ на свое сельско-хозяйственное производство капиталъ, но дѣло-то въ томъ, что громадное большинство этого капитала употребляется на такіе предметы, гдѣ мелкій арендаторъ обходится или вовсе безъ капитала или употребляетъ его въ несравненно меньшихъ размѣрахъ. Капиталъ этотъ употребляется прежде всего на наемъ рабочихъ; мелкій арендаторъ работаетъ самъ, слѣдовательно, ему не нужно получать процента съ наемнаго капитала, а затѣмъ онъ работаетъ усерднѣе и лучше, такъ какъ онъ работаетъ собственно для себя. Кромѣ того, капиталъ употребляется на различныя постройки и хозяйственныя принадлежности; мелкій арендаторъ производитъ все это въ значитель-

ныхъ размѣрахъ собственнымъ трудомъ и отчасти даже матеріалъ добываетъ себѣ кое-какъ самъ, крупный же арендаторъ долженъ работниковъ нанимать, а матерьялъ весь покупать. Если гдѣ-нибудь капиталистъ могъ бы играть роль сельскаго хозяина, совершенствующаго сельское хозяйство, такъ это въ настоящее время въ Англіи; однакожъ, мы видимъ, что и тамъ собственно улучшенія въ почвѣ дѣлаются самими землевладѣльцами, а капиталистъ арендаторъ употребляетъ капиталъ на наемъ рабочихъ, на обзаведеніе и т. д., т. е. на всѣ тѣ предметы, гдѣ мелкій арендаторъ имѣетъ надъ нимъ естественное преимущество. Крупные арендаторы могутъ еще брать верхъ надъ мелкими нововведеніями и усовершенствованіями. Дѣйствительно, говоря о своемъ превосходствѣ, они обыкновенно сильно напираютъ на этотъ пунктъ. На дѣлѣ однакожъ оказывается, что нововведенія могутъ давать преимущество только отдѣльнымъ и весьма немногимъ личностямъ, опередившимъ другихъ въ примѣненіи нововведеній; но какъ скоро они входятъ въ общее употребленіе, мелкіе производители опять-таки берутъ верхъ надъ крупными. Все это приводитъ къ тому выводу, что страна, гдѣ хозяйничаетъ крупный землевладѣлецъ или крупный арендаторъ съ наемными работниками, отличается весьма характеристическими чертами отъ страны, гдѣ преобладаетъ мелкій арендаторъ и въ особенности мелкій собственникъ. Въ первой странѣ—значительная часть земли подъ лугами и пастбищами для прокорма скота; земледѣльческіе продукты по цѣнѣ могутъ быть и выше, чѣмъ въ странѣ съ мелкой собственностію, но пищи для человѣка производится въ ней гораздо меньше, и такимъ образомъ страна съ мелкой собственностью можетъ содержать болѣе густое населеніе. Страна крупной аренды и собственности кормитъ одного быка тамъ, гдѣ можно было бы кормить, кромѣ быка, еще и человѣка. Черезъ это самое и распредѣленіе богатствъ въ странѣ крупной собственности совершенно иное, чѣмъ въ странѣ съ мелкой собственностью. Мелкіе собственники сами вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ и ремесленники или содержатъ ремесленниковъ и мелкихъ производителей на мѣстѣ, тутъ же они мѣняются своими произведеніями и живутъ, приблизительно, одинаково; при крупной арендѣ, промышленное производство сосредоточивается въ городахъ, гдѣ живетъ населеніе, обезпеченное не соразмѣрно высокимъ содержаніемъ, для котораго и предназначается мясо быковъ, вскормленныхъ на поляхъ, обращенныхъ въ пастбище,

вмѣсто пашни. Все это мы видимъ, напр., при сличеніи Бельгіи съ Англіей. Въ Бельгіи болѣе густое населеніе (9,281 человѣкъ на кв. милю, а въ Англіи 5,172 ч.). Въ то же время въ Бельгіи въ городахъ живетъ 1,181,371 чел., а въ селеніяхъ—3,348,090 ч., а въ Англіи городское населеніе составляетъ 10,556,288 чел., а сельское — 10,403,189 чел. Животная пища въ Англіи болѣе въ ходу, чѣмъ въ Бельгіи. Земли, розданныя въ аренду по мелкимъ участкамъ, приносятъ болѣе дохода и въ такихъ мѣстностяхъ, гдѣ промышленность достигла высокой степени развитія, и тамъ, гдѣ она въ болѣе или менѣе жалкомъ положеніи. По замѣчанію знатоковъ, во Фландріи фермы постоянно подраздѣляются, потому что они чрезъ это дѣлаются доходнѣе; они дѣлаются доходнѣе и потому, что мелкія фермы производительнѣе; въ Ирландіи они дотого производительнѣе, что крупные арендаторы сами разбивали свои арендныя земли на мелкіе участки и раздавали ихъ мелкимъ фермерамъ. Даже въ самой Англіи оправдался этотъ выводъ; мелкія фермы западной Англіи доходнѣе крупныхъ въ восточной. Фактъ этотъ дотого несомнѣненъ, что даже противники не оспаривали его. Грегъ, напримѣръ, опровергая Лена (Laing), соглашается, что шотландская земля въ 1,600 акровъ, раздѣленная на фермы въ двѣсти акровъ, производитъ вдвое и втрое менѣе, чѣмъ фландрская; въ Шотландіи на ней будетъ жить 88 человѣкъ, а во Фландріи 1,500. Отсюда онъ выводитъ, однакожъ, что фламандцы будутъ получать меньшее вознагражденіе за трудъ *). Но это заключеніе не имѣетъ основанія; въ Бельгіи земледѣлецъ не живетъ исключительно отъ своей земли, слѣдовательно она не составляетъ всего его дохода, а на крупной фермѣ работникъ значительную часть своего заработка уступаетъ капиталисту; остается только несомнѣнный фактъ, что въ Шотландіи 1,600 акровъ содержатъ для обогащенія десяти фермеровъ 88, а во Фландріи 1,500 человѣкъ. Еслибы земля въ Англіи принадлежала какимъ-нибудь кулакамъ или промышленникамъ, которые преслѣдовали бы въ жизни одну цѣль, нажить какъ можно болѣе денегъ, то они конечно раздѣлили бы ее на мелкія фермы, они, можетъ быть, сильно притѣсняли бы мелкихъ фермеровъ, но все-таки сохранили

*) W. Greg. Essays on political and social science. London, 1853, vol. 1, Laing on peasant proprietorship. Стр. 124.

бы для страны возможность перейти къ мелкому землевладѣнію. Но къ несчастію для Англіи, ея земля не принадлежала людямъ, которые дѣйствовали исключительно изъ эгоистическихъ интересовъ, люди эти еще того менѣе дѣйствовали во имя общаго блага: они были фанатически преданы одному интересу—интересу своего сословія.

Мелкое фермерство дѣлаетъ земли болѣе доходными, но въ странѣ, гдѣ нѣтъ свободнаго развитія, крупные землевладѣльцы непремѣнно воспользуются чрезмѣрной конкуренціей и раззорятъ фермеровъ въ конецъ, а вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ обѣднѣетъ и вся страна. Этого не случится, если арендныя условія установлены обычаемъ однажды навсегда; но тогда земли не будутъ уже доходными для землевладѣльцевъ. Въ странѣ, гдѣ господствуютъ идеи свободы, преобладаніе мелкаго фермерства на основаніи произвольныхъ, а не обычныхъ условій держитъ сельское населеніе въ постоянномъ волненіи. Фермеръ не наемный работникъ, онъ собственникъ произведеній, отъ него зависитъ вносить или не вносить арендную плату. Какъ скоро условія аренды дѣлаются слишкомъ отяготительными, въ свободной странѣ фермеры перестаютъ платить, мстятъ, если ихъ къ тому принуждаютъ, если отбираютъ у нихъ земли и т. д. Неудовольствія и политическая опасность, съ которою сопряжено учрежденіе мелкаго фермерства, цѣнились англійскою аристократіею гораздо выше, чѣмъ увеличеніе доходовъ, къ которому оно могло привести. Поэтому англійскіе землевладѣльцы постоянно сочувствовали крупному фермерству и стремились распространить его на своихъ земляхъ; они даже на свой счетъ устраивали фермы и были очень рады, если могли имѣть дѣло съ крупными фермерами вмѣсто ненавистныхъ сельскому населенію управляющихъ. Крупные фермеры, съ которыми землевладѣльцы входили въ такія условія, что они во всякое время могли ихъ прогнать, сверхъ всего увеличивали политическое вліяніе аристократіи. Современемъ англійская аристократія такъ фанатически привязалась къ крупному фермерству, что бывали случаи, когда землевладѣльцы отдавали крупнымъ фермерамъ десятину земли въ аренду за 23 рубля, между тѣмъ какъ рядомъ мелкіе арендаторы давали за такую же землю подъ садъ 300 рублей *).

*) The Land question in England (Westminster Review, № LXXVI, October, 1870, стр. 259). Вѣроятно это зависѣло отъ стѣсненій, которыми связываетъ себя аристократія.

IV.

Кромѣ того, что такой образъ дѣйствій доставилъ англійской аристократіи сильную партію, онъ нетолько устранилъ ее отъ центра борьбы за существованіе, но доставилъ ей и въ этомъ случаѣ завидную роль. Борьбу за существованіе велъ теперь не мелкій фермеръ съ землевладѣльцемъ, а сельскій работникъ съ фермеромъ. Съ политической точки зрѣнія положеніе фермера было гораздо удобнѣе положенія землевладѣльца; онъ давалъ работнику деньги, а не работникъ ему, работникъ не имѣлъ прежняго случая сопротивляться платежамъ, вызывать вмѣшательство общественной власти и этимъ каждую минуту раскрывать передъ обществомъ свои раны. Вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ фермеръ являлся тутъ въ роли спекулятора и кулака, а землевладѣлецъ—въ качествѣ мирового судьи, лечилъ раны, наносимыя народу кулачествомъ, назначалъ подать для бѣдныхъ и распредѣлялъ ее между нуждающимся населеніемъ. Подать для бѣдныхъ сдѣлалась средствомъ парализировать неудовольствіе въ народныхъ массахъ и мѣшать среднему сословію вырвать господство изъ рукъ аристократіи, которымъ она пользовалась съ большою ловкостью и энергіею. Чѣмъ больше населеніе было скучено, тѣмъ сильнѣе долженъ былъ дѣйствовать парализаторъ, такъ что напримѣръ Лондонъ славился баснословнымъ богатствомъ своей кассы для бѣдныхъ. Аристократы сдѣлали даже изъ этого средство дальнѣйшаго подкупа своихъ фермеровъ. Сельскихъ работниковъ они заставляли жить въ ближайшихъ городахъ, такъ что эти города оплачивали подать для бѣдныхъ, которую слѣдовало бы оплачивать фермерамъ, а между тѣмъ это давало даже фермерамъ возможность уменьшать нѣкоторымъ рабочимъ заработную плату въ тѣхъ размѣрахъ, въ которыхъ они получали помощь изъ кассы бѣдныхъ.

Все это было, конечно, очень хитро; однакоже, несмотря на всѣ хитросплетенія, крупное землевладѣніе довело бы Англію до той же бѣдности и до того же грубаго невѣжества, до котораго оно довело южную и среднюю Италію, Испанію и Португалію, еслибы не существовало препятствія, представлявшаго аристократіи могущественный противовѣсъ, уничтожить которое она была не въ силахъ,—это была эмансипація городскаго населенія. Нельзя ска-

зать, чтобы Англія вообще была страной вѣротерпимости, но она была ею для тѣхъ вѣроисповѣданій, которыя всего болѣе подвергались преслѣдованіямъ на материкѣ Европы. Благодаря вѣротерпимости, въ Англію въ XVII вѣкѣ переселились массы довольно развитаго и предпріимчиваго населенія, бѣжавшаго отъ религіозныхъ преслѣдованій изъ континентальной Европы; религіозно-политическая борьба пріучила это населеніе къ свободѣ, и оно съ особенной горячностью стояло за свободу сходокъ и свободу рѣчи. Усилія англійской аристократіи уничтожить это злое сѣмя разбились въ прахъ, въ особенности послѣ того, какъ въ XVIII вѣкѣ ея попытка нанести злому духу рѣшительный ударъ, кончилась жалкимъ фіаско и отдѣленіемъ Соединенныхъ Штатовъ Сѣверной Америки. Благопріятное для торговли положеніе Англіи довершило пораженіе аристократіи. Англійская торговля и англійскія владѣнія распространились по всѣмъ частямъ свѣта; Англія сдѣлалась страною самаго совершеннаго промышленнаго производства. Огромный запросъ на работу, легкость, съ которою можно было переселяться и богатѣть за моремъ, сильно возвышали заработную плату, и Англія, сдѣлавшись мастерской для всей Европы, благодаря превосходству своихъ издѣлій, брала дань со всего свѣта. При такомъ положеніи искусственное и дорогое сельское-хозяйственное производство сдѣлалось совершенно незамѣтнымъ и фермеры имѣли выгодныхъ покупателей для своего дорогаго мяса и еще болѣе дорогаго хлѣба. Всякая другая страна, которая не имѣла бы промышленнаго превосходства надъ своими сосѣдями, при такомъ состояніи землевладѣнія и сельскаго хозяйства непремѣнно впала бы въ крайнюю бѣдность, но въ Англіи ея промышленное богатство маскировало существующую бѣдность. Правда, въ это время вредное и гибельное вліяніе крупнаго, въ особенности феодальнаго землевладѣнія во всей Европѣ обратило уже на себя вниманіе и обнаружилось во всей своей наготѣ; но того, что возбуждало противъ себя особенное неудовольствіе, т. е. рабства, феодальной зависимости, безчисленныхъ мелкихъ и стѣснительныхъ поборовъ, ненавистныхъ привиллегій—или вовсе не было въ Англіи, или же если они и существовали, то были гораздо менѣе тягостны; зато въ ней кидались въ глаза цвѣтущая промышленность, свободное населеніе и подать для бѣдныхъ, которая принимала безпрестанно большіе размѣры. Такъ какъ аристократія была господствующимъ сословіемъ, то всѣ эти

благополучія приписывались ей точно также, какъ въ древности изобрѣтеніе земледѣлія и разныхъ полезныхъ искусствъ приписывалось богамъ и царямъ, хотя ни тѣ, ни другіе ничего не изобрѣтали. Однакожъ, сами аристократы должны были живо чувствовать, до какой степени ихъ образъ дѣйствія былъ вреденъ для страны. Несмотря на рѣдко встрѣчающееся соединеніе благопріятныхъ условій, производительность англійскихъ земель не увеличивалась, несмотря даже на постоянное возрастаніе цѣны продуктовъ земледѣлія; во второй половинѣ XVIII вѣка, при уничтоженіи мелкаго землевладѣнія и водвореніи крупнаго фермерства, производительность земель стала даже уменьшаться. Хотя съ возвышеніемъ цѣнъ на продукты сельскаго хозяйства рента возрастала, но недостаточная производительность все-таки приводила къ тому, что промышленное населеніе и капиталисты богатѣли несравненно быстрѣе, чѣмъ земледѣльцы фермеры и землевладѣльцы. Быстрое возрастаніе богатства капиталистовъ заставляло аристократію опасаться утраты своего вліянія. Чтобы удерживаться на прежней высотѣ, она должна была постоянно и быстро уменьшаться въ числѣ и сосредоточивать земли въ меньшемъ числѣ рукъ; въ 1793 году отъ землевладѣльцевъ зависѣло такое громадное число голосовъ, что они избирали 157 человѣкъ въ палату общинъ, куда большинство голосовъ попадало по рекомендаціи 154 могущественныхъ аристократовъ *). Такое поразительное самоуничтоженіе было все-таки недостаточно, и аристократія должна была рѣшаться на такія дѣйствія, которыя нетолько прямо противорѣчили всѣмъ ея ученіямъ о неприкосновенности правъ народа, но которыя могли выставить ея членовъ въ глазахъ страны какими-то грабителями. Англія обладала значительными пространствами общинныхъ земель. Начиная съ XVII и въ особенности съ половины XVIII столѣтія, крупные землевладѣльцы присвоивали себѣ эти земли, сначала незаконными, а потомъ и законными путями. Съ 1710 по 1801 годъ они присоединили такимъ образомъ къ своимъ владѣніямъ болѣе трехъ милліоновъ акровъ, т. е. десятую часть англійской земли. Но и этого оказалось недостаточнымъ; крупные арендаторы могли производить только по непомѣрно дорогимъ цѣнамъ; иностранное соперничество, несмотря на издержки провоза и несовершенное земледѣліе, сбивало

*) Land tenures and their consequences (Westminster review, № LXXIII, January, 1870, стр. 52).

цѣны до того, что фермеры оставляли поля необработанными и обращали ихъ въ луга. Въ 1791 г. пришлось прибѣгнуть къ огражденію фермеровъ посредствомъ ввознаго тарифа. Чтобы парализировать неудовольствіе народныхъ массъ отъ такого неестественнаго возвышенія цѣнъ на предметы первой необходимости, аристократія должна была быстро увеличивать подать для бѣдныхъ, такъ что эта подать въ теченіе 35-ти л. съ 1750 по 1785 г. утроилась, съ 4-хъ мил. возрасла до 12-ти мил. р. с.

Таково было значеніе крупнаго землевладѣнія въ Англіи, тамъ, гдѣ землевладѣльцы встрѣчались съ могущественной силой, разрушавшей ихъ вліяніе. Въ Ирландіи не было такой противодѣйствующей силы; крупное землевладѣніе вступило тутъ во всѣ свои права и вполнѣ убѣдительно доказало, что въ рукахъ англичанъ оно точно такъ же уничтожаетъ благосостояніе и спокойствіе въ странѣ, какъ въ рукахъ итальянцевъ, испанцевъ и португальцевъ, что по своему вліянію на цивилизацію оно можетъ быть сопоставлено съ католическимъ монашествомъ и духовенствомъ Рима, Испаніи и Португаліи. Въ теченіе XVII вѣка ирландская земля служила наградою и приманкою для всякой изъ боровшихся въ Англіи партій; страна была брошена въ такую бездну анархіи, что въ теченіи полстолѣтія населеніе уменьшилось почти вдвое: во второй четверти XVII вѣка тамъ считалось 2,200,000 человѣкъ, а въ 1672 году 1,320,000 человѣкъ. Затѣмъ наступило время тираніи Вильгельма III, который разомъ конфисковалъ 1,060,792 акра земли. Англійскіе крупные землевладѣльцы, раздѣлившіе между собою земли Ирландіи, точно такъ же, какъ испанское и португальское духовенство, стали находить, что просвѣщеніе и развитіе промышленности для Ирландіи весьма опасно. Средствъ для образованія ирландцамъ никакихъ не давали, а въ 1694 году имъ воспрещено было воспитывать своихъ дѣтей внѣ страны. Въ теченіе всего XVIII столѣтія издавался одинъ законъ за другимъ для уничтоженія ирландской промышленной производительности. Въ 1690 году подано было прошеніе въ англійскій парламентъ объ уничтоженіи ирландской торговли шерстяными произведеніями на томъ основаніи, что эта отрасль производительности находится въ рукахъ католиковъ. Но лишь только шерстяная промышленность была убита, ирландцы занялись льнянымъ производствомъ, но и это производство было уничтожено воспрещеніями вывоза. Такимъ образомъ ирландское производство и ирландская торговля убивались шагъ за ша-

гомъ и города въ Ирландіи дошли до крайняго упадка. Въ 1776 году было издано постановленіе, что никакой товаръ не можетъ быть вывезенъ изъ Ирландіи иначе, какъ на англійскихъ корабляхъ и притомъ только въ Англію. Даже на британскіе острова можно было вывозить товаръ только подъ конвоемъ. Наконецъ въ 1778 году всякій вывозъ былъ вовсе воспрещенъ. Англійскіе лорды превзошли даже испанцевъ. Ирландцамъ осталось одно земледѣліе, но земля была во власти англійскихъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, которые постоянно мечтали о томъ, какъ-бы ввести въ Ирландіи, по образцу Англіи, крупное фермерство и потому оставляли за собою полный произволъ выгонять мелкихъ фермеровъ, когда имъ будетъ угодно. Задавленный непомѣрной рентой, которая взыскивалась самымъ безжалостнымъ образомъ и возрастала съ году на годъ, ирландскій фермеръ не имѣлъ возможности, подобно англійскому, спасаться въ городъ и дѣлаться тамъ фабричнымъ работникомъ или ремесленникомъ. Ирландскіе землевладѣльцы, не имѣя возможности устраивать крупныхъ фермъ, передавали свои земли въ распоряженіе откупщикамъ ренты, которые выжимали изъ земледѣльцевъ, сколько могли. Возрастаніе ренты на различныхъ земляхъ было не одинаково и это различіе зависѣло отъ степени жестокосердія землевладѣльца и его склонности притѣснять. Такъ напр. фарнейская территорія въ 1692 году была раздѣлена на два участка равной цѣнности, изъ которыхъ каждый приносилъ 1,313 ф. ренты, въ 1769 году рента эта на одномъ участкѣ возвышена была до 3,000 фунтовъ. Это было уже весьма значительное возвышеніе; но на другомъ участкѣ она была увеличена до 5,000 фунтовъ, т. е. почти вчетверо *). Мудрено ли, если такія притѣсненія выводили населеніе изъ терпѣнія. Послѣ возстанія 1745 года Ирландія наводнилась какъ въ городахъ, такъ и въ селеніяхъ, разнаго рода тайными обществами, между которыми самое знаменитое было общество „white boys.“ Замѣчательно, что въ этихъ обществахъ принимали участіе нетолько земледѣльцы-католики, но и городское рабочее населеніе изъ протестантовъ—всѣ одинаково чувствовали надъ собою руку притѣсненія. Они дѣйствовали тайными убійствами и другими насиліями. Прекращеніе этой анархіи оказывалось рѣшительно невозможнымъ; доходило дотого, что предписано было даже

*) S. Trench. Realities of Irish olife. London, 1869, стр. 69.

вѣшать безъ суда. Но какъ въ Испаніи и въ тѣхъ государствахъ Востока, гдѣ населеніе доведено притѣсненіями до отчаянія, подобныя мѣры не уменьшали, но увеличивали анархію. Въ 1759 г. французы едва не сдѣлали высадку въ Ирландіи. Воспользовавшись этимъ обстоятельствомъ, все населеніе вооружилось. Вооруженныя банды были такъ многочисленны и составили такую значительную силу, что правительство не рѣшалось ихъ обезоружить. Когда начались движенія въ американскихъ колоніяхъ, ирландцы, пользуясь пріобрѣтенной силой, стали подражать ихъ образу дѣйствія. Волонтеры собирались въ такомъ числѣ, что правительство рѣшительно не знало, что дѣлать; волненіе грозило превратиться въ мятежъ, съ которымъ правительству при тогдашнихъ обстоятельствахъ было бы очень трудно сладить. Хотя теперь землевладѣльцы очутились въ рукахъ крестьянъ, а не крестьяне въ рукахъ землевладѣльцевъ, но англійская аристократія была такъ упряма, что не хотѣла соглашаться ни на какія улучшенія. Англичане слишкомъ ясно видѣли, что упрямство аристократіи можетъ повести къ гибельнымъ результатамъ и приступили къ реформамъ. Сначала въ 1778 году издано было предписаніе, дозволявшее католикамъ пріобрѣтать поземельную собственность, затѣмъ учрежденъ былъ комитетъ для изслѣдованія причинъ бѣдности въ странѣ. Но эти мѣры возбуждали такое сильное негодованіе въ аристократіи, что правительство стало изыскивать другой путь для усмиренія етраны. Путь этотъ скоро былъ найденъ. Возбуждено было сильное движеніе въ пользу свободной торговли. Сорокъ тысячъ вооруженныхъ волонтеровъ стояли на сторонѣ этого движенія. Несмотря на сопротивленіе и интриги, въ 1780 году былъ утвержденъ законъ о свободной торговлѣ между Ирландіею и британскими колоніями. Это однакожъ нетолько не успокоило, но еще болѣе усилило движеніе. Волонтеры составили цѣлую армію съ генералами, пушками и т. д.; ихъ предводителями были лорды и графы. Они требовали, чтобы Ирландія была признана отдѣльнымъ королевствомъ, съ отдѣльнымъ парламентомъ; 16 апрѣля 1782 года правительству былъ поданъ адресъ въ этомъ смыслѣ и правительство сдѣлало уступку. Движеніе развивалось и шло далѣе и наконецъ въ 1792 и 1793 г. правительство вынуждено было сдѣлать новыя уступки даже самой католической религіи. Этими уступками воспользовались, хотя съ грѣхомъ пополамъ, высшій классъ ирландскаго общества и горо-

жане, а сельское населеніе осталоеь въ сторонѣ, хотя именно ему были обязаны высшіе классы, что пріобрѣли нѣкоторыя выгоды, впрочемъ неимѣющія достаточной прочности. Между тѣмъ вспыхнула французская революція. Поощряемые политическими обществами, которыя въ это время образовались въ большомъ числѣ въ Англіи, Шотландіи и Ирландіи и проповѣдывали революцію и республику, ирландскіе крестьяне составили множество тайныхъ союзовъ, нападали по ночамъ на жилища, захватывали оружіе и убивали землевладѣльцевъ и должностныхъ лицъ. Въ свою очередь землевладѣльцы въ 1796 году составили знаменитое общество оранжменовъ, прославившееся поджогами и разными безчинствами. Въ графствѣ Армагъ ихъ кровавые подвиги разогнали половину жителей. Для успокоенія края изданъ былъ законъ, воспрещавшій носить оружіе. Но когда этотъ законъ сталъ энергически приводиться въ исполненіе, онъ произвелъ въ странѣ такое ожесточеніе, что крестьянскія и національныя тайныя общества пріобрѣли огромное число членовъ и такъ усилились, что вошли въ сношенія съ французскимъ правительствомъ и просили у него помощи. Съ ихъ стороны это была однакожъ большая ошибка; католическое духовенство, боявшееся идей французской революціи, отвернулось отъ нихъ, стало интриговать противъ нихъ и помогло обществу оранжменовъ въ свою очередь усилиться. Анархія возрастала со дня на день и чѣмъ энергичнѣе были мѣры, которыя принимались правительствомъ, тѣмъ сильнѣе возрастало волненіе и наконецъ въ 1798 году вспыхнуло возстаніе. Оно было подавлено, но при этомъ погибло болѣе 70,000 человѣкъ и вся страна была раззорена. На этотъ разъ исходъ народнаго движенія былъ весьма печальный и ирландскіе земледѣльцы не получили ничего, что могло бы прочно обезпечить ихъ благосостояніе; однакожъ, они настолько уже усилились, что съ половины XVIII вѣка, когда снова началось народное движеніе, благосостояніе крестьянъ стало быстро увеличиваться. Ихъ пища и ихъ образъ жизни улучшались, число населенія стало возрастать. Въ 1712 году въ Ирландіи насчитывалось 2,000,000 жителей; до 1767 года оно увеличивалось очень медленно, въ этомъ году насчитывали только 2,554,276 человѣкъ; но съ тѣхъ поръ оно стало быстро размножаться и въ 1791 г. было уже 4,206,612 жит. *).

*) Fr. Handbuch der vergleichenden Statistik. Leipzig, 1868, стр. 207.

Все это показываетъ довольно ясно, что въ жизни ирландскаго народа въ теченіи XVIII вѣка роль англійской аристократіи была весьма не завидная. Въ первой половинѣ XVIII вѣка она убила въ Ирландіи просвѣщеніе, промышленность и наконецъ даже развитіе сельскаго хозяйства; когда затѣмъ борьба партій въ Англіи возбудила въ Ирландіи сильное политическое движеніе, тогда она обратила страну въ разбойничью яму. Встрѣчая въ первое время въ Ирландіи такое же слабое препятствіе, какое испанскіе гранды и духовенство встрѣчали въ XVIII вѣкѣ въ Испаніи, англійскіе аристократы кинули страну въ бездну невѣжества, лѣни и бѣдности; когда же они встрѣтили препятствіе въ народныхъ движеніяхъ, они въ-конецъ деморализировали и страну, и самихъ себя. Они очень хорошо понимали, что англійская партія движенія видитъ въ ирландскомъ невѣжествѣ для себя политическую опасность, что она будетъ поддерживать въ Ирландіи волненіе и что они своими средствами не будутъ въ состояніи его прекратить. Если бы англійскіе аристократы обладали хоть небольшой долей гражданской доблести, если бъ они питали хоть небольшую любовь къ интересамъ человѣчества, они непремѣнно постарались бы стать къ земледѣльцамъ въ отношеніе чистое, гдѣ интересы ихъ были бы разграничены и не встрѣчались враждебно; такой исходъ для нихъ конечно былъ бы во сто разъ лучше той взаимной деморализаціи, до которой они довели и страну и себя своимъ упрямствомъ. Рѣшиться на такой исходъ для нихъ было не трудно, потому что они мало заботились о величинѣ своихъ доходовъ и, къ крайнему ущербу и для себя и для земледѣльцевъ, позволяли безжалостно эксплуатировать себя откупщикамъ и заимодавцамъ. Своимъ упрямствомъ они дѣйствительно помѣшали всякому прочному улучшенію въ бытѣ; но необходимость въ улучшеніи все-таки осталась и неизбѣжность его была несомнѣнна; англійскіе крупные землевладѣльцы въ Ирландіи добились только того, что сдѣлали свое положеніе еще болѣе непріятнымъ и опаснымъ, потому что деморализировали народъ и развили въ немъ горькую ненависть къ себѣ. Не разсчетливо они дозволяли вырывать у себя путемъ терроризма то, что имъ гораздо выгоднѣе было бы давать добровольно.

V.

Таковы были дѣйствія англійской аристократіи въ Ирландіи; можетъ быть еще болѣе замѣчательна ея дѣятельность въ Индіи. Индія всегда была страною мелкаго землевладѣнія. Здѣсь вся земля, принадлежащая крестьянамъ, находилась въ общинномъ землевладѣніи. Община считалась настоящимъ владѣльцемъ и ни одинъ ея членъ не могъ продавать и закладывать землю безъ согласія всей общины. Въ иныхъ странахъ земля обрабатывалась сообща, въ другихъ производились передѣлы *). Этому общинному владѣнію индѣйцы придаютъ очень важное значеніе, и если кто-нибудь изъ членовъ выбываетъ изъ общины, имя его все-таки остается въ спискѣ общинниковъ въ теченіи ста лѣтъ. Кромѣ членовъ общины на земляхъ живутъ еще припущенники, которые пожизненно и наслѣдственно обрабатываютъ клочокъ земли, внося за него оброкъ. Рядомъ съ этимъ, точно также какъ и въ нашемъ общинномъ владѣніи, общинныя земли отдаются въ наемъ на короткіе сроки членамъ общины или постороннимъ лицамъ. При магометанскомъ владычествѣ всѣ эти земли были обложены оброками, а для сбора оброковъ назначены сборщики, земиндары, которые вмѣсто жалованья удерживали себѣ извѣстный процентъ изъ собраннаго оброка. Когда англичане утвердили свое господство въ Индіи, англійская аристократія стала находить, что невозможно управлять такой обширной страной, не опираясь на крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, а такъ какъ подобныхъ землевладѣльцевъ въ Индіи не было, то надобно было ихъ создать. За выполненіе этой задачи взялся лордъ Корнуэльсъ, герой реакціонерной партіи, прославившійся какъ бичъ свободы во время возстанія Соединенныхъ Штатовъ. Онъ придумалъ изъ земиндаровъ сдѣлать англійскихъ лордовъ. Но англичанамъ очень хорошо было извѣстно, какъ индѣйцы привязаны къ своимъ правамъ землевладѣнія, и что земиндары никакихъ правъ на землю не имѣютъ. Поэтому даже сэръ Джонъ Шаръ, предсѣдатель коммиссіи, назначенной для изслѣдованія индѣйскихъ поземельныхъ отношеній, не рѣшался передать земиндарамъ право соб-

*) The Land tenures of british India (The Westminster review № LXV, January 1868).

ственности на землю. Не смотря на все свое расположеніе увеличить ихъ права, онъ предложилъ дать имъ землю въ пользованіе только на десять лѣтъ. Но Корнуэльсъ настаивалъ на предоставленіи имъ права собственности. Англійская аристократія, разрѣшавшая это дѣло въ Лондонѣ, составила для себя изъ земиндаровъ самый поэтическій и плѣнительный образъ. Она увѣряла, что лишь только земиндары сдѣлаются собственниками, они будутъ разчищать лѣса, поднимутъ земледѣліе посредствомъ привлеченія къ нему капиталовъ, возвысятъ нравственный уровень своихъ арендаторовъ и т. д. Въ 1792 году состоялось распоряженіе, которое сдѣлало въ Бенгаліи изъ земиндаровъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ. На основаніи такихъ-то мечтательныхъ соображеній, милліоны земледѣльцевъ, которые въ теченіи тысячелѣтій владѣли землею по общинному праву лишились своихъ правъ и отданы были въ безусловное распоряженіе жаднымъ земиндарамъ. Это сдѣлано было безъ малѣйшаго повода, со стороны владѣльцевъ земель, безъ всякой нужды и въ разрѣзъ съ постоянными разглагольствованіями самой же англійской аристократіи, безъ всякаго вознагражденія. Даже въ исторіи самыхъ варварскихъ странъ рѣдко встрѣчались примѣры подобной безцѣльной нелѣпости, а между тѣмъ англійская аристократія была въ такомъ восторгѣ отъ своего счастливаго изобрѣтенія, что она непремѣнно настаивала на его распространеніи по всей Индіи; и дѣйствительно оно было распространено на Багоръ и Ориссу. Вскорѣ земиндары оказались менѣе всего благодѣтелями своихъ арендаторовъ, и такими же эксплуататорами, какъ и англійскіе лорды. Индѣйскіе же земледѣльцы, наперекоръ ожиданіямъ англійской аристократіи, вовсе не желали быть облагодѣтельствованными земиндарами и очень не охотно разставались съ принадлежащими имъ землями. Они начали съ земиндарами нескончаемые процессы и вели ихъ съ такимъ упорствомъ, что земиндары, которые до вмѣшательства англичанъ пользовались значительнымъ благосостояніемъ, въ конецъ раззорились. Не смотря на это, англійская аристократія, признававшая, что ея распоряженіемъ воздвигнутъ „великій памятникъ человѣческой мудрости“, захотѣла къ довершенію неурядицы увеличить число крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, и, кромѣ земиндаровъ, призвала къ поземельной собственности еще классъ „яжирдаровъ“, т. е. лицъ, которыя получали отъ прежнихъ властителей право собственности на оброки, собираемые въ извѣстныхъ мѣстностяхъ земиндарами. Эти мудрыя

распоряженія расплодили не плодоносныя жатвы, а классъ дѣлателей фальшивыхъ документовъ. Дошло наконецъ до того, что правительство не могло уже взыскивать податей. Новые крупные землевладѣльцы отказывались платить ихъ, потому что съ изданіемъ новыхъ распоряженій земледѣльцы не вносили никакихъ оброковъ, оспаривали право на взысканіе этихъ оброковъ и волочили дѣла по судамъ. Правительство не хотѣло дожидаться и пустило въ продажу имѣнія, созданныя великимъ памятникомъ мудрости; уже въ 1796 году десятая часть всѣхъ земель Бенгаліи, Багора и Ориссы поступила въ продажу съ молотка. Если принять въ соображеніе, что въ одной Бенгаліи 46 милл. жителей, то мы будемъ имѣть прекрасный образчикъ для сравненія съ одновременнымъ переворотомъ въ поземельныхъ отношеніяхъ и съ продажею земель массами во Франціи. Хотя здѣсь переворотъ былъ порожденъ тяжелой необходимостью, но все-таки возбудилъ противъ себя негодованіе, какъ переворотъ насильственный; а въ Индіи это была нелѣпѣйшая, ненужная затѣя, раззорившая цѣлую страну—и никто объ этомъ не заботился, никто неговорилъ ни слова противъ нея. Въ 1799 году задумали поправить дѣло, предоставивъ земиндарамъ право взыскивать арендную плату по своему произволу, не смотря ни на какой споръ. Въ это время земли по большей части уже не были въ рукахъ земиндаровъ; онѣ были куплены разжившимися подъ крылышкомъ англійской аристократіи людьми, которые никогда не жили въ купленныхъ имѣніяхъ и, также какъ въ Ирландіи, предоставляли сборъ оброковъ откупщикамъ; крупные откупщики сдавали его болѣе мелкимъ, мелкіе кулакамъ и эти-то кулаки получили право распоряжаться съ земледѣльцами по своему произволу. Бѣдствія, явившіяся результатомъ такого вреднаго постановленія, невозможно ни описать, ни перечислить. Доведенные до отчаянія, индѣйскіе земледѣльцы бѣжали изъ селеній въ лѣса; разбои и анархія распространились всюду; на огромныхъ пространствахъ земля опустѣла и обратилась въ болото. Не смотря на это, англійская аристократія такъ была ослѣплена своимъ «великимъ памятникомъ человѣческой мудрости», что распорядилась ввести подобное же крупное землевладѣніе и въ Мадрасѣ. Здѣсь, рядомъ съ немногими значительными имѣніями, повсемѣстно господствовалъ родъ владѣнія, который англичане по-своему окрестили мелкой собственностью; земледѣльцы имѣли въ своемъ владѣніи по одной и по двѣ десятины. Стои-

ло-ли обращать вниманіе на такую мелочь? Земли у этихъ мелкихъ собственниковъ были отобраны и отданы земиндарамъ. Но результатъ получился тотъ же, какъ и въ Бенгаліи, Багорѣ и Ориссѣ: въ самомъ скоромъ времени земиндары сдѣлались несостоятельными и ихъ земли поступили въ распоряженіе казны за недоимки. Провинція Удъ отъ крупнаго землевладѣнія была спасена Лорежомъ. Въ сѣверо-западной Индіи подобные опыты дѣлались уже съ разными предосторожностями: изобрѣтена была какая-то временная крупная собственность; однакожъ и здѣсь англійскіе опыты привели къ тѣмъ же результатамъ, какъ и въ Бенгаліи, они расплодили только грабежи, убійства и бунты. Пройдя чрезъ всѣ возможныя формы крупнаго и мелкаго землевладѣнія, англичане наконецъ убѣдились, что въ Индіи, какъ для процвѣтанія страны, такъ и для финансовыхъ цѣлей правительства, самая лучшая форма—общинное землевладѣніе; при его господствѣ сѣверо-западныя области достигли цвѣтущаго положенія, и оно распространено теперь на Пенджабъ. Весьма характеристично для міровоззрѣнія англичанъ то обстоятельство, что они, отбирая у десятковъ мильоновъ землевладѣльцевъ ихъ общинную и личную собственность въ пользу крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, даже и не подумали о необходимости вознаградить ихъ. Теперь же, по случаю возвышенія подати съ земли въ тѣхъ частяхъ Индіи, гдѣ она находится въ рукахъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ, они толкуютъ о вознагражденіи собственниковъ за обложеніе ихъ возвышенной податью для искуственныхъ орошеній и другихъ учрежденій, отъ которыхъ выиграютъ также бѣдные люди *).

Таковы были результаты крупнаго землевладѣнія въ великобританскомъ государствѣ втеченіи XVIII вѣка. XIX вѣкъ начинается горькими жалобами на иностранное соперничество и на то, что землю въ Англіи невозможно воздѣлывать при низкихъ продажныхъ цѣнахъ на хлѣбъ. Чтобы сдѣлать для фермеровъ возможнымъ воздѣлываніе земель, въ 1804 г. были возвышены ввозныя пошлины на хлѣбъ, но земли все-таки оставались не воздѣланными; поэтому въ 1814 г. предположено было снова возвысить пошлину, но это предположеніе возбудило такое негодованіе въ городскомъ населе-

*) Indian taxation: Lord Cornwalis's land settlement (The Westminster review № LXXV, July, 1870), стр. 32.

ніи, что пошлина не была возвышена. Въ 1815 г. иностранное соперничество понизило цѣны на хлѣбъ; вслѣдствіе этого множество пахатныхъ земель обращено было въ луга, рента и заработная плата понизились; чтобы дать фермерамъ возможность производить, ввозныя пошлины были такъ возвышены, что они равнялись воспрещенію ввоза. Но англійское земледѣліе не было уже способно удовлетворять потребностямъ народа, запретительная пошлина произвела искуственный голодъ. Цѣны на хлѣбъ такъ возвысились, что аристократія стала опасаться серьезнаго народнаго движенія, и чтобы его парализировать, должна была непомѣрно возвысить подать для бѣдныхъ. Въ 1817 г. эта подать достигла пятидесяти пяти мильоновъ рублей; на каждое семейство въ Англіи приходилось 22 руб. Не смотря на это, въ 1819 г. земледѣліе въ Англіи было въ такомъ состояніи, что тамъ подъ лугами и выгонными полями находилось 22.329,000 акровъ и кромѣ того подъ паромъ 2.100,000 акровъ, между тѣмъ какъ пшеницею и рожью засѣяно было только 4.500,000 акровъ *); кромѣ того, удобныхъ, но не воздѣланныхъ полей было 5.647,000 акровъ **). При хорошемъ способѣ сельскаго хозяйства, конечно, не мудрено достигать тѣхъ урожаевъ, которые удивляли иностранцевъ, но вѣдь это значитъ морить людей съ голоду и прикрываться удивленіемъ не вникающей въ дѣло толпы. Цѣны на хлѣбъ въ Англіи были такъ высоки, что даже послѣ измѣненія въ тарифѣ, сдѣланномъ въ 1828 г., англійскія цѣны были вдвое выше, чѣмъ на материкѣ Европы. Англійская аристократія сдѣлала такое напряженіе для поддержанія своего богатства и окружающаго ее ореола, что она перевалила черезъ высшую точку своего величія и ея популярность стала клониться къ упадку, а между тѣмъ она все-таки не достигла своей цѣли. Между тѣмъ знать изъ капиталистовъ переростала ее блескомъ и богатствомъ, и чтобы удержать себя отъ нападенія, ей нужно было

*) Pablo Pebrer: Histoire financière et statistique generale de l'empire britanique. Paris, 1834, T. 2 p. 93.

**) Во Франціи 22.221,971 гект. воздѣланныхъ земель и 11.637,212 гек. луговъ и выгону—воздѣланной земли вдвое больше луговъ, а въ Англіи въ два съ четвертью раза меньше; между тѣмъ офиціальныя изслѣдованія показали, что и при плохомъ французскомъ хозяйствѣ хорошіе французскіе урожаи равняются обыкновеннымъ англійскимъ и каждая десятина пшеницы производитъ въ шесть разъ болѣе пищи равнаго достоинства, чѣмъ $^1/_2$ десятины луговъ и $^1/_2$ десятины выгону.

еще разъ прибѣгнуть къ двусмысленному и въ концѣ концовъ гибельному средству хищничества. Она съ неутомимымъ усердіемъ присвоивала себѣ общинныя земли. Съ 1801 по 1844 г. она присвоила себѣ 3.740,520 акровъ общинной земли; всего она захватила болѣе семи мильоновъ акровъ, болѣе одной пятой всей англійской земли. Политическая экономія всегда обладала особеннымъ искуствомъ провозглашать несомнѣннымъ результатамъ науки то, что было выгодно для немногихъ. Когда производились эти захваты, англійскіе политико-экономы не находили достаточно сильныхъ выраженій, чтобы изобразить жалкое состояніе этихъ земель и великую пользу, которая произойдетъ отъ передачи ея въ руки крупнымъ землевладѣльцамъ; по ихъ словамъ, англійская аристократія должна была облагодѣтельствовать англійское сельское населеніе точнотакже, какъ земиндары облагодѣтельствовали индѣйское. Въ унисонъ съ англійскими экономистами всѣ политико-экономы Европы кричали о пользѣ раздачи общинныхъ земель въ частное владѣніе. Теперь же, когда дѣло сдѣлано, — та же самая англійская политическая экономія хватается за голову и говоритъ, что это было расхищеніе достоянія бѣдныхъ, что это было бѣдствіе для страны. Позднее и безполезное раскаяніе. Въ то же самое время и точно такими же путями крупные землевладѣльцы захватывали земли, принадлежавшія горнымъ шотландцамъ, на томъ основаніи, что шотландцы не умѣютъ пользоваться своею собственностію и что нужно ихъ облагодѣтельствовать. Результатомъ захвата было то, что множество пахатныхъ земель было превращено въ луга и въ выгонъ и населеніе раззорилось. Назначалось и вознагражденіе за отобранныя земли, но изъ ста случаевъ оно давалось въ одномъ. Въ 1819 г. въ Шотландіи было болѣе необработанныхъ земель, способныхъ къ обработкѣ, чѣмъ дѣйствительно воздѣланныхъ *).

Въ Ирландіи въ началѣ XIX столѣтія отношеніе крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ къ земледѣльческому населенію осталось прежнее. Движенія XVIII вѣка принесли много пользы высшимъ сословіямъ, но для массы сельскаго населенія они не дали никакого прочнаго результата. Крупные землевладѣльцы по прежнему дер-

*) Въ Шотландіи дѣйствительно воздѣланныхъ земель въ 1819 году было 5.265.000 акровъ, а способныхъ къ воздѣлыванію и остающихся не обработанными 5.950.000 акровъ.—Pablo-Pebrer: Histoire financière et statistique generale de l'empire britanique, Paris, 1834, T. 2 стр. 93.

жали мелкихъ арендаторовъ въ безусловномъ подчиненіи, по прежнему сочувствовали крупному фермерству; къ тому же, введенію этого фермерства много способствовало улучшеніе путей сообщенія, и постоянно увеличивавшійся вывозъ сельско-хозяйственныхъ произведеній въ Англію, гдѣ господствовала искуственная дороговизна земледѣльческихъ продуктовъ. Усиленный вывозъ дѣлалъ возможнымъ дорогое производство. Въ результатѣ вышло тоже, что и въ Шотландіи; въ 1819 году въ Ирландіи сравнительно было втрое болѣе способныхъ къ обработкѣ земель, которыя оставались необработанными, чѣмъ въ Англіи; въ то же время отъ обращенія пашень въ луга количество скота быстро возрастало. Мелкіе фермеры никакъ не могли воспользоваться возвышеніемъ цѣнъ, потому что ихъ стѣсняли все на болѣе незначительномъ пространствѣ и отчаянная конкуренція крайне возвышала ренту. Въ Фарнеѣ, наприм., о которомъ мы говорили выше, рента съ 1769 г. по 1841 г. увеличилась съ 8,000 ф. на 46,395 ф., т. е. почти въ шесть разъ. Въ то же время населеніе было стѣснено на такомъ маломъ пространствѣ, что 41,107 душъ жило на пространствѣ въ 24.938 десятинъ. Однако же Ирландію уже невозможно было держать въ прежнемъ невѣжествѣ, враждебная аристократіи буржуазная партія сдѣлалась слишкомъ сильна въ Англіи и не допускала этого въ своихъ интересахъ; просвѣщеніе развивалось, а вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ развивались и потребности. Кромѣ того, развитіе въ Ирландіи шло такимъ путемъ, что оно должно было усиливать ожесточеніе противъ землевладѣльцевъ. Въ 1808 г. въ школахъ насчитываютъ 200,000 учениковъ, а въ 1824 году уже 456,549 *); но въ то же время англичане задумали черезъ школу вести свою національно-религіозную пропаганду. Это до такой степени озлобляло католическое духовенство, что оно употребляло всѣ свои усилія, чтобы возбуждать католиковъ противъ протестантовъ и землевладѣльцевъ, и достигало блестящихъ результатовъ. Читая описаніе Ирландіи, подумаешь, что рѣчь идетъ о какой нибудь Джунгаріи или Афганистанѣ: дома наполнены оружіемъ, человѣкъ не рѣшается выходить пѣшкомъ, а всегда выѣзжаетъ верхомъ, въ карманѣ у него заряженные пистолеты, въ сѣдлѣ пистолеты, за пазухой револьверъ. Вы идете вечеромъ по улицамъ ирландскаго города безпечно и спокойно, какъ въ цивилизованной

*) The Irish national school system. (The british Quarterly Review, NC October 1869), стр. 309 и 310.

Европѣ; вдругъ какой-то человѣкъ наводитъ на васъ заряженный пистолетъ и кричитъ вамъ „въ сторону": это землевладѣлецъ или агентъ землевладѣльца, котораго поклялись убить и который не подпускаетъ къ себѣ близко проходящихъ людей. Среди бѣлаго дня убитъ человѣкъ; кругомъ на поляхъ работало множество народу, никто не обращаетъ вниманія на убитаго, нѣтъ возможности найдти не только помощи, но даже свидѣтеля, который бы разсказалъ, какъ было дѣло; назначается высокая награда за свидѣтельское показаніе, но и награда не дѣйствуетъ. Вмѣстѣ съ убитымъ землевладѣльцемъ находился его родственникъ; онъ съ ужасомъ возвращается домой и разсказываетъ о происшедшемъ, но по лицамъ своей прислуги замѣчаетъ, что они давно знали, что все это случится. Онъ подозрѣваетъ каждаго въ своемъ домѣ, онъ выѣзжаетъ не иначе, какъ съ двумя или тремя вооруженными до зубовъ людьми, сидящими съ нимъ въ экипажѣ; онъ предупреждаетъ кучера, что если тотъ осмѣлится не остановиться по первому приказанію, то будетъ убитъ. Съ такими-то предосторожностями приходилось выѣзжать землевладѣльцу. Или вотъ: землевладѣльцы задумали нанести своимъ врагамъ рѣшительный ударъ, къ смерти приговаривается человѣкъ, котораго невинность доказана самымъ несомнѣннымъ образомъ, но это не дѣйствуетъ, его все таки убиваютъ, земледѣльцы цѣлыми деревнями не платятъ арендной платы, между ними есть такіе, которые хвалятся, что они не помнятъ, когда въ послѣдній разъ заплатили ее; между тѣмъ терроризмъ тайныхъ убійствъ не даетъ землевладѣльцамъ возможности устраивать большихъ фермъ; землевладѣльцы раззоряются массами. Нужно упрямство англійской аристократіи, чтобы горѣть въ такомъ огнѣ и не пожелать развязать тягостныя отношенія. Среди такого-то хаоса О'Конель поднялъ знамя реформы и прогресса; его противники, какъ истые плантаторы, съ такимъ ожесточеніемъ гонялись за его жизнью и дѣлали столько на нее покушеній, что онъ могъ выходить на улицу не иначе, какъ сопровождаемый конвоемъ изъ своихъ приверженцевъ. На улицахъ Ирландіи этотъ демагогъ, окруженный своей добровольной стражей, передъ которымъ всѣ клапялись и которому даже его враги, землевладѣльцы, изъ страха подобострастно отдавали честь, былъ похожъ на японскаго князя, путешествующаго по улицамъ Іеддо. 1831-й годъ наполненъ былъ кровавыми стычками, въ 1832 г. тайныя убійства возросли отъ

247 до 429. Правительство наконецъ вынуждено было издать рядъ либеральныхъ мѣръ и даже подвергнуть порицанію выходки оранжменовъ. Въ сущности крестьяне выиграли очень не много, но перемѣна въ направленіи правительства оградила ихъ отъ самыхъ возмутительныхъ притѣсненій и отъ нахальства оранжменовъ. Поэтому убійства начали уменьшаться: въ 1833 г. ихъ было 387, въ 1834—363, но зато мелкія придирки увеличились, а съ тѣмъ вмѣстѣ и мелкая месть; случаи, подобные аграрной мести, увеличились отъ 4,236 до 5,127. О'Конель, видя невозможность обезпечить положеніе ирландскаго населенія, сталъ домогаться эмансипаціи Ирландіи или даже полнаго ея отдѣленія отъ Англіи. Правительство съ своей стороны старалось ослабить О'Конеля, подкупивъ католическое духовенство казеннымъ содержаніемъ; но духовенство оказало рѣшительное сопротивленіе такой мѣрѣ. Въ то время, когда такимъ образомъ боролись вверху, внизу народъ безъисходно страдалъ; необходимость отстаивать свое существованіе тяжкими, деморализующими пріемами грозила ему гибельными послѣдствіями, а между тѣмъ не было никакого исхода; втеченіи цѣлаго столѣтія тяжкой конвульсивной борьбы землевладѣльцами не было сдѣлано ни малѣйшей уступки. Они наслаждались въ Лондонѣ полной безопасностью; какое имъ было дѣло до того, страдаетъ ли народъ въ Ирландіи или нѣтъ. Отъ времени до времени они посылали въ свои имѣнья управляющихъ на вѣрную смерть, но за свои тысячи фунтовъ всегда находили людей, готовыхъ жертвовать за нихъ жизнью. Наконецъ, какъ громовой ударъ, наступилъ голодъ 1846 года. Тутъ только обнаружилась та бездна нищенства и бѣдности, которыя скрывались въ Ирландіи; люди умирали цѣлыми семействами на поляхъ, на улицахъ городовъ, въ отдаленныхъ хуторахъ. Въ пользу голодающихъ собирались массы денегъ, покупался хлѣбъ, но до голодающихъ не доходилъ. Увѣряютъ, что бывали даже такіе случаи: на отдаленномъ хуторѣ цѣлое семейство умирало съ голода; въ ближайшемъ городѣ были и деньги и хлѣбъ для вспомоществованія, но умиравшіе не знали этого, а если они и знали, то не кому было сходить туда, несчастные умирали безвѣстно, не кому было даже хоронить ихъ. На однихъ общественныхъ работахъ столпилось 734.000 работниковъ, незнавшихъ чѣмъ прокормиться; ввезено было хлѣба на пятьдесятъ два съ половиною мильона рублей. Ужасные разсказы о бѣдствіяхъ этого голода одинаково взволновали

общественное мнѣніе Англіи и населеніе Ирландіи. «Вонъ изъ этой страны, на которой виситъ проклятіе», повторяли ирландцы. Они ждали цѣлое столѣтіе и ничего не дождались, кромѣ того, что къ нимъ все болѣе и болѣе прививались разбойничьи инстинкты. Они стали переселяться массами; тѣ, которые обезпечивали себя на мѣстѣ переселенія, посылали домой деньги для вспомоществованія новымъ переселенцамъ; втеченіи пяти первыхъ лѣтъ, съ 1847—1851 г., переселилось 1.088.000 человѣкъ; втеченіи пяти лѣтъ, они прислали въ Ирландію для впомоществованія переселенцамъ 26.106.000 руб. сер. И такихъ-то благородныхъ, любящихъ, прекрасныхъ людей англійскіе землевладѣльцы эксплуатировали безъ всякаго сожалѣнія, деморализировали съ невѣроятнымъ бездушіемъ, чернили въ глазахъ свѣта съ неслыханной безцеремонностью. Исторія не проститъ имъ этого, ихъ поведеніе въ Ирландіи останется надолго въ памяти и будетъ служить для нихъ вѣчнымъ укоромъ. Страданія ирландскаго народа втеченіи этого времени были такъ велики, что съ 1841 по 1851 г. въ ней населеніе уменьшилось на 1.622,739 человѣкъ. Ирландскій голодъ стоилъ англичанамъ шестьдесятъ мильоновъ рублей. Такое ненормальное положеніе вывело наконецъ общественное мнѣніе Англіи изъ терпѣнія и оно потребовало реформъ въ поземельныхъ отношеніяхъ. Явилась наконецъ эта долго жданная реформа. Какая же это была реформа? Облегчена была продажа обремененныхъ долгами имѣній, т. е. сдѣлано облегченіе для самихъ же крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ. Послѣ этого ирландцамъ оставалось одно—возложить всѣ свои надежды на переселеніе. За эту мѣру они ухватились со всею страстью, какъ за послѣднее прибѣжище; и дѣйствительно, втеченіи четырнадцати лѣтъ выселилось 2,209,389. человѣкъ; они переслали изъ Америки для вспомоществованія переселенцамъ болѣе шестидесяти семи мильоновъ рублей серебромъ. Англійскіе крупные землевладѣльцы, которые всѣ бѣдствія Ирландіи приписывали слишкомъ густому населенію, могли бы быть довольны; но что же вышло? Съ 1841 по 1850, не смотря на всѣ бѣдствія, земледѣліе въ Ирландіи все-таки улучшалось, количество обработанныхъ земель увеличилось съ 13.464.300 акровъ до 14.802.581; съ 1841 по 1855 г. цѣна скота увеличилась отъ 21 м. до 35 м. ф.—Но съ тѣхъ поръ количество обработанныхъ земель стало быстро уменьшаться; въ 1860 г. обработанныхъ земель было уже только

5.970.139 акровъ, а за тѣмъ 5.519.678 акровъ; обработка ухудшилась такъ, что акръ производилъ уже меньше, чѣмъ прежде. Цѣна пробизведеній была въ 1859 г. 39 м. ф., 1860—34 м., въ 1862 г. 29 м., въ 1863 г. 27 м. ф., въ 1869 г. количество пашенъ уменьшилось на 164.000 акровъ. Замѣчательно, какъ англійскіе крупные землевладѣльцы сошлись въ своихъ дѣйствіяхъ даже съ монголами. Монголы въ Китаѣ дѣйствовали точно такъ же, какъ англичане въ Ирландіи; они точно также жаловались на густоту населенія, точно также обращали пашни въ пастбища и луга, точно также дѣйствовало духовенство, однимъ словомъ все, не исключая оранжменовъ и тайныхъ взаимныхъ убійствъ, — снимокъ съ монгольскаго. Крупными землевладѣльцами овладѣла страсть къ крупнымъ фермамъ, которыя дѣлали изъ страны пустыню, похожую на Испанію, среднюю Азію или Буэносъ-Айресъ; мелкимъ фермерамъ оставлялись самые безплодные и негодные участки. Положеніе дѣлалось со дня на день невыносимѣе, а реакціонеры увѣряли англійскую публику, что Ирландія процвѣтаетъ. Они утверждали, что жилища улучшаются, заработная плата увеличивается, бѣдности стало меньше и населеніе рабочихъ домовъ съ 1851 г. по 1861 г. уменьшилось съ 249,877 до 49,984, что пахатныхъ земель въ 1841 г. было 13,464,300 акровъ, а въ 1866 г. 15,549,796 акровъ *); но это была чистѣйшая неправда; въ Ирландіи пахатныхъ (arable land) земель дѣйствительно около 16 мильоновъ десятинъ, но воздѣланныхъ только $5^1/_2$. Въ то время, когда ирландцы переселялись массами, число бѣдныхъ дѣйствительно уменьшалось, но уже съ 1859 г. оно опять быстро начало увеличиваться: въ 1859 г. бѣдныхъ **) считалось 44.806 челов., а въ 1867 г. уже 68,650 челов., т. е. въ полтора раза болѣе. Сказки, выдаваемыя крупными землевладѣльцами за истину, мѣшали публикѣ получить правильное понятіе о положеніи Ирландіи, между тѣмъ деморализація разъѣдала народъ, доведенный до отчаянья; въ прошломъ году въ Ирландіи насчитывалось 360 аграрныхъ преступленій въ мѣсяцъ ***). Общественное мнѣніе снова стало требовать реформъ. Защитники ирландскихъ крестьянъ требовали для огражденія сельскаго населенія установленія постоянной ренты. Аристокра-

*) Ireland under British rule, H. Iervis, London 1868, стр. 306.
**) Kolb: Verafh Statistik. Leipzig 1868 стр. 234
***) The Times N. 26980—February 7. 1871.

тія упорно отвергала эту мысль; отнять у ней право возвышать ренту — это, по ея мнѣнію, было возмутительное нарушеніе правъ собственности. Когда англійская аристократія у десятковъ мильоновъ индѣйцевъ отбирала ихъ общинную и личную землю только потому, что ей пришла такая фантазія, когда она отбирала у бѣднаго народа Англіи мильоны акровъ общинной земли, и захватывала у шотландскихъ горцевъ ихъ воздѣланныя поля и т. д., тогда это не было нарушеніемъ права собственности. Когда же пришлось ограничивать аристократію въ присвоенномъ ею себѣ правѣ держать Ирландію въ безысходной анархіи, тогда оказалось, что это ограниченіе составляетъ нарушеніе ея частнаго права собственности. Противорѣчіе, здѣсь существующее, бьетъ прямо въ глаза и всякій чувствуетъ, что въ разсужденіяхъ англійской аристократіи есть что-то крайне несправедливое. Если добираться до корня этой несправедливости, то станетъ понятно главное зло, которое сдѣлано было англійскимъ крупнымъ землевладѣніемъ англійскому народу. Начиная съ XIII вѣка, англійскій народъ велъ борьбу противъ правительственнаго произвола. Противъ чего же онъ боролся въ то время? Король считался господиномъ англійской земли; въ качествѣ господина земли, онъ былъ въ одно и тоже время и общественный дѣятель и частный человѣкъ. Какъ общественный дѣятель, онъ могъ дѣйствовать только въ общественномъ интересѣ, но онъ задумалъ къ этому общественному интересу относиться какъ къ своему частному праву; во имя господства своего надъ землею, онъ пытался общественный интересъ обратить въ свое частное право. Противъ этой-то попытки и боролся англійскій народъ. Но если англійскій народъ боролся противъ покушенія обратить общій интересъ въ частное право, то онъ долженъ бы былъ поставить вопросъ рѣзче, опредѣленнѣе, онъ долженъ бы былъ настаивать, что публичное право не отчуждаемо, что не можетъ существовать частнаго права вредить интересамъ общества. Если бы англичане втеченіи всей своей борьбы, начиная съ XIII столѣтія и до нашихъ дней, изыскивали средства для обезпеченія общественнаго интереса отъ превращенія его въ частное право, они при энергіи и ловкости, съ которыми боролись, достигли бы несравненно большихъ политическихъ и соціальныхъ результатовъ. Но во главѣ у нихъ стояли крупные землевладѣльцы, для которыхъ поставить вопросъ такимъ образомъ было въ высшей степени невыгодно. Если бы круп-

ные землевладѣльцы боролись противъ обращенія королемъ общественнаго интереса въ свое частное право, то это начало прамо примѣнено было бы и къ нимъ; вѣдь по феодальнымъ понятіямъ они были надъ землею точно такими же господами, какъ и король, лишь съ тою разницею, что они имѣли надъ собою высшаго господина. Поэтому все, что сдѣлалось бы для огражденія общественнаго интереса отъ превращенія въ частное право, прямо примѣнялось бы и къ нимъ. Поэтому крупные землевладѣльцы старались поставить вопросъ такъ, чтобы они могли ограничивать короля, а сами оставались бы неограниченными. Поэтому они протестовали не противъ обращенія королемъ общественнаго интереса въ свое частное право, а противъ его покушеній будто бы на ихъ собственное частное право. И они достигли, что король былъ ограниченъ, а они въ своихъ покушеніяхъ на общество подвергались все меньшимъ и меньшимъ ограниченіямъ. Но если бы вопросъ былъ съ самаго начала поставленъ правильно, если бы англійскій народъ съ должной энергіей настаивалъ на томъ, что права вредить обществу существовать не можетъ, то крупные землевладѣльцы не могли бы уничтожать права общественныхъ собраній, которыя существовали въ средніе вѣка, и превращать ихъ въ частное право отдѣльныхъ лицъ и сословій; они бы не могли завладѣвать общественными землями и эксплуатировать ихъ во вредъ обществу, лишая бѣднаго возможности содержать корову, которую онъ содержалъ прежде для своего семейства. Не могло бы явиться и мысли дать въ Индіи земиндарамъ такія же неограниченныя права, какія пріобрѣли лорды сами для себя; права земиндаровъ, слѣдовало еще болѣе ограничить, а никакъ не превращать въ неограниченныя: земиндары пользовались своими правами, чтобы брать съ народа взятки и наживаться на счетъ притѣсненій, и въ этомъ они должны были подлежать ограниченію. Если бы вопросъ былъ съ самаго начала поставленъ правильно, то у духовенства не могло бы родиться право на десятины, англійскіе землевладѣльцы не могли бы утверждать, что они имѣютъ несомнѣнное частное право дѣйствовать такъ, чтобы держать населеніе Ирландіи въ состояніи постоянной деморализирующей анархіи и крайней бѣдности. Мало этого, до тѣхъ поръ пока англичане не поставятъ въ Ирландіи вопроса правильно, они всегда будутъ чувствовать себя въ безвыходномъ положеніи. Они теперь произвели въ Ирландіи реформы и утверждаютъ, что эти

реформы успокоятъ край; между тѣмъ всякому видно съ перваго раза, что они никогда не могутъ привести къ этому результату, потому что не удовлетворяютъ существенной потребности страны. Существенная потребность Ирландіи заключается въ томъ, чтобы ея почва была, по возможности, вся обработана и чтобы тѣ, которые ее обработываютъ, были ограждены отъ разрушающихъ производительность аграрныхъ притѣсненій. Между тѣмъ одно изъ новѣйшихъ распоряженій заставляетъ совершенно не причастныхъ къ дѣлу лицъ давать вознагражденіе семействамъ погибшихъ отъ аграрнаго убійства; это постановленіе носитъ совершенно первобытный характеръ и на практикѣ привело лишь къ тому, что теперь убитыхъ признаютъ случайно убившимися и потому убійцъ даже не преслѣдуютъ. Конечно, это можетъ обуздывать охотниковъ до притѣсненій и пожалуй даже сдѣлать аристократію уступчивѣе, но вѣдь это-обоюдоострое оружіе. Другое постановленіе, также недавно изданное, дѣйствительно полезно. Въ силу этого постановленія, фермеръ, произвольно удаленный землевладѣльцемъ, имѣетъ право на вознагражденіе за сдѣланныя имъ улучшенія и за понесенные убытки. Этимъ закономъ прямо установляется начало, въ силу котораго собственникъ орудія труда не можетъ распоряжаться этимъ орудіемъ въ ущербъ работника, производящаго съ помощію этого орудія; собственникъ не можетъ помѣшать работнику сдѣлать свой трудъ наиболѣе плодоноснымъ, улучшая орудіе. Проводя послѣдовательно это начало, окажется, что фабричный работникъ можетъ во всякое время, не спросивъ хозяина, улучшать машину, и хозяинъ, которому послужитъ на пользу это улучшеніе, долженъ вознаграждать работника. Не спрашивая хозяина, работникъ можетъ улучшить свой трудъ, и если отъ этого производство и доходъ увеличатся, хозяинъ обязанъ его вознаграждать: мало этого, если хозяинъ вздумаетъ по произволу прогнать работника, сдѣлавшаго улучшеніе въ производствѣ, то онъ долженъ возмѣстить ему ущербъ. Проведеніемъ этого начала въ жизнь англійскіе общественные дѣятели заслужили себѣ по справедливости благодарность потомства. А въ жизнь они его дѣйствительно проводятъ; въ англійскихъ газетахъ постоянно печатаются рѣшенія по подобнымъ дѣламъ; напр., арендаторъ Келленеръ требовалъ 279 ф. за безпокойство и улучшенія; противъ возраженій отвѣтчика судъ нашелъ, что арендаторъ имѣлъ право дѣлать усовершенствованія, необходимыя для наилучшаго веденія дѣла, но

призналъ оцѣнку истца слишкомъ высокой и присудилъ ему 150 ф. *). Но при всемъ томъ публичные дѣятели Англіи встрѣчаютъ еще неодолимыя препятствія къ осуществленію насущныхъ потребностей Ирландіи. Для Ирландіи теперь необходимы не постановленія, ограждающія мелкихъ ирландскихъ фермеровъ отъ притѣсненій на ихъ ничтожныхъ и негодныхъ участкахъ; нужно, чтобы они получили возможность обработывать огромныя пространства прекрасной земли, остающейся теперь безъ обработки; но для этого-то именно ничего и не дѣлается. Поэтому, сколько бы „Times" насъ ни увѣрялъ, что край теперь спокоенъ, но, читая постоянныя извѣстія о новыхъ аграрныхъ преступленіяхъ въ Ирландіи, нельзя не убѣдиться, что дѣло еще не сдѣлано, и что впереди предстоитъ еще много работы.

VI.

Увѣренность въ превосходствѣ англійскаго крупнаго землевладѣнія продолжалась только до тѣхъ поръ, пока политическое вліяніе англійской аристократіи имѣло все свое значеніе. Оно было порожденіемъ обожанія силы; но лишь только это вліяніе было потрясено парламентскими реформами, явились и сомнѣнія въ достоинствахъ крупнаго землевладѣнія; впрочемъ, сначала еще не сомнѣвались въ его экономическихъ результатахъ, а говорили только, что оно плодитъ бѣдность въ сельскомъ населеніи. Въ 1863 г. медицинское изслѣдованіе о пищѣ сельскаго населенія показало, что третья часть земледѣльцевъ имѣетъ пищу недостаточную, а пятая такую, при которой сохраненіе силъ и здоровья невозможно; въ трехъ чисто земледѣльческихъ округахъ Беркъ, Оксфордъ и Сомерсетъ по большей части пища недостаточна: завтракъ состоитъ обыкновенно изъ хлѣба съ молокомъ и воды; обѣдъ состоитъ тоже изъ хлѣба; только не обремененный семействомъ можетъ прибавлять къ этому кусочекъ сыру; вечеромъ ѣдятъ картофель и только пользующійся особымъ благосостояніемъ прибавляетъ къ этому кусочекъ свинаго сала; на ужинъ употребляется также хлѣбъ съ водой. Жилище такое же неудовлетворительное. Когда англійская публика узнала,

*) The Times, Lanuary, 30, 1871.

какъ сельскіе работники живутъ и спятъ въ повалку въ одной комнатѣ, когда передъ ней была раскрыта скандалезная исторія о подрядчикахъ, которые поставляли на сельскія работы дѣтей и женщинъ, она пришла въ ужасъ, либеральная пресса много шумѣла объ этомъ, но она шумѣла не для того, чтобы помочь сельскимъ работникамъ, а для своихъ постороннихъ цѣлей, и, достигнувъ этихъ цѣлей, она замолкла. Однакожъ, послѣ этого никто уже не сомнѣвался болѣе, что крупное землевладѣніе имѣетъ самое невыгодное вліяніе на благосостояніе сельскаго населенія. Мы видѣли выше, что защитники крупнаго землевладѣнія сначала соглашались, что земля, раздробленная на мелкіе участки, производитъ болѣе, но они увѣряли, что на крупныхъ участкахъ работники содержатся лучше: теперь было несомнѣнно доказано противное—что же оставалось имъ теперь? Имъ оставалось еще сравненіе съ англійскимъ сельскимъ работникомъ сельскаго работника въ странахъ, которыя вообще по степени своего благосостоянія и своей цивилизаціи стояли ниже Англіи; но это было также раціонально, какъ доказывать пользу рабства, сравнивая рабовъ въ древнихъ Афинахъ съ дикарями Австраліи. Далѣе, при сравненіи хозяйства мелкихъ участковъ съ крупными, оказывалось, что на берегу Фландріи, Фрисландіи и Голштиніи мелкіе участки производятъ несравненно лучшіе урожаи, чѣмъ крупныя фермы на противуположномъ берегу Англіи. Поразительнѣйшее доказательство превосходства мелкой собственности представляютъ собою острова канала, отдѣляющаго Англію отъ материка Европы,—Гернсея, Джерсея, Алдернея. Ихъ сельско-хозяйственная производительность безъ всякаго сравненія превосходитъ сельско-хозяйственную производительность Англіи; урожаи тамъ вдвое значительнѣе; они заваливаютъ рынки своими произведеніями, большее благосостояніе земледѣльцевъ бросается въ глаза самому поверхностному наблюдателю. Бѣдность тамъ почти невозможна. Сельское населеніе на этихъ островахъ въ однихъ мѣстахъ вдвое, а въ другихъ втрое гуще, чѣмъ въ Англіи; въ тоже время прочее населеніе вчетверо и въ пять разъ гуще, чѣмъ въ Англіи *). Не смотря на это и на густоту своего населенія, эти острова производятъ такъ много, что ежегодно массы своихъ произведеній ввозятъ въ Англію. Съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ хлѣбная торговля сдѣлалась свободною, ввозъ хлѣба сталъ принимать

*) Это изслѣдованіе Торнтона вполнѣ принято Миллемъ, см. S. S. Mill Chapters and speches on the irishland question, London. 1870, стр. 23, § 6.

все большіе размѣры. Съ 1842—1845 г. онъ составлялъ 2,648,000 квартеровъ въ годъ, съ 1852 по 1855 г. 8.027,000 квартеровъ, съ 1860 по 1863 г. 16,096,000 квартер. — Каждое англійское семейство потребляло ввознаго хлѣба на шестьдесятъ рублей въ годъ. Какъ же велико было мѣстное производство? По послѣднимъ оффиціальнымъ изслѣдованіямъ, котораго результаты только что обнародованы, оказывается, что въ Англіи обработанныхъ земель 18,334,723 акр., а выгона и луговъ 12,072,856 акровъ, первыхъ 60%, вторыхъ 40%; въ Ирландіи обработанныхъ земель 5,661,610 акровъ, выгона и луговъ 9.990,968 акровъ первыхъ 36%, вторыхъ 64%; на островахъ же воздѣланныхъ земель 95,742, акра, выгона и луговъ 21,471 акръ, первыхъ 81%, послѣднихъ 19%. Подъ паромъ въ Англіи было 610,517 акровъ, 3_3% обработанныхъ земель, а на островахъ 723 акра, 1_2% обработанныхъ земель *). — И такъ, невоздѣланныхъ земель въ Англіи вдвое, а въ Ирландіи втрое больше, чѣмъ на островахъ. Оказывается, слѣдовательно, что крупное землевладѣніе, не только въ Испаніи, Португаліи и южной Италіи, но и въ Англіи и въ Ирландіи, плодитъ дорогое производство, невоздѣланныя поля и пастбища.

Попытки крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ распространять свою идею въ колоніяхъ привели къ самымъ печальнымъ результатамъ. На югѣ Соединенныхъ Штатовъ крупное землевладѣніе породило рабство, въ западной Австраліи крупное землевладѣніе привело къ тому, что колоніи находились въ самомъ жалкомъ и бѣдственномъ положеніи, между тѣмъ какъ въ другихъ частяхъ Австраліи при мелкомъ землевладѣніи колоніи сдѣлались богатыми и цвѣтущими. Крупные землевладѣльцы не могли производить съ помощью свободнаго труда, и, чтобы какъ нибудь существовать, они въ 1849 г. должны были просить англійское правительство послать имъ преступниковъ; и этимъ они накликали на себя ненависть всѣхъ австралійскихъ колоній, которыя кричали, что западная Австралія гнойная язва, деморализирующая край. Въ Нижней Канадѣ французское владычество расплодило крупное землевладѣніе и аристократическія учрежденія, англійская аристократія тщательно сохраняла это тепличное растеніе; и что же—это накликало на Канаду безчисленныя страданія: пришлось заплатить 6 мил. руб., чтобы изба-

*) The Times, N 27,011, March 15, 1871.

виться отъ этихъ учрежденій и, сверхъ того, они возбудили въ странѣ такую къ себѣ ненависть, что Канада раздѣлилась. На островахъ принца Эдуарда крупное землевладѣніе породило крайнее ожесточеніе между землевладѣльцами и фермерами и по предложенію главы аристократической партіи лорда Дерби, права землевладѣльцевъ были скуплены правительствомъ.

Изслѣдованія и разъясненія, къ которымъ повели всѣ споры о землевладѣніи въ Англіи, весьма поучительны. Окончательный результатъ ихъ такой: крупное землевладѣніе съ мелкимъ фермерствомъ. Но крупное землевладѣніе съ мелкимъ фермерствомъ порождаетъ убійственную конкуренцію. Чтобы избѣгнуть безчисленныхъ бѣдствій, необходимо, чтобы рента опредѣлялась не конкуренціею, а обычаемъ. Ульстеръ самая благоденствующая часть Ирландіи, но за то она единственная провинція, гдѣ рента опредѣляется обычаемъ. Фермеръ въ подобныхъ мѣстахъ приближается уже къ собственнику и фермы покупаются. Мелкая собственность представляетъ еще болѣе благопріятное условіе. Милль защищаетъ мелкое фермерство, гдѣ рента установляется обычаемъ, но истинныя его симпатіи на сторонѣ мелкой собственности: когда Лесли предложилъ продавать части земель лордовъ, чтобы удовлетворять другихъ наслѣдниковъ, Милль возразилъ противъ этого только на томъ основаніи, что эти земли стали бы покупаться капиталистами, а не земледѣльцами *). Но мелкое землевладѣніе всетаки имѣетъ очень важное неудобство; земледѣлецъ копитъ не для того, чтобы улучшить, а для того, чтобы купить землю. Для нормальнаго распредѣленія земли соотвѣтственно условіямъ культуры и для удовлетворенія наслѣдниковъ, необходимо огромное число отчужденій; утверждаютъ, что во Франціи четвертая часть мелкихъ земель продается ежегодно. Кромѣ того, земли крайне обременяются долгами. Всѣхъ этихъ неудобствъ не имѣетъ общинное владѣніе, а потому хорошо установившееся, безоброчное общинное владѣніе представляетъ самый совершенный типъ отношеній къ землѣ. Тутъ отъ земли живутъ не два и не три человѣка, а одинъ, какъ при мелкой собственности, и этотъ одинъ можетъ копить исключительно для улучшенія своей земли, а не для покупки новой. Даже

*) Mill: Professor Leslie on the land question (The Fortniqhtly review, Iuny 1870—стр. 652).

въ имѣніяхъ крупныхъ землевладѣльцевъ общинное фермерство, въ родѣ нашего русскаго, наиболѣе нормальное отношеніе; оно было бы наиболѣе нормальнымъ уже и потому, что оно скорѣе всякаго другого приводитъ къ обычной рентѣ. Тому, кто желаетъ оцѣнить бѣдствія, которыя можетъ накликать на Россію предложеніе петербургскаго земства о замѣнѣ общиннаго фермерства личнымъ, очень полезно познакомиться съ положеніемъ Ирландіи; тутъ онъ увидитъ несчастныхъ фермеровъ, на клочкахъ земли, за которые они платятъ какихъ нибудь 60 коп. сер. ренты, на которыхъ ничего не можетъ рости, кромѣ какихъ нибудь жалкихъ бобовъ, въ то время, когда рядомъ фермеръ имѣетъ нѣсколько десятковъ акровъ и въ землѣ нѣтъ недостатка. Общинное владѣніе въ значительной степени ограждаетъ отъ подобныхъ крайностей и можетъ оградить совершенно. Идею поземельной собственности англичане укореняли въ себѣ болѣе, чѣмъ какой либо другой народъ, но и они заговорили о томъ, что земля должна перестать быть частною собственностью, — заговорили не только философы, но и государственные люди и публицисты. Стренше, членъ совѣта генералъ-губернатора Индіи, утверждаетъ, что сѣверо-восточныя части Индіи обязаны общинному владѣнію безпримѣрнымъ своимъ благоденствіемъ (unexempled state of prosperity *). Даже въ такомъ журналѣ, какъ Westminster review встрѣчаются выраженія въ родѣ слѣдующихъ: «Идея объ отчужденіи земли въ частное владѣніе противна тремъ четвертямъ человѣческаго рода“ **).

Н. Флеровскій.

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*) Westm. rev. January 1870, стр. 60.
**) October 1870, стр. 247.

УМСТВЕННОЕ ДВИЖЕНІЕ ИСПАНІИ.

Г. Тубино и его этюды.

Estudios prehistoricos, por D. Francisco M. Tubino. Madrid, 1868.
Estudios contemporaneos, por D. F. M. Tubino, Sevilla, 1866.
El Quijote y la Estafeta de Urganda, por F. M. Tubino, Sevilla, 1862.
Murillo, su época, su vida, su cuadros, por D. F. M. Tubino, Sevilla 1864.
Pablo de Cespedes (Obra premiada por Voto unanime de la Academia de nobles artes de San Fernando en el certamen de 1866). Su autor D. Francisco Tubino Madrid, 1868.

Доисторическіе этюды Д. Франциско Тубино. Мадридъ, 1868. *Современные этюды*, его-же. Севилья, 1866. *Кихотъ и Ургандская Эстафета*, его-же, Севилья, 1862. *Мурильо, его эпоха, жизнь, картины*, его-же, Севилья, 1864. *Павелъ Сеспедесъ* (Трудъ, удостоенный преміи академіей изящныхъ искусствъ С. Фердинанда, на конкурсѣ 1866), его-же, Мадридъ, 1868.

I.

Насколько можно довѣрять личнымъ наблюденіямъ, едва ли не самый утѣшительный элементъ возрожденія Испаніи — элементъ народный. Революція 1868 года застала народъ врасплохъ, съ ничтожнымъ запасомъ грамотности, подъ сильнымъ вліяніемъ „черной братіи“, въ первобытныхъ условіяхъ промышленности, безъ круговой поруки, безъ гарантій свободнаго и плодотворнаго труда... Все это такъ. Но какъ онъ повелъ себя въ минуты политическаго кризиса? Кто упрекнетъ его въ спячкѣ? Кто упрекнетъ его въ равнодушіи къ вопросамъ государственнаго и соціальнаго устройства? Вся Испанія охвачена была цѣпью деревенскихъ юнтъ, работавшихъ въ духѣ полной автономіи и народоправства. Куда бы ни заѣхалъ другъ народа, дѣятель освободительной пропаганды, отовсюду стекались

толпы и слушали его съ сознательнымъ рвеніемъ. Масса, сбѣгавшаяся на митинги во всѣхъ углахъ Испаніи, въ полномъ смыслѣ—народная масса. Въ Андалузіи я былъ личнымъ свидѣтелемъ того, какъ площади покрывались толпами въ 10, 15, 25 тысячъ человѣкъ, на двѣ трети крестьянъ, пріѣзжавшихъ нарочно, и притомъ въ рабочій день, чтобы видѣть и слышать того или иного оратора. Въ каждомъ крупномъ центрѣ Испаніи, въ Мадридѣ, Барселонѣ, Севильѣ, Гренадѣ, Кордовѣ, Кадиксѣ, Хересѣ, Толедо, Вальядолидѣ вы находили по нѣсколько народныхъ клубовъ. Войдя въ нихъ, вы видѣли, какъ рабочіе съ женами и дѣтьми приходятъ коротать вечеръ, слушая чтеніе статей и полезныхъ книгъ, обсуждая текущіе вопросы внутренней политики, укрѣпляя себя въ здоровыхъ началахъ самоуправленія, готовясь къ энергической и осмысленной борьбѣ съ произволомъ, клерикализмомъ и узурпаціей.... Много я на своемъ вѣку видѣлъ великихъ парламентовъ, рейхсратовъ, конгрессовъ, митинговъ и, право, нигдѣ я не встрѣчалъ такого достойнаго, сдержаннаго, симпатичнаго „міра", какъ на народныхъ сборищахъ Испаніи. Депутаты, академики, литераторы, студенты, публицисты и пропагандаторы ведутъ себя гораздо задорнѣе, бурливѣе, подчасъ неприличнѣе и смѣшнѣе, чѣмъ простодушные пастухи и винодѣлы, судорабочіе и погонщики муловъ гдѣ-нибудь въ Кордовѣ или Кадиксѣ. И не однѣми политическими манифестаціями, криками: «Viva la soberania nacional!» и «Abajo los Borbones!» занимался испанскій народъ. Онъ почувствовалъ необходимость учиться, онъ началъ заводить школы, устраивать ассоціаціи въ городахъ и селахъ. Ему недоставало только руководителей... Какъ бы масса ни была воспріимчива къ благотворнымъ идеямъ—вырабатываетъ ихъ меньшинство. Оно направляетъ, возбуждаетъ и организуетъ. До тѣхъ поръ, пока въ странѣ нѣтъ устойчиво сложившейся „интеллигенціи"—нѣтъ и гарантій противъ захватовъ охранительной буржуазіи, которая пользовалась вездѣ кровавыми усиліями народа для своего неподвижнаго, эгоистичнаго довольства. Поэтому-то друзья свободы и умственной эмансипаціи и обращаются съ надеждами и ожиданіями къ молодежи всѣхъ тѣхъ странъ, которымъ суждено двигаться впередъ. Испанія болѣе другихъ нуждается въ иниціативѣ меньшинства. При пылкости народнаго воображенія, при преобладаніи страстнаго темперамента надъ разсудочной работой, масса можетъ легко кинуться за призрачнымъ благомъ, за волкомъ въ овечьей шкурѣ, за фразерами, дѣйствую-

щими въ реакціонныхъ видахъ. Безъ школы и неустаннаго разбиванія невѣжества ударами науки и точнаго мышленія, никакой политическій переворотъ не гарантированъ отъ реакціи. Вотъ почему направленіе молодежи, ея стремленія и труды, ея гражданская доблесть и умственные задатки и получаютъ такой интересъ для всякаго наблюдателя того соціологическаго процесса, который оптимисты уже окрестили „возрожденіемъ“ Испаніи.

И что-бы не произошло въ этой странѣ, ея правители должны отнынѣ внимать голосу тѣхъ, въ комъ живутъ лучшія упованія Испаніи. Новый король и его совѣтники рискуютъ сильнѣе, чѣмъ когда-либо, своимъ положеніемъ; если они во-время не поймутъ ихъ.

II.

Бывало, въ Парижѣ, сталкиваясь съ молодыми людьми различныхъ національностей, я старался опредѣлять относительную цифру каждой изъ нихъ. На долю Испаніи приходилась всегда самая почтенная цифра. Пройдитесь по центральной артеріи латинскаго квартала—бульвару St-Michel, прислушайтесь къ разговорамъ въ cafés и пивныхъ, загляните въ студенческіе кружки и вы, навѣрно, наткнетесь на нѣсколько группъ, говорящихъ по-испански. Испанцы отправляются прежде всего въ Парижъ и, разъ попавши туда, находятъ его мѣстомъ „злачнымъ и прохладнымъ.“ Веселиться, учиться, наводить на себя лоскъ, набираться идей—за всѣмъ этимъ испанецъ ѣдетъ во Францію. Вы его не найдете ни въ Англіи (кромѣ эмигрантовъ), ни въ Германіи, ни въ Италіи. Франція давно повліяла на свѣтскую жизнь, на литературныя и соціальныя идеи Испаніи и связь этихъ двухъ странъ производила и производитъ, въ одно и тоже время, и ретроградное, и прогрессивное движеніе. Елисейскія поля, бульвары, придворный и хлыщеватый міръ привлекали изъ-за Пиренеевъ богатыхъ и титулованныхъ молодыхъ людей и дѣлали изъ нихъ изможденныхъ «petit crevés», набитыхъ пустымъ чванствомъ, изъѣденныхъ развратомъ и абсолютизмомъ, въ которомъ они практиковались въ салонахъ Донъ-Карлоса. Дѣти чиновниковъ и промышленниковъ проходятъ почти ту же школу и на лѣвомъ берегу Сены, сидя по цѣлымъ днямъ въ кафе, проводя ночи за баккара въ обществѣ кокотокъ, шулеровъ, бездомныхъ прохо-

димцевъ и кутилъ. Въ пять-шесть лѣтъ эти юноши превращаются въ развратныхъ старикашекъ и вмѣсто юридическихъ и медицинскихъ свѣдѣній выносятъ размягченіе мозга отъ абсента и общее тѣлесное и нравственное разстройство отъ другихъ причинъ... Вотъ двѣ категоріи питомцевъ Парижа. Они возвращаются на родину затѣмъ только, чтобы пополнять армію шалопаевъ, которыми кишатъ кафе вокругъ Puerta del Sol, проѣдать наслѣдства и поступать на государственные „харчи“: въ министерствахъ и канцеляріяхъ до сихъ поръ царствуютъ взятки, синекуры и ничегонедѣланье...

Къ счастію, есть третья категорія молодыхъ людей, отправляющихся въ Парижъ съ дѣйствительнымъ желаніемъ вынести оттуда серьозный запасъ знаній и идей. Въ Сорбоннѣ, въ Collége de France, въ медицинской и юридической школахъ, на публичныхъ лекціяхъ и конференціяхъ знакомился я съ этими будущими дѣятелями освобожденной Испаніи. Многіе изъ нихъ пріѣзжаютъ учиться заново съ дипломами докторовъ. Всѣ, кого только я зналъ, отличались горячимъ отношеніемъ къ судьбамъ своей родины и смѣлымъ характеромъ мыслительнаго анализа. Лучшіе люди эмиграціи, жившіе въ Парижѣ до 1868 года, собирали ихъ вокругъ себя, поддерживали въ нихъ энергію и чистоту убѣжденій и знакомили ихъ съ крупными личностями научной, литературной и политической сферы. Не преклоняясь рабски передъ французской интеллигенціей, эти труженики извлекаютъ лучшій ея сокъ, пріобрѣтая ту широту міровоззрѣнія, какая разработывается только въ большихъ центрахъ жизни и науки.

III.

Вотъ къ этому-то разряду и принадлежитъ молодой дѣятель, труды котораго я выбралъ предметомъ моего этюда. Г. Тубино потому занимателенъ для иностранца-изслѣдователя, что въ немъ выразилась настоятельная необходимость, которую чувствуютъ всѣ мыслящіе люди Испаніи: пустить свѣтъ смѣлаго анализа въ различныя сферы знанія и мышленія разомъ, не дожидаясь плодовъ отечественной науки. Популяризація необходима Испаніи болѣе всевозможныхъ открытій и отдѣльныхъ кабинетныхъ ученыхъ. Безъ нея ни политическій, ни соціальный строй не будутъ имѣть прочнаго устоя въ странѣ, гдѣ клерикализмъ не дозволялъ никакихъ втор-

женій положительнаго знанія во тьму изувѣрства и суевѣрія. Г. Тубино—одинъ изъ немногихъ друзей народа, понявшихъ всю важность воспитательной пропаганды. Онъ не глубокій мыслитель, онъ не ученый, онъ не крупный литературный талантъ; но ничто не чуждо ему, и во всѣ области, куда онъ только проникалъ, онъ вносилъ свои вклады и не переставалъ будить мыслительныя силы своихъ соотечественниковъ. На немъ всего легче прослѣдить стремленія лучшаго молодого поколѣнія Испаніи. Его личная судьба представляетъ рядъ стремленій къ свѣту и научной правдѣ, завершившихся полнымъ усвоеніемъ себѣ всѣхъ выводовъ естествознанія и мышленія, симпатичнаго въ самыхъ своихъ недодѣланностяхъ.

Юношей пустился Тубино въ журналистику. Его скоро замѣтили, и молодымъ человѣкомъ 24 лѣтъ онъ былъ уже редакторомъ газеты „Andalucia", издающейся въ Севильѣ. Его дѣятельность началась въ его родномъ краю, Андалузіи, которую онъ любитъ съ восторженностью южной, пылкой натуры. Все въ немъ дышетъ полуарабской воспріимчивостью и плодовитостью. Онѣ побуждали его кидаться то въ ту, то въ другую сторону естествознанія, искусства, археологіи, философіи, не давая ему погрузиться въ дрязги мелкаго журнализма, гдѣ горячій трудъ самообразованія превращается такъ скоро въ сухую рутину, прикрывающую узость понятій и невѣжественность. Онъ придалъ своей газетѣ характеръ, по преимуществу просвѣтительный, укрѣпившись въ убѣжденіи, что политика должна быть положительной наукой, и что тотъ, кто не имѣетъ философскихъ принциповъ, не можетъ быть и передовымъ публицистомъ. Успѣхъ его изданія поддержалъ его въ борьбѣ съ мракобѣсіемъ. Теперь „Andalucia" одна изъ самыхъ распространенныхъ газетъ въ Испаніи. Она выходитъ тремя изданіями и вліяніе ея въ Андалузіи—громадно. На федеральномъ съѣздѣ въ Кордовѣ, на которомъ мнѣ привелось присутствовать, всѣ республиканскіе дѣятели, собравшіеся туда, рѣшили единогласно выразить г-ну Тубино благодарность за его усилія по дѣлу политической и соціальной эмансипаціи на югѣ Испаніи. Онъ живетъ попеременно въ Мадридѣ и въ Севильѣ, пишетъ передовыя статьи, хронику, корреспонденціи и успѣваетъ въ промежуткахъ предаваться научнымъ и литературнымъ этюдамъ съ пыломъ учащагося юноши и съ неустаннымъ желаніемъ что-нибудь разработать и распространить въ массѣ читающаго люда.

IV.

Въ 1866 году Тубино, вслѣдствіе обстоятельствъ „отъ него независящихъ“, долженъ былъ оставить редакцію своей газеты. Онъ воспользовался этимъ перерывомъ и занялся съ большимъ жаромъ антропологіей и наукой о доисторическихъ судьбахъ человѣка. Его знакомство съ языками помогло ему въ этихъ этюдахъ. Онъ перечиталъ все, что появилось по антропологіи въ Англіи, Франціи, Германіи и предпринялъ спеціальныя поѣздки по Швейцаріи, Баваріи, Бельгіи, Франціи, Англіи, берегамъ Рейна. По прошествіи двухъ лѣтъ онъ напечаталъ собраніе своихъ конференцій и записокъ подъ заглавіемъ: „Estudios prehistoricos“. Тутъ онъ первый изъ новыхъ дѣятелей Испаніи указалъ публикѣ на мѣсто, занимаемое антропологіей въ системѣ положительнаго знанія, и ознакомилъ ее со всѣми изслѣдованіями иностранныхъ ученыхъ вплоть до новѣйшихъ трудовъ. Онъ производилъ и самъ изысканія около Севильи, гдѣ нашелъ весьма замѣчательный могильный склепъ. Въ то же время, онъ сносился со всѣми любителями естествознанія и образовалъ общество доисторической археологіи, которую мадридская академія признала наконецъ, по его настояніямъ, *наукой, стоющей изученія.*

Г. Тубино принадлежитъ къ школѣ научныхъ мыслителей, признающихъ въ природѣ матерію и движеніе, какъ единственные источники бытія, и стремящихся къ единству знанія. Онъ не задумывается поставить науку о человѣкѣ выше всѣхъ остальныхъ. По его мнѣнію, антропологія даетъ ключъ къ изученію вселенной: къ ней нужно восходить для того, чтобы имѣть критерій въ знаніи всей совокупности явленій, доступныхъ нашему пониманію. Такимъ воззрѣніемъ г. Тубино становится солидарнымъ съ цѣлой школой мыслителей и изслѣдователей, раздѣляя ихъ увлеченіе принципомъ „единства силъ природы“ и прибавляя къ нему спеціальное увлеченіе антропологіей. Нельзя охуждать его за это. Онъ не былъ бы истымъ андалузцемъ, еслибъ въ его научные и философскіе взгляды не закрался южный темпераментъ. Вопросъ „единства силъ природы“ до сихъ поръ еще спорный и ошибка сторонниковъ этого принципа заключается въ торопливости, съ которою они обобщаютъ опыты, произведенные въ нѣкоторыхъ областяхъ точной науки. Не-

сомнѣнно, что отдѣльныя части физики сливаются въ одно цѣлое, а органическая химія, благодаря синтетическимъ работамъ, не разнится больше ничѣмъ существеннымъ отъ химіи неорганической; но изъ этого еще не слѣдуетъ, что мы имѣемъ право объявлять полное тождество химіи съ физикой и біологіей. Въ іерархіи естествознанія г. Тубино держится болѣе научнаго принципа, ставя ученіе о человѣкѣ на верху научной пирамиды. Простыя науки поглощаются болѣе сложными, а въ антропологіи заключаются двѣ высшія ступени знанія: наука объ организованномъ веществѣ (біологія) и наука о движеніи человѣчества (соціологія).

Тубино, разъ признавъ, что такъ-называемая „Исторія" не разрѣшаетъ самыхъ существенныхъ и знаменательныхъ вопросовъ относительно прогресса человѣчества и не даетъ намъ никакихъ точныхъ данныхъ о происхожденіи и первобытной цивилизаціи человѣка, возлагаетъ всѣ свои научныя упованія на доисторическую археологію. Вотъ какъ онъ разсуждаетъ въ одномъ изъ своихъ антропологическихъ опытовъ:

»...Правда или нѣтъ, что исторія, какова она теперь, со всѣми ея успѣхами, не въ силахъ разсказать намъ первые шаги человѣчества по землѣ и показать, каково было его развитіе съ того времени, откуда начинаются общественные памятники его судебъ? Довольно-ли полна эта исторія, чтобы обнять первые зачатки (полные высокаго интереса) религіознаго и общественнаго развитія, которые зародились до космическихъ явленій, измѣнившихъ теперешнюю земную внѣшность или одновременно съ ними и были до сихъ поръ облекаемы въ самыя нелѣпыя преданія и смѣшныя басни?.. Ни въ какомъ случаѣ!...«

Строгому ученому покажутся, быть можетъ, наивными такіе вопросы, но не нужно забывать, что мы въ Испаніи, гдѣ религіозная нетерпимость сковывала научныя истины болѣе политическихъ. То, что въ нѣмцѣ, французѣ или англичанинѣ отзывается ратованіемъ съ вѣтренными мельницами или вѣщаніемъ истинъ, извѣстныхъ во Франціи, подъ именемъ „Vérités de monsieur la Palisse", то въ вульгаризаторѣ Иберійскаго полуострова — смѣлая и въ высокой степени почтенная пропаганда. Тутъ дѣло не въ новизнѣ, а въ научной подкладкѣ, а эту подкладку Тубино дѣйствительно имѣетъ и не собьется въ своихъ обобщеніяхъ съ прямого, здороваго пути. Онъ отстаиваетъ права возлюбленной имъ науки съ искренностью и смѣлостью, на которую способны очень немногіе изъ европейскихъ

свѣтилъ въ своихъ академическихъ рѣчахъ и популярныхъ книгахъ.

„Антропологія, заявляетъ онъ, не начинается ни писанной исторіей, ни миѳологіей, предполагающими значительную степень умственнаго развитія. Она начинается въ тотъ моментъ, когда исторія земли какъ-бы сливается съ исторіей человѣчества; она начинается геологіей. Земныя лѣтописи еще далеко неполны. И напрасно бы мы стали скрывать трудности, какія намъ предстоятъ на этомъ пути. Но сознавая того, что геологическіе документы заключаютъ въ себѣ большіе пробѣлы, мы все-таки вправѣ утверждать, что пріобрѣтенные результаты способны двигать впередъ антропологическія изысканія.“

Хотя онъ и держится нѣкоторыхъ предвзятыхъ взглядовъ, для него дороги положительные факты и научный строй мышленія. Я не могу входить въ моемъ очеркѣ въ подробное изложеніе того, что имъ затронуто въ его антропологическихъ этюдахъ. Достаточно показать, на какихъ трудахъ и изслѣдованіяхъ основалъ г. Тубино свое міровоззрѣніе, которое мы прослѣдимъ, и на его философско-литературныхъ опытахъ. Онъ воздерживается отъ полемики съ преданіемъ, говоря, что для него важны точные факты, а соглашать ихъ съ тѣмъ, съ чѣмъ они не согласимы, онъ предоставляетъ досужимъ мудрецамъ.

Слова, сказанныя 1 іюля 1869 г. въ общемъ собраніи парижскаго антропологическаго общества извѣстнымъ Брока, какъ нельзя лучше подходятъ къ такимъ дѣятелямъ, какъ Тубино, и воздаютъ ему и всѣмъ тѣмъ, кто совмѣщаетъ въ себѣ научное рвеніе и гражданскую доблесть, заслуженную похвалу.

Брока сказалъ:

„По-дѣлóмъ охуждаютъ тѣхъ эгоистовъ ученыхъ, которые подъ удобнымъ предлогомъ углубленія въ свои труды думаютъ, что имѣютъ право оставаться равнодушными ко всѣмъ крупнымъ вопросамъ, волнующимъ человѣческія общества; превосходство ихъ ума и знаній нетолько не даетъ имъ этого права, но напротивъ налагаетъ на нихъ обязанность принимать участіе въ политической жизни и производить должное вліяніе на окружающую среду».

„Они должны интересоваться дѣлами своей родины! Пускай они предаются, глядя по темпераменту, философскимъ, религіознымъ, общественнымъ или гуманитарнымъ задачамъ! Въ добрый часъ!“

V.

Въ точной наукѣ гораздо легче держаться извѣстнаго пріема изслѣдованій, извѣстнаго типа мышленія. Дѣло усложняется, когда анализу подвергаются соціальныя, политическія и нравственныя идеи, которыя выработывались вожаками человѣчества. Тотъ-же Тубино, перейдя изъ области антропологіи въ обширную область соціологіи, начинаетъ колебаться въ ту и другую сторону, не переставая страстно отыскивать истину.

Довольно объемистый томъ, озаглавленный имъ: «Estudios contemporàneos», обнимаетъ громадную программу философско-соціальныхъ этюдовъ. Про эту книжку онъ выразился словами Монтеня: «Ceci est un livre de bonne foi», поставивъ ихъ эпиграфомъ. И въ самомъ дѣлѣ, искренность автора не подлежитъ ни малѣйшему сомнѣнію. Онъ высказывается безъ обиняковъ и старается ввести въ свой анализъ какъ можно больше существенныхъ элементовъ; но врядъ-ли все то, о чемъ онъ толкуетъ, провѣрено его собственнымъ анализомъ. Позволяю себѣ такое сомнѣніе вслѣдствіе односторонности, закравшейся въ приговорахъ надъ различными системами и доктринами. У Тубино слишкомъ бойкій и воспріимчивый умъ, чтобы не оцѣнить крупной иниціативы, хотя бы къ ней и примѣшано было много увлеченія; но желая захватить какъ можно больше матеріала, онъ довѣрился коментаторамъ вовсе не того направленія, къ которому онъ самъ принадлежитъ. Его «Современные этюды» раздѣляются на три отдѣла. Первый, носящій заглавіе «Los intereses morales y los materiales» (Нравственные и матеріальные интересы), представляетъ систематическій очеркъ исторіи развитія человѣчества въ его главнѣйшихъ культурныхъ и философскихъ моментахъ. Послѣ картины историческаго движенія древности и средневѣковой эпохи идетъ очеркъ философскихъ системъ послѣ реформаціи: Бэконъ, Декартъ. Локъ, Энциклопедія, Вольтеръ, Соціальныя теоріи и доктрины С. Симона, Фурье, Р. Оуэна, Чартизма, Бентама разбираются имъ въ видѣ теоретическаго предисловія къ картинѣ пауперизма и проституціи, къ вопросу о воспитаніи женщины и къ анализу Мультусова закона. Отдѣлъ заканчивается обозрѣніемъ матеріальныхъ успѣховъ человѣчества и личными взглядами автора на сліяніе ду-

ховныхъ и вещественныхъ интересовъ и на свободу, какъ средство излечить язвы и немощи современной цивилизаціи, при помощи равенства и правосудія.

Второй отдѣлъ „Современныхъ этюдовъ“ посвященъ очерку политическихъ и административныхъ системъ, подъ общимъ заглавіемъ: „Philosophia politica“. Тутъ разбираются всѣ вопросы государственнаго управленія и пересматриваются еще разъ идеи и установленія древности и среднихъ вѣковъ. Начиная съ эпохи возрожденія, авторъ входитъ въ болѣе подробный разборъ идей и системъ Макіавелли, Т. Мура, Руссо, Канта, исторической и абсолютистской школы, Шеллинга, Фихте, Гегеля. Онъ разбираетъ отношенія соціальныхъ теорій къ государству, эклектическій соціализмъ, мнѣніе такъ-называемой „административной школы“ и вопросъ о государственной централизаціи. Взгляды и мнѣнія современныхъ публицистовъ, каковы: Дюпонъ-Уайтъ, Одилонъ-Баро, Жюль-Симонъ, приводятъ его отъ критики либерализма въ различныхъ развѣтвленіяхъ къ анализу идей Прудона и демократическихъ школъ. Отдѣлъ заканчивается школой индивидуалистовъ, гдѣ Миллю отведено главное мѣсто. Послѣдняя глава трактуетъ объ общихъ понятіяхъ государства, его границахъ, его компетентности, объ индивидѣ, его правахъ и обязанностяхъ и наилучшихъ условіяхъ свободы. Третій отдѣлъ, носящій заголовокъ „De la justicia y la libertad on las elecciones« (О правосудіи и свободѣ при выборахъ), заключаетъ въ себѣ теоретическія и практическія соображенія о выборномъ началѣ и его примѣненіяхъ въ различныхъ государственныхъ и общинно-земскихъ условіяхъ.

Какъ видите, »Современные этюды“ Тубино—нѣчто въ родѣ кодекса и энциклопедіи философско-соціальныхъ идей и свѣдѣній. Обширность программы показываетъ замѣчательную воспріимчивость автора, задѣвающаго рѣшительно всѣ существенные вопросы, по которымъ публицистъ, работающій въ духѣ эмансипаціи своей родины, долженъ имѣть опредѣленные приговоры, симпатіи и выводы. Еслибъ г. Тубино и воздержался отъ всякихъ личныхъ взглядовъ, его книга все-таки была бы лестнымъ документомъ его начитанности и интеллигентныхъ стремленій.

VI.

Видно, что Тубино, составляя свою книгу, укрѣпился въ политическомъ принципѣ народной автономіи и свободы. Съ этого пункта онъ не сходитъ и вездѣ остается послѣдовательнымъ въ чисто-политическихъ вопросахъ.

Въ предисловіи мы читаемъ:

»Законъ переворотовъ есть законъ человѣчества для всей вселенной. Тотъ, кто его отрицаетъ, можетъ, если ему угодно, отрицать и то, что солнце свѣтитъ, а огонь жжетъ. Физическому закону геологическихъ переворотовъ соотвѣтствуетъ нравственный законъ научныхъ, экономическихъ, политическихъ, литературныхъ и соціальныхъ переворотовъ. Прогрессъ поступаетъ постоянно такимъ путемъ: сильные протесты, сильные кризисы и крупныя разрѣшенія; послѣ чего начинается опять то же движеніе. Задачи, представляющія собою неизвѣстное, являются, вначалѣ, какъ стремленіе недовольныхъ настоящимъ, опередившихъ свое время; антитеза есть торжествующій переворотъ, отрицаніе, сдѣлавшееся положеніемъ, умиротворенный протестъ, удовлетворенная нужда, утопія, превратившаяся въ доказанную и признанную истину.“

Эта тирада показываетъ, какъ Тубино далекъ отъ всякаго доктринаризма. Но чисто-политическихъ симпатій недостаточно въ критикѣ философско-соціальныхъ доктринъ, знаменующихъ собою усилія друзей человѣчества въ разрѣшеніи роковыхъ задачъ и немощей соціальнаго тѣла. Разбирая ученія С. Симона, Фурье, въ особенности Р. Оуэна и І. Бентама, Тубино слишкомъ довѣряетъ доктринерамъ-коментаторамъ, вродѣ Ребо, противъ которыхъ самъ же потомъ ратуетъ на чисто политическомъ полѣ. Я не стану упрекать его въ томъ, что онъ не становится слѣпымъ послѣдователемъ того или иного новатора; но человѣку съ научной подкладкой менѣе простительно проглядѣть настоящія заслуги мыслителя и произвольно объяснять его принципы. Въ сенсимонизмѣ онъ видитъ опасность для общественной морали, преувеличивая ученіе С. Симона о страстяхъ и ихъ законности. Иниціативу же С. Симона, какъ возбудителя идеи объ историческихъ законахъ, онъ упускаетъ изъ вида; а они-то бы и должны были освѣтить ему истинный взглядъ на этого мыслителя. Если исторія, составляемая метафизиками и диллетантами,

не удовлетворяетъ его, если онъ ищетъ такихъ же прочныхъ законовъ въ движеніи человѣческихъ обществъ, какіе видны въ природѣ, ему прежде всего слѣдовало бы оцѣнить высокодаровитый починъ С. Симона, сказавшійся въ требованіи научныхъ основъ и для политико-соціальныхъ системъ и знаній. Точно также близоруко относится Тубино и къ ученію Р. Оуэна о вмѣняемости. Въ ней онъ видитъ опять мнимую общественную опасность и удивляется, какъ Эмиль-де-Жирарденъ, выходя изъ того же основного принципа, какъ и Р. Оуэнъ, утверждаетъ, что „человѣкъ заблуждающійся не можетъ не заблуждаться", что »преступленія должно называть ошибками« и что „ни у кого нѣтъ права наказывать ихъ, вмѣсто того чтобы предупреждать ихъ взаимной помощью". Какъ антропологъ, Тубино не можетъ отрицать научности терпимаго отношенія къ человѣческимъ преступленіямъ и проступкамъ. Въ каждомъ отдѣльномъ случаѣ, онъ навѣрно разсуждалъ бы, какъ мыслитель, основывающійся на точныхъ фактахъ человѣческой организаціи, а не на метафизическихъ абсолютахъ. Но его увлекъ идеализмъ гражданственности, въ которомъ я и нахожу источникъ всѣхъ его противорѣчій и ложныхъ проговоровъ. Менѣе страстно отнесся онъ къ Бентаму. Онъ говоритъ:

»Въ основѣ его полезности лежитъ высокая самоотверженность. Цѣль Бентама—доставить индивиду, какъ члену общества, все то добро, какого онъ только въ состояніи достичь на землѣ, а обществу, какъ совокупности разумныхъ существъ, наибольшую сумму блага."

Ученіе утилитаризма безпокоитъ Тубино и онъ съ живостію восклицаетъ:

»Польза имѣетъ постоянныхъ защитниковъ въ чувствахъ, въ соперничествѣ, въ честолюбіяхъ; самоотверженность же живетъ въ одиночествѣ и ея голосъ такъ слабъ, что почти никогда не доходитъ до слуха человѣка, вращающагося въ водоворотѣ житейской суеты.«

Рыцарскій духъ самоотреченія и принципъ братства возбуждаетъ въ Тубино почти негодованіе къ идеямъ Мальтуса о народонаселеніи. Его взглядъ на пауперизмъ и проституцію проникнутъ горячимъ демократическимъ чувствомъ; но ему противно подчиниться роковой необходимости общественныхъ феноменовъ. Онъ желаетъ бороться съ ними до истощенія силъ и все, что можно поднять, облагородить, возродить измѣненіемъ формъ и условій жизни, находитъ въ

немъ страстнаго защитника. Въ женщинѣ онъ въ особенности клеймитъ себялюбіе и бездушіе общества, не разрѣшая однакожъ вопроса ея полной эмансипаціи. Я могъ бы привести въ переводѣ десятки теплыхъ и продуманныхъ страницъ, гдѣ Тубино, заявляя свои гуманитарныя стремленія, силится согласить матеріальныя нужды человѣчества съ духовнымъ преуспѣяніемъ, но у меня не хватитъ мѣста. Не вдаваясь въ отчаянный пессимизмъ, онъ глубоко скорбитъ о торжествѣ неправды и узурпаціи, о нищетѣ и неволѣ рабочаго люда, обо всѣхъ ужасахъ пролетаріата. Въ его іереміадахъ чувствуется не слащавая меланхолія, а жаркое стремленіе молодости уврачевать всѣ общественныя немощи широкой струей добра, братства и свободы!..

„Тяжело (восклицаетъ онъ на заключительной страницѣ перваго отдѣла своей книги), возмутительно видѣть, какъ рядомъ съ семействами, расточающими громадные капиталы, цѣлыя семьи мрутъ съ голода; томительно сознавать, какъ разумныя существа жертвуютъ жизнью изъ-за куска территоріи; омерзительно смотрѣть на то, какъ чистое существо превращается въ помойную яму проституціи; грустно становится при взглядѣ на убійственный трудъ пролетарія, принужденнаго задыхаться въ вонючихъ мастерскихъ, въ то время какъ миліоны празднаго люда утопаютъ въ развратѣ; глубоко-поразительны душевныя страданія, доводящія до самоубійства; но еще грустнѣе, еще больнѣе видѣть, какъ человѣчество втеченіе тысячи лѣтъ то падаетъ, то поднимается, сегодня сдавленное кастами въ Индіи, завтра съ невольничествомъ женщины въ Египтѣ, то въ развратномъ Вавилонѣ, то въ безстыдныхъ Аѳинахъ, то подъ гнетомъ Цезарей, то на протяженіи средневѣковья съ его возмутительными господскими правами и религіознымъ изувѣрствомъ вплоть до нашихъ дней, до царства противорѣчій, до круговорота добра и зла, до того момента, когда цивилизація, точно богъ Янусъ, кажетъ два лица, одно всегда обращенное къ пороку и заблужденію, другое—къ истинѣ и добродѣтели.

„Если мы хотимъ положить предѣлъ всѣмъ этимъ колебаніямъ, всѣмъ этимъ немощамъ и невзгодамъ, обратимся же къ нашей энергіи и доброй волѣ, необходимымъ для высокихъ патріотическихъ попытокъ, указывающимъ путь грядущаго, держа въ рукахъ знамя человѣческаго прогресса. На немъ написаны эти два слова, долженствующія совмѣщать въ себѣ всю дѣятельность человѣка:

„Правосудіе и свобода.“

VII.

Въ области государственно-административной Тубино является вполнѣ свободнымъ отъ всякихъ примѣсей дурно направленнаго идеализма. Въ ней онъ вполнѣ свѣжій человѣкъ и вдобавокъ—болѣе компетентный. То, что въ соціально-философскихъ вопросахъ мѣшаетъ ему отнестись къ предмету съ должной широтой, становится добрымъ импульсомъ. Его взглядъ на составъ и атрибуты государства не терпитъ никакихъ компромисовъ. Онъ врагъ централизаціи. Къ его теоретическимъ соображеніямъ, подкрѣпленнымъ здравой и точной критикой, присоединяется его личное чувство. Тубино—андалузецъ; а въ Андалузіи идеи автономіи и федерализма живутъ издавна, и всѣ передовые дѣятели теперешней Андалузіи стремятся единодушно къ федеральному народоправству. Конституціонализмъ встрѣчаетъ въ Тубино энергическаго, безпощаднаго критика, показывающаго, не прибѣгая къ рѣзкостямъ, всю призрачность и искуственность этого государственнаго уклада.

„Конституціонализмъ, говоритъ Тубино, занимается больше сути вещей пустыми фразами, запутываясь въ лабиринтѣ теорій. Нѣтъ ничего хитро-сплетеннѣе его положеній; они блестятъ, но содержаніе ихъ ничтожно и ошибочно.“

И потомъ:

„Эта доктрина не удовлетворяетъ желаніямъ народовъ по главному вопросу опредѣленія границъ, какими должно сдерживать дѣйствія государства въ его отношеніяхъ къ индивиду.“

Къ Миллю, какъ представителю индивидуализма, въ его высшихъ философскихъ и государственныхъ моментахъ, Тубино относится трезво, безъ придирокъ, безъ восторженныхъ фразъ, не обвиняя его ни въ чемъ произвольно, но показывая вездѣ, гдѣ можно, державную необходимость соглашенія между государственнымъ и индивидуальнымъ принципомъ. Тому же пріему онъ слѣдуетъ и въ оцѣнкѣ политическо-соціальной критики Прудона. Мощный умъ французскаго полемизатора и обличителя современной анархіи нашелъ вѣрные отголоски въ симпатіяхъ и стремленіяхъ испанскаго публициста. Онъ становится на сторону Прудона, котораго онъ называетъ „el escritor mas calumniado de la epocha“ (болѣе всѣхъ оклеветанный

писатель нашей эпохи), въ разсмотрѣніи взаимныхъ правъ гражданина и государства, цитируя параграфъ изъ Прудонова этюда: „Война и Миръ“, гдѣ говорится, что граждане, не имѣющіе гражданской доблести, не могутъ требовать отъ государства уваженія своей свободы.

„Нужно, заключаетъ свой доводъ Тубино, взять въ разсчетъ нашу соціальную идіосинкразію, наши стремленія, наши недостатки и достоинства, и когда все это будетъ обслѣдовано, взвѣшено и классифицировано, когда наши государственные перевороты будутъ объяснены въ ихъ причинахъ и послѣдствіяхъ, хорошихъ и дурныхъ, съ разсмотрѣніемъ партій, борющихся на политической аренѣ, тогда, не забывая умственнаго развитія страны, слѣдуетъ рѣшить, что́ нужно сдѣлать для приведенія въ гармонію нашего прогресса посредствомъ началъ истиннаго знанія и гарантій свободы“.

Но время принесло вмѣсто теоретическаго отвѣта сентябрскую революцію, и публицистъ, написавшій эти строки, очутился въ рядахъ живыхъ дѣятелей, которымъ дороги научныя истины, но еще дороже самое скорое возстановленіе свободы и федеральнаго народоправства. За то и другое онъ борется теперь нетолько на столбцахъ своей „Andalucia“, но и какъ руководитель передовыхъ группъ, готовящихся къ бою съ реакціей и полу-произволомъ, надѣвшими личину либерализма.

VIII.

Въ области искусства Тубино плаваетъ, какъ рыба въ водѣ Свою родную Севилью онъ изучилъ съ пыломъ мѣстнаго патріота. Въ церквахъ, монастыряхъ, дворцахъ и частныхъ домахъ онъ высмотрѣлъ каждую картину, каждую мозаику, каждую архитектурную подробность. Не безъ гордости указывалъ онъ намъ въ севильскомъ соборѣ на нѣсколько картинъ, „имъ открытыхъ“, какъ онъ выражался. Его диллетантизмъ просвѣтленъ всѣмъ тѣмъ, что появлялось серьезнаго и талантливаго въ иностранныхъ литературахъ объ испанскомъ творчествѣ. Человѣку, преданному дѣлу освобожденія народа, среди трудовъ и разочарованій пропаганды, отрадно окунуться въ прошедшее, гдѣ значатся дѣйствительно крупные продукты народнаго генія. Надъ современной Испаніей тяготѣетъ столько

приговоровъ неспособности, безлюдья, мертвенной спячки, что впечатлительному человѣку, желающему возбудить умственную и творческую энергію въ своихъ сверстникахъ, необходимо убѣдиться какъ можно глубже въ производительности протекшихъ вѣковъ....

Выборъ Тубино палъ какъ-разъ на три творческія силы въ двухъ отрасляхъ изящнаго искуства—на Сервантеса, на Мурильо и на бойца художественнаго возрожденія, артиста и критика, Павла Сеспедеса, игравшаго роль насадителя идей о прекрасномъ, какія Италія унаслѣдовала отъ античнаго міра. Тутъ національное чувство было удовлетворено въ молодомъ изслѣдователѣ. Тутъ не приходилось сознавать такъ горько всю отсталость родины, какъ въ дѣлѣ научнаго движенія и философско-соціальныхъ идей. Напротивъ, матерьялъ, надъ которымъ трудился Тубино, говорилъ его народной гордости, что въ ту эпоху, когда Испанія считала въ ряду своихъ дѣятелей такіе таланты, какъ Сервантесъ, Кальдеронъ, Мурильо, ей нечего было стыдиться своей интеллигентной бѣдности... До сихъ поръ всѣ испанцы, даже самые молодые, живутъ еще памятью объ эпохѣ крупныхъ талантовъ. Въ нихъ звучитъ струна того, что французы прозвали „шовинизмомъ", какъ только рѣчь коснется художественнаго прошлаго. Ни одинъ изъ нихъ не преминетъ заявить вамъ, что итальянцы и французы всѣмъ обязаны испанской поэзіи, что безъ нея не было бы въ Европѣ театра, что въ живописи испанскій геній нашелъ сочетаніе всѣхъ творческихъ элементовъ, что безъ Сервантеса романъ никогда бы не сдѣлался преобладающей формой литературнаго творчества. Шутники увѣряютъ, что испанцы окрещиваютъ въ національной купели даже офенбаховскую музыку... Это самохвальство было бы смѣшно и печально, еслибъ въ прошедшемъ Испаніи не стояло нѣсколькихъ всемірныхъ именъ, и еслибы въ молодомъ поколѣніи не видѣлось здороваго движенія во имя свободы и знанія.

IX.

Донъ-Кихотъ сдѣлался такимъ-же нарицательнымъ именемъ, какъ Тартюфъ и Альцестъ; но психическо-нравственные комментаріи этого типа характеризуютъ исключительно нашу эпоху. Всѣ предыдущія столѣтія, въ лицѣ своихъ эрудитовъ и умниковъ, доискивались со-

вершенно другого. Одному хотѣлось доказать, что „Донъ-Кихотъ“ стоитъ выше или ниже той или иной классической нормы, другому, что Сервантесъ желалъ осмѣять то или иное важное лицо, третьему, что онъ изобразилъ аллегорію, которую слѣдуетъ распутать. Тубино обозрѣваетъ всѣхъ комментаторовъ „Донъ-Кихота“ и находитъ, что до 30-хъ годовъ XIX вѣка не появилось ни одного анализа, въ которомъ значеніе и красоты сервантесовой поэмы были бы поставлены въ настоящемъ свѣтѣ. Онъ останавливается на „Comentarios de D. Diego Clemencin“, изданныхъ въ 1833 году, гдѣ авторъ впервые постарался очистить смыслъ „Донъ-Кихота“ отъ пустой болтовни досужихъ эрудитовъ. Въ этомъ критикѣ онъ видитъ здоровое отношеніе къ творчеству Сервантеса, желаніе привести литературный продуктъ въ тѣсную связь съ эпохой, съ современными идеями и съ общими вопросами красоты и нравственности. Изъ новѣйшихъ иностранныхъ критиковъ Тубино говоритъ въ особенности о Сисмонди, Кантю и Віардо. Мнѣніе его о Віардо потому стоитъ привести, что этотъ французскій критикъ, связанный дружбой съ нашимъ романистомъ И. С. Тургеневымъ—и въ изученіи сервантесовой поэмы солидаренъ съ нимъ. Віардо придаетъ личности Донъ-Кихота тотъ глубокій нравственный смыслъ, который И. С. Тургеневъ развилъ въ своей лекціи „Гамлетъ и Донъ-Кихотъ“, показывая высокія душевныя доблести осмѣяннаго „ingenioso hidalgo“ сравнительно съ эгоистомъ-Гамлетомъ, проникнутымъ идеей личной мести, на которую у него не хватаетъ темперамента. Віардо находитъ, что еслибъ Донъ-Кихотъ былъ только литературной сатирой, онъ остался бы посредственнымъ произведеніемъ. Не оспаривая нравственнаго толкованія личности рыцаря печальнаго образа, Тубино не безъ основанія замѣчаетъ, что и такіе критики, какъ Віардо, Кантю и Сисмонди придаютъ все-таки Сервантесу много цѣлей и замысловъ, какихъ онъ не имѣлъ и не могъ имѣть. Сервантесъ писалъ, не мудрствуя лукаво, и прямо говоритъ въ прологѣ къ своей „simple y sencilla historia“, какъ хотѣлъ осмѣять выживающую рыцарскую шумиху, питавшуюся въ его время глупыми книжками, которымъ онъ желалъ положить предѣлъ.

Тубино прекрасно дѣлаетъ, держась прежде всего искренняго отношенія самого автора къ своему произведенію. Авторъ можетъ ошибаться въ степени собственнаго дарованія. Онъ не въ состояніи предвидѣть, какія красоты найдутъ въ немъ потомки; но его цѣль

всегда принадлежитъ ему и его эпохѣ. Онъ всегда проявляетъ въ своемъ творческомъ продуктѣ одинъ изъ главныхъ признаковъ времени. Этихъ признаковъ и слѣдуетъ искать здоровому критику искуства. Моральныя обобщенія—дѣло чисто субъективное. Они мѣняются каждое десятилѣтіе. Позволительно и даже должно показать въ критическомъ анализѣ, насколько тотъ или иной типъ симпатиченъ намъ, т. е. насколько онъ приближается къ нашему человѣчному идеалу; но это не даетъ ни малѣйшаго права навязывать художнику соображенія, вышедшія изъ мозговыхъ аппаратовъ настоящей минуты. Въ литературной критикѣ умничать легче, чѣмъ гдѣ-либо, потому-то она и наводнена самыми разнокалиберными приговорами о художественномъ достоинствѣ одного и того же произведенія, если оно, какъ „Донъ-Кихотъ", обошло весь грамотный міръ.

Тубино, воздерживаясь отъ приписыванія Сервантесу небывалыхъ цѣлей, не умаляетъ нисколько удѣльнаго вѣса нравственной личности Донъ-Кихота.

Онъ говоритъ:

„Размышляя надъ Донъ-Кихотомъ, прочитывая любое изъ его похожденій, самое простое, приходишь къ опредѣленію этихъ двухъ достоинствъ, этихъ двухъ значеній, которыя не исключаютъ одно другого, не враждуютъ между собою, потому что они логичны, какъ роковой выводъ силлогизма. Съ одной стороны, Сервантесъ подрываетъ странствующее рыцарство, которое онъ нашелъ одряхлѣвшимъ, въ разладѣ съ вѣкомъ и съ идеаломъ практической жизни, съ правомъ и здоровой философіей; съ другой стороны, онъ представилъ существованіе иного рыцарства, одерживающаго болѣе побѣдъ, не вооружаясь щитомъ, не покрываясь шлемомъ. Что изображаетъ „Донъ-Кихотъ" въ философскомъ смыслѣ? Настоящій типъ благороднаго гидальго, правдиваго, человѣчнаго, милосердаго, терпимаго ко всѣмъ людскимъ немощамъ и слабостямъ, непримиримаго врага порока, лжи, безнравственности и преступленія. Что такое донкихотство? Порывъ души, стремящейся въ силу тайнаго голоса правды и состраданія къ покровительству слабаго и къ помощи страждущему. Эгоизмъ скептиковъ можетъ конечно осуждать такое поведеніе, но самоотверженность добрыхъ людей будетъ всегда стоять за него".

X.

Донъ-Кихотъ и Гамлетъ одинаково озабочиваютъ критиковъ и коментаторовъ своей душевной болѣзнью. Нѣмцы еще долго будутъ спорить на тэму: сумасшествіе Гамлета было-ли настоящее или притворное? Точно также и Донъ-Кихотъ вызвалъ не мало разсужденій о своемъ умственномъ разстройствѣ. Тубино полемизируетъ по этому поводу съ Don Nicolas Diaz de Bensimla, авторомъ „Estafeta de Urganda", подавшимъ ему поводъ этюда о ломанчскомъ рыцарѣ. Д. Бенсимла утверждаетъ, что въ Донъ-Кихотѣ должно признать меланхолію. Тубино же, вооружаясь всѣмъ, что ему извѣстно по психіатріи, доказываетъ, что душевная болѣзнь, овладѣвшая Донъ-Кихотомъ—„разсуждающая мономанія", или „моральная дурь", или „дѣятельное сумасшествіе", слѣдуя разнымъ психіатрамъ. Доводы Тубино толковѣе діалектики его противника. Онъ старается основать ихъ на мнѣніяхъ спеціалистовъ, но довѣряетъ многимъ положеніямъ старыхъ психіатровъ безъ должной критики. Даже такой изувѣръ идеализма, какъ Руайе-Колляръ, извѣстный своими архиметафизическими взглядами на умопомѣшательство, кажется ему авторитетнымъ мыслителемъ въ этомъ вопросѣ.

„Донъ-Кихотъ", говоритъ онъ, все равно что Жанна д'Аркъ, Фурье, Огюстъ Контъ и многіе другіе *мономаны*, преслѣдуетъ свой химерическій идеалъ, создавши вокругъ этого центра совершенно вымышленный міръ, который не мѣшаетъ ему, однакожъ, разсуждать здраво во всемъ, что не касается его пунктика".

Такая параллель—черезчуръ рискованна... Мономаны, подобные Фурье и Конту, даже и въ предѣлахъ своего идеала, создаютъ умственныя построенія, сосредоточивающія въ себѣ тенденціи цѣлой генераціи, или рядъ законовъ, добытыхъ знаніемъ. Еще къ теософіи Фурье можно въ извѣстной степени примѣнить теорію мономаніи, но главный и незыблемо-прочный трудъ Огюста Конта: „Система положительнаго мышленія" тогда только назовется продуктомъ мозговой горячки мономана, когда естественные законы, обобщаемые въ ней, перестанутъ быть для насъ источникомъ правды. До сихъ поръ не одинъ Тубино, мало знакомый съ трудами Конта, но и спеціальные критики философскихъ системъ, умышленно или по непониманію, мѣшаютъ два періода умственной дѣятельности Конта и періодъ мозговаго разстройства распространяютъ и на эпоху свѣтлаго научнаго мышленія...

XI.

Послѣ поэмы Сервантеса, у испанцевъ нѣтъ ничего универсальнѣе въ мірѣ искуства, какъ картины Мурильо. Даже драматурги, создавшіе ихъ театръ, Калдеронъ, Лопе де-Вега, Тирсо де-Молина, не такъ общеизвѣстны, какъ художникъ, написавшій „Непорочное зачатіе“ Лувра. Въ Мурильо сказался такой своеобразный пошибъ, что его соотечественникамъ нельзя не ставить его на показъ вселенной, нельзя не подавать его, какъ говорятъ французы, „à toute sauce“. Андалузцы въ особенности гордятся имъ. Въ Севильѣ народился и разцвѣлъ талантъ Мурильо. Тамъ же и должно искать всѣхъ подробностей, обставляющихъ изученіе его творческаго поприща. Тубино, пользуясь всѣмъ, что иностранные знатоки и критики искуства написали о севильскомъ мастерѣ и сказали объ его произведеніяхъ, составилъ свой этюдъ, безъ лишнихъ подробностей эрудиціи, но по широкой программѣ. Послѣ общихъ соображеній объ эпохѣ, къ которой принадлежалъ Мурильо, и о пластическомъ искуствѣ вообще, онъ характеризуетъ борьбу художественнаго романтизма съ идеалами, вынесенными изъ Италіи. Особенный характеръ испанской живописи въ XVI и XVII вѣкахъ показываетъ онъ на тенденціяхъ крупныхъ мастеровъ, останавливаясь спеціально на севильской школѣ. Къ личности Мурильо и его судьбѣ Тубино отнесся съ симпатіей пылкаго диллетанта и патріота. Всѣ главнѣйшія обстоятельства жизни художника разсказаны старательно, съ сохраненіемъ колорита эпохи, съ характеристикой натуры и нравственныхъ стремленій. Въ главѣ о философскомъ значеніи Мурильо, Тубино впадаетъ въ ложный тонъ. Онъ правъ, говоря, что передъ появленіемъ Мурильо школа севильскихъ мастеровъ исчерпала традиціи итальянскаго искуства. Идеалы эпохи возрожденія, занесенные мастерами, учившимися въ Италіи, не въ состояніи уже были дать плодотворный импульсъ фантазіи и мастерству. Культъ прекраснаго тѣла и скульптурныхъ формъ—произвелъ поворотъ къ здоровому пониманію пластики, но, перейдя потомъ въ утонченность, сказался въ фальши и манерности, какъ это мы видимъ и у итальянскихъ мастеровъ, начиная съ Карачей. Мурильо сразу внесъ съ собою задушевное, лирическое содержаніе и окрасилъ свое творчество въ туземный, страстный колоритъ. Это—несомнѣнно. Но въ его картинахъ сказалось точно тоже, что и въ картинахъ Рембранта. Онѣ

заговорили о цѣломъ мірѣ нравственныхъ стремленій, которыми одушевлена была среда, окружающая художника, помимо его личныхъ взглядовъ и пристрастій. Въ нихъ выразился также ярко испанскій лиризмъ, какъ въ произведеніяхъ Рембранта—идеализмъ фламандской расы. Тубино хочетъ выставить Мурильо романтикомъ, который рѣшился выкурить духъ языческой чувственности и замѣнить ее восторженнымъ культомъ религіознаго идеала, въ чемъ и успѣлъ блистательно. Если бы даже Мурильо и проникнутъ былъ такимъ субъективнымъ стремленіемъ, то для серьезной критики искуства личные взгляды художника—дѣло второстепенное. Они не характеризуютъ собою эпохи, а только общіе признаки ея и составляютъ крупное содержаніе всякаго искуства. Какъ бы ни былъ смѣлъ мистическій романтизмъ Мурильо, его манера заняла въ исторіи пластики высокое мѣсто за то чувство *реальной* правды и задушевной прелсти, которое дѣлаетъ его творчество вѣчно юнымъ и разнообразнымъ, не смотря на замѣчательное однообразіе сюжетовъ. Мурильо выразилъ всѣ духовныя порыванія своей эпохи самымъ реальнымъ письмомъ, какъ и слѣдовало настоящему художнику, и его стиль есть такое же чувственное проявленіе извѣстныхъ соціальныхъ феноменовъ, какъ и творчество Рембранта, который въ грязь самаго безпощаднаго реализма вносилъ всегда лучъ только ему одному принадлежащаго нравственнаго свѣта.

Свои художественные этюды Тубино завершаетъ добросовѣстнымъ и интереснымъ трудомъ (особливо для любителей), удостоившимся преміи: біографіей и оцѣнкой дѣятельности Пабло-де-Сеспендесъ, въ которомъ онъ видитъ настоящаго насадителя новаго письма въ Испаніи и учителя цѣлой категоріи андалузскихъ мастеровъ, разнесшихъ по всей Испаніи культъ прекраснаго тѣла. Въ Пабло-де-Сеспендесъ кромѣ артиста жилъ и мыслитель. Онъ оставилъ нѣсколько трудовъ по критикѣ и художественной эрудиціи и стремится постоянно сочетать безупречную пластическую форму съ внутреннимъ содержаніемъ. Тубино приводитъ въ своей монографіи не только подробности путешествій Пабло-де-Сеспендесъ по Италіи, его работъ и знакомствъ, но и обстоятельный списокъ всѣхъ мастеровъ его цикла, какъ итальянскихъ, такъ и андалузскихъ, съ 1538 по 1608 годъ, съ описаніемъ всѣхъ его картинъ, скульптурныхъ вещей, этюдовъ и рисунковъ. Размѣры этого очерка не позволяютъ мнѣ цитировать подробности, которыя впрочемъ были

бы занимательны только для спеціальныхъ любителей изящнаго искуства.

XII.

Я представилъ въ краткомъ очеркѣ умственную дѣятельность одного изъ талантливыхъ и бойкихъ поборниковъ возрожденія Испаніи. Читатель видѣлъ, что во взглядахъ его много блуждающаго и непрочнаго. Онъ противорѣчитъ себѣ въ симпатіяхъ и стремленіяхъ. Точное знаніе, которое онъ считаетъ краеугольнымъ камнемъ своего теперешняго міровоззрѣнія, еще не на столько владѣетъ имъ, чтобы замѣнить запасъ дурно направленнаго идеализма чѣмъ нибудь болѣе прочнымъ. Добрые задатки въ политическомъ и соціальномъ смыслѣ сталкиваются еще въ этюдахъ Тубино съ повтореніемъ ограниченныхъ приговоровъ доктринерства надъ различными идеями и принципами, къ которымъ молодой дѣятель отнесется въ скоромъ времени съ болѣе научной критикой. Я нарочно хотѣлъ взять такого публициста, какъ Тубино, не затмѣвающаго остальную пишущую братію блескомъ своихъ дарованій и мыслительнаго почина. Это—medium интеллигентной сферы, но medium хорошаго калибра. Такихъ дѣятелей Испанія еще не насчитываетъ сотнями. Ихъ нѣсколько десятковъ, не болѣе. Но если при здоровомъ міровоззрѣніи вся масса молодыхъ людей, готовыхъ служить родинѣ, выскажетъ столько же энергіи въ изученіи памятниковъ родного искусства и трудовъ всѣхъ крупныхъ умовъ запада—Испанія черезъ 20—30 лѣтъ сдѣлаетъ громадные успѣхи. Пускай даже извѣстная доля шовинизма сохранится въ этихъ молодыхъ людяхъ, только бы они работали такъ, какъ редакторъ газеты „Andalucia". Есть не мало передовыхъ испанцевъ, въ глазахъ которыхъ Тубино недостаточно радикаленъ и даже просто отсталый публицистъ; ихъ радикализмъ гораздо дѣятельнѣе его мнѣній; но они — ничтожное меньшинство. Ихъ пропаганда приноситъ плодъ только благодаря людямъ, обращающимъ свою любознательность на все, что существенно въ движеніи міровыхъ идей и въ національномъ творчествѣ.

Петръ Боборыкинъ.

ЛѢТОПИСЕЦЪ ТЕМНАГО ЛЮДА

(Романы, повѣсти и разсказы Ѳ. Рѣшетникова).

I.

Съ сороковыхъ годовъ, подъ вліяніемъ идей запада, наша литература начинаетъ замѣтно измѣнять свой характеръ. Она изъ примѣровъ Жоржъ Занда, Сю и другихъ французскихъ писателей этой школы увидѣла, что не весь міръ заключается въ міркѣ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ, въ которомъ она до того времени жила; что за этимъ міркомъ широко раскидывается міръ, въ которомъ мірокъ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ кажется крохотной ничтожной точкой—великій міръ народной жизни, міръ страданій, невѣжества, страха, упорной, трудной, безнадежной борьбы; она поняла наконецъ, что за героями и героинями этого великосвѣтскаго мірка съ ихъ утонченными чувствованіями, изящными и безплодными разговорами и не менѣе изящными и безплодными волненіями и стремленіями стоитъ цѣлая масса людей, передъ трудовой жизнью которыхъ жалки и смѣшны эти изящные разговоры, волненія и стремленія, стоитъ великая сила, народъ, — сила, которою держится общество, которая одна даетъ и смыслъ и цѣль жизни всѣхъ лучшихъ людей вѣка, героевъ не гостиныхъ и будуаровъ, но дѣйствительной жизни. И литература наша признала, что вниманія ея заслуживаетъ и мужикъ, изживающій свой труженическій вѣкъ за сохой, и мастеровой, не разгибающій по цѣлымъ днямъ спины надъ станкомъ,

и работница, перебивающаяся изо дня въ день поденной платой— словомъ, весь бѣдный темный людъ, который бьется изъ за-куска хлѣба, бьется за право на свою бѣдную, темную жизнь, бьется съ надеждой добиться приволья, достатка, отдыха, успокоенія. Литература начала спускаться изъ мірка будуаровъ и гостиныхъ въ курныя, душныя избы, въ грязные, сырые подвалы и конуры, гдѣ пріютился этотъ работящій темный людъ, въ кабаки, гдѣ онъ въ отравленной водкѣ черпаетъ хотя мгновенный роздыхъ отъ тяжелаго, притупляющаго труда, хотя мгновенное забытье въ своей темной черной долѣ.

Сначала литературѣ нашей показалось дико въ этомъ темномъ, грязномъ, бѣдномъ мірѣ; она, какъ элегантная дама, была непривычна къ нему. Она закрывала глаза, когда нагота, въ которой выказывалось безобразіе и грязь этого міра, оскорбляла слишкомъ рѣзко ея зрѣніе, привыкшее къ безобразію и грязи, прикрытыхъ лоскомъ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ; она брезгливо брала за руки героевъ и героинь этого темнаго міра и выводила ихъ на судъ читателямъ въ значительно причесанномъ и обмытомъ видѣ, передавала ихъ грубую рѣчь, смягчая по усмотрѣнію тѣ выраженія, которыя оскорбили бы щекотливый слухъ читателей, привыкшихъ къ изящнымъ разговорамъ героевъ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ. Она считала ихъ трудовую жизнь и неустанную борьбу за право жизни незаслуживающими вниманія публики, и чтобы сдѣлать ихъ достойными этого вниманія придавала имъ изящныя и утонченныя чувства будуарныхъ героевъ и героинь: изъ мужика, который зарѣзался въ порывѣ дикой страсти, дѣлала Вертера, изъ крестьянки, которая томилась съ горя, что ее бросилъ милый, идеальную Офелію; она заставляла и Вертера въ зипунѣ, и Офелію въ посконномъ сарафанѣ декламировать длинные чувствительные монологи, которые отличались отъ изящныхъ разговоровъ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ только тѣмъ, что были уснащены выраженіями въ родѣ таперича и опосля, въ перемежку съ речитативами изъ русскихъ пѣсенъ. Литература изъ элегантной дамы превратилась въ разряженную крестьянку театральныхъ подмостковъ.

Но привычка брала свое. Мало по малу литература освоилась съ міромъ бѣднаго темнаго люда и перестала считать необходимымъ придавать ему лоскъ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ; но еще не скоро рѣшилась она показывать его такимъ, какимъ онъ былъ на дѣлѣ.

Настало поклоненіе народности. Романтизмъ, охватившій Европу, столкнулся у насъ со старовѣрствомъ, которое упорно открещивалось отъ началъ западной жизни, и это-то столкновеніе отразилось возведеніемъ народныхъ началъ, т. е. міросозерцанія бѣднаго темнаго люда, въ единое спасающее ученіе. Народолюбіе, преклоненіе передъ народной мудростью сдѣлалось догматомъ значительной литературной партіи. Для этой народолюбивой литературы народъ не могъ быть темнымъ невѣжественнымъ людомъ, который ждетъ своего Мессію, чтобы выбиться изъ своей тьмы на свѣтъ человѣческой жизни; онъ самъ былъ хранителемъ великой силы, которая должна была спасать Русь отъ тлетворныхъ идей запада, пророкомъ вѣщей истины, которая должна была обновить общество, разлагающееся отъ гніенія запада. При такомъ взглядѣ на народъ, дѣйствительная неприглядная жизнь его отодвигалась на задній планъ и выдвигалась впередъ та духовная жизнь, которою награждали его народолюбцы: его глубокая мудрость — святое храненіе мудрости предковъ; его мощь, которая выказывалась въ могучемъ смиреніи и безотвѣтномъ несеніи своей темной доли, въ неспособности заявлять свои права на лучшую; его любовь, которая опять-таки выказывалась преимущественно смиреніемъ и безотвѣтностью передъ людьми, непосредственно стоявшими надъ нимъ, и чуть ли не въ обоготвореніи этихъ людей. Неприглядная дѣйствительная жизнь темнаго люда показывалась сквозь ореолъ, которымъ поэтическія преданія освѣщаютъ жизнь древнихъ патріарховъ. Что ни старикъ, то вѣщій пророкъ, или по крайней мѣрѣ мудрецъ, проникшій тайну жизни, своимъ благолѣпіемъ и рѣчами, списанными изъ несторовскихъ лѣтописей, внушавшій невольное благоговѣніе; что ни парень, то разудалый молодецъ, которому ни по чемъ было перебить хоть десятки Соловьевъ - разбойниковъ и своимъ безкорыстіемъ пристыдить корыстолюбиваго князя. Отъ этого обоготворенія бѣдному темному люду было ни тепло ни холодно. Скорѣе холодно, потому что образы его, созданные обоготворявшими его писателями, приводили къ тому заключенію, что если народъ чутьемъ своей вѣщей природы, не смотря на гнетущія условія его жизни, достигъ такой высокой степени умственнаго и нравственнаго развитія, которая не мыслима для лукавыхъ народовъ запада, то или условія его жизни не гнетущи и благопріятны для его развитія, или онъ обладаетъ чудодѣйственной силой, передъ которой ничтожна и безсильна на-

ука: — въ обоихъ случаяхъ нечего хлопотать о томъ, чтобы измѣнить условія его жизни; въ первомъ, эти хлопоты — ненужная роскошь, во второмъ — дерзкое самозванство со стороны тѣхъ, которые должны преклоняться передъ народною мудростью.

Время шло и доказало всю несостоятельность народной мудрости. Мощь народа, грозившая шапками закидать врага, оказалась безсильна отстоять себя противъ враговъ, вооруженныхъ всѣми ухищреніями западной науки. Могучее смиреніе народа, пассивно носившаго ярмо рабства, довело его до той степени нищеты и истощенія, которая стала грозить обществу разложеніемъ. Общество поняло наконецъ, что его здоровье и жизнь зависятъ отъ здоровья и жизни темнаго люда, что страданія, нищета и неправда, выносимыя этимъ людомъ, поддерживаемыя его безпримѣрнымъ могучимъ смиреніемъ, распространяются гангреной, заражающей всѣ слои общества. Оно сознало необходимость дѣйствительныхъ мѣръ. Для этого нужно было узнать вполнѣ степень страшной болѣзни, увидѣть темную жизнь во всемъ ея мракѣ. Литература окончательно изъ элегантной дамы превратилась въ работницу. Она сроднилась съ этимъ бѣднымъ темнымъ людомъ, она стала показывать его обществу такимъ, какимъ онъ былъ на дѣлѣ. Крестьянская реформа дала свое освященіе этому превращенію. Она развязала руки писателямъ, давно сознававшимъ необходимость этого превращенія, и заставила на словахъ признать эту необходимость даже тѣхъ, которые въ душѣ были противъ нея. Темный людъ сдѣлался героемъ литературы, описанія его темной жизни стали à l'ordre du jour. Журналы были завалены повѣстями и романами изъ быта темнаго люда. Каждый день новыя имена вписывались въ списокъ бытописателей его темной жизни. Но едвали не вся масса этихъ романовъ и повѣстей забывалась такъ же скоро, какъ и прочитывалась; имена этихъ бытописателей одно за другимъ мелкали на журнальныхъ оберткахъ и остановивъ на мигъ глаза читателя, ускользали безслѣдно изъ его памяти. Это скорое забвеніе со стороны читающей публики было черной неблагодарностью къ этимъ писателямъ, черствымъ нежеланіемъ цѣнить трудъ, который былъ положенъ на эти романы и повѣсти. А труда именно было положено невѣроятно много. Этотъ трудъ такъ и билъ въ глаза при чтеніи этихъ романовъ и повѣстей изъ народной жизни. Въ каждой строкѣ такъ и слышалось неимовѣрное усиліе автора подобрать самыя рѣзкія безобразія, самыя мрачныя стороны этой жизни, нагромоздить самый

потрясающій эффектъ на эффектъ, выдавить изъ головы самыя жалостныя и проникающія слова, какія только имѣются въ русскомъ языкѣ, чтобы расчувствовать читателя. Но неблагодарный читатель упорно не хотѣлъ расчувствоваться: чувство человѣческое любитъ свободу и туго поддается впечатлѣніямъ, которыя ему навязываютъ. Читателю постоянно казалось, что всѣ эти темныя стороны и жалостныя слова нарочно подобраны для того, чтобы выставить во всемъ блескѣ гражданскую скорбь и либерализмъ автора, а такъ какъ читателю извѣстно, что люди всего болѣе стараются выказывать тѣ свойства, обладаніе которыми считается почему либо сомнительнымъ, то и сочувствіе нѣкоторыхъ авторовъ къ темному люду и искренность ихъ жалостныхъ словъ казались сомнительными; отъ ихъ произведеній отдавало декламаторской фальшью, неестественностью, мертвенностью.

Рядомъ съ этими писателями были и другіе, искренность гражданской скорби которыхъ стояла выше всякаго подозрѣнія; но за то они грѣшили избыткомъ ея, и при чтеніи ихъ произведеній, невольно приходил на умъ извѣстная фраза: «pas trop de zèle, messieurs, pas trop de zèle. Глубоко проникшись убѣжденіемъ, что гнетущая темная жизнь можетъ создавать только темный людъ, они, чтобы убѣдить общество въ необходимости пересоздать эту жизнь, представляли темный людъ дотого темнымъ, что онъ терялъ уже очертаніе и обликъ человѣческій и казался однимъ сплошнымъ грязнымъ чернымъ пятномъ. Нищета и рабство порождаютъ невѣжество, грубость, пьянство — и вотъ темный людъ превращался поголовно въ идіотовъ, лишенныхъ послѣдней капли человѣческаго смысла, пьяницъ, которые съ самаго дня рожденія не знали ни одной трезвой минуты, говорили не членораздѣльными звуками, а какимъ-то мычаньемъ и рычаньемъ, не разжимали въ цѣлую жизнь кулаковъ ни разу; словомъ, народъ былъ массой не бѣдныхъ темныхъ людей, а безсмысленныхъ скотовъ или дикихъ звѣрей, которыхъ слѣдовало запереть въ клѣть или посадить на цѣпь. Не смотря на несомнѣнный либерализмъ этихъ авторовъ, въ ихъ произведеніяхъ постоянно сказывался баричъ, который, заглянувъ въ темный міръ, не имѣлъ силы остаться въ немъ настолько, чтобы вглядѣться въ него, открыть въ этомъ бѣдномъ, темномъ мірѣ свѣтлыя стороны, которыя ручались бы за его возрожденіе; испуганный баричъ кидался изъ этого міра повѣдать обществу весь ужасъ мрака,

поразившаго его непривычный глазъ, и не могъ показать ни одного луча свѣта въ этомъ мракѣ. Это повѣданіе однѣхъ темныхъ сторонъ считалось реализмомъ въ искусствѣ. Но этотъ реализмъ былъ на руку людямъ, которые рады были бы на вѣки удержать темный людъ въ его тьмѣ. Праздные читатели хохотали до упаду, читая стихотворные разсказы объ идіотизмѣ темнаго люда, потѣшались вволю надъ его пьянымъ рычаньемъ и кулаками. Подписчики „Вѣсти" торжествовали, видя въ темномъ людѣ скота и звѣря, котораго надо было запирать и сажать на цѣпь. Не правы-ли мы, восклицали они, ссылаясь на произведенія, вдохновленныя такой гражданской скорбью. У людей, которые были настолько наивны, что хотѣли познакомиться съ бытомъ народа изъ этихъ повѣстей и романовъ, безнадежно опускались руки, эти повѣсти и романа были грознымъ приговоромъ: „оставь надежду навсегда" для тѣхъ, кто хотѣлъ работать для бѣднаго темнаго люда.

Между всѣми этими бытописателями темнаго люда, одинъ Рѣшетниковъ выдавался крупнымъ и одинокимъ явленіемъ. Его романы и повѣсти не забывались тотчасъ по прочтеніи, но производили глубокое, истинное впечатлѣніе на общество, именно то впечатлѣніе, которое должна бы была произвести сама жизнь темнаго люда. Тайна этого впечатлѣнія въ томъ, что Рѣшетниковъ не пошелъ ни одной избитой дорогой, но выбралъ свой путь. Онъ не подражалъ никому, но былъ самимъ собой. Онъ, писалъ не мудрствуя лукаво надъ жизнью, но повинуясь инстинкту, побуждавшему его изображать жизнь, съ которой сжился, которую добросовѣстно изучилъ; писалъ, не набиваясь на эффектъ, не выбирая нарочно самыя выдающіяся, рѣзкія стороны жизни, которую изображалъ, писалъ не ради того, чтобы рядиться въ гражданскую скорбь и заслужить отъ рецензентовъ похвальный отзывъ за либерализмъ, писалъ съ наивной и безъискусственной правдивостью лѣтописца, который заноситъ на страницы своихъ лѣтописей все видѣнное и пережитое, но не съ его безстрастіемъ. Не смотря на то, что личность автора постоянно скрыта за дѣйствующими лицами его романовъ и повѣстей, не смотря на полнѣйшее отсутствіе всякихъ краснорѣчивыхъ тирадъ гражданской скорби, во всемъ, что онъ писалъ, виденъ не баринъ-бѣлоручка, который заглянулъ на мигъ въ многострадальный бытъ темнаго люда и ужаснулся его тьмы и страданій,—виденъ человѣкъ, жившій жизнью этого люда, и котораго сердце наболѣло отъ этой многострадальной жизни. Искреннее, глубокое,

теплое чувство проникаетъ все, что писалъ Рѣшетниковъ, слышится во всемъ, несмотря на трезвость, обыденность и даже порой неумѣлость его рѣчи. Эта искренность, которую не поддѣлать никакимъ искусствомъ, подкупаетъ читателя; онъ видитъ пережитую жизнь, дѣйствительную, не нарочно придуманную для того, чтобы взбудоражить его нервы и вырвать у него протестъ негодованія. И читатель довѣрчиво отдается впечатлѣнію, которое производитъ на него эта жизнь; онъ послушно идетъ за писателемъ, который показываетъ ему изо дня въ день эту жизнь однообразнаго, притупляющаго труда, темной борьбы за кусокъ хлѣба, за бѣдную одежду, плохо защищающую тѣло отъ холода и непогодъ, жизнь невѣжества, безнадежности, мрака; онъ вѣритъ, когда писатель показываетъ ему, какъ день за днемъ въ этой жизни гибнутъ молодыя свѣжія силы, которымъ нужно было немного воздуха и свѣта, чтобы стать великими честными силами, какъ медленно день за днемъ вымираютъ надломленныя непосильной борьбой старыя силы. Объ этой гибели говорится читателю просто, безъ трескучихъ декламацій, безъ слезливыхъ оханій и возгласовъ, говорится какъ о явленіи привычномъ. Для человѣка, пережившаго эту жизнь, оханья и возгласы были бы наивностью; но зато въ каждомъ словѣ этого человѣка чуется правда, безотрадная, неприкрашенная правда, такъ вѣрно названная трезвой правдой.

II.

Первое произведеніе Рѣшетникова, которое сдѣлало потрясающее впечатлѣніе на общество, былъ его этнографическій очеркъ „Подлиповцы“. Оно было встрѣчено ожесточенными нападками со стороны литературы будуаровъ и гостиныхъ и литературы народолюбцевъ. Рѣшетникова обвиняли въ униженіи достоинства человѣка, въ клеветѣ на народъ, въ непониманіи истинныхъ задачъ искусства, въ безнадежной бездарности. Но за то оно было встрѣчено живымъ сочувствіемъ со стороны всего, что было молодого и свѣжаго въ обществѣ, всего, что сознавало, что пришло наконецъ время показать неприкрашенную правду жизни, сказать о жизни народа слово безъ лицемѣрныхъ умалчиваній и смягченій. Въ „Подлиповцахъ“ Рѣ-

шетниковъ показалъ эту правду во всей ея наготѣ; онъ сказалъ безпечному образованному люду:—смотри, какъ живутъ тысячи твоихъ братьевъ;—онъ показалъ картину такого страшнаго вырожденія, что безпечный образованный людъ содрогнулся. Читатель повѣрилъ автору. Трезвость и наивная правдивость его рѣчи не допускала ни малѣйшаго сомнѣнія въ истинѣ его словъ.

Подлиповцы—жители деревни на дальнемъ сѣверѣ Россіи. Природа обдѣлила подлиповцевъ. Морозъ убивалъ всѣ всходы хлѣба и подлиповцы бросили хлѣбопашество. Тощія коровенки, которыя находятъ еще кое-какое пастбище, вмѣстѣ съ жалкими грядами овощей, да сосновой корой, кормятъ подлиповцевъ. Эта пища, которой не хватаетъ къ веснѣ, не можетъ развить ни силы, ни энергіи подлиповцевъ. Промышленность подлиповцевъ ограничивается плетеніемъ лаптей и набирухъ, да выдѣлкой кадокъ, за которыя выручается рѣдко-рѣдко нѣсколько грошей. Подлиповцы не способны додуматься даже до такого прибыльнаго промысла, какъ плетеніе рогожъ, которымъ кормятся цѣлые уѣзды Вологодской губерніи. Они тупое, жалкое, забитое племя, которое обречено на вымиранье—и это племя существуетъ въ цивилизованномъ государствѣ! Вотъ какъ описываетъ авторъ бытъ этихъ забытыхъ цивилизаціей людей. «Въ деревнѣ не видится жизни. Лѣтомъ еще можно увидать мужчину или женщину, или ребятъ на полѣ или около домиковъ, но зато не слышится веселаго говора, не слышится пѣсенъ, у всѣхъ точно какое-то горе, какое-то болѣзненное состояніе. Даже и дѣти рѣзвятся какъ-то словно не хотя; побѣжитъ ребенокъ—упадетъ, заплачетъ и побѣжитъ домой; даже лошади, коровы и свиньи ходятъ какъ-то сонно, однѣ только курицы да два пѣтуха бѣгаютъ скоро и воздухъ оглашается крикомъ крестьянъ на животныхъ, лаемъ одной собаки, единственнаго сторожа уцѣлѣвшаго какимъ-то чудомъ отъ бойни хозяина, желавшаго употребить ея шкуру на шапку, крикомъ маленькихъ ребятъ, да чириканьемъ коростелей въ болотѣ... Зимой еще хуже; тогда всѣ дома точно погребены снѣгомъ, на дорогѣ цѣлую недѣлю не видать слѣдовъ человѣческихъ, все какъ будто спряталось, только кой-гдѣ корова промычитъ, да рыщетъ по полю собака. Такъ вотъ и кажется, что люди вымерли или напала на нихъ спячка. Въ самихъ домахъ тоже не лучше. Самое худое время—это зима. Вездѣ бѣдная обстановка, нечистота, плачъ и стоны; половина лежитъ, половина сидитъ молча, или что нибудь дѣлаетъ, ругая работу, ру-

гая себя и все окружающее. Словно всѣмъ имъ жизнь опротивѣла, всѣ чѣмъ-то мучатся, всѣмъ опостылѣлъ Божій свѣтъ. А есть между ними молодые парни и дѣвушки». И такъ день за днемъ, годъ за годомъ, пока не унесетъ ихъ гнилая горячка или не изсушитъ голодуха.

Эта нищета, это вырожденіе—не нищета и вырожденіе пауперовъ Запада; тѣ были созданы цивилизаціей; нищета и вырожденіе подлиповцевъ порождены тѣмъ, что цивилизація не коснулась ихъ. Читая «Подлиповцевъ», можно подумать, что переносишься въ бытъ доисторическихъ племенъ. Пролетарій Запада борется за жизнь; онъ понимаетъ свое положеніе, условія жизни, которыя создали его, онъ сплачивается въ тѣсные союзы, чтобы отстоять свое существованіе; онъ примыкаетъ къ той или другой политической партіи, знаетъ, какъ отзовется на немъ та или другая правительственная мѣра, т. е. онъ знаетъ и дѣлаетъ это по крайней мѣрѣ въ лицѣ лучшихъ своихъ членовъ, которые составляютъ крупный процентъ всей массы народа; онъ въ лицѣ ихъ начинаетъ заявлять права свои на голосъ въ общественныхъ дѣлахъ, онъ складываетъ безпомощно руки и умираетъ лишь тогда, когда послѣднія силы его сломились въ борьбѣ, когда ему осталось одно—умереть. Ничего подобнаго вы не найдете въ подлиповцахъ. Перенесите западнаго пролетарія въ Подлипную, дайте ему тотъ же клочекъ бѣдной земли, на которой вымерзаетъ подлиповская жатва, дайте ему тотъ же лѣсъ, изъ котораго подлиповцы добывали только лапти да набирухи, ту же глину, изъ которой они мазали свои печи, гдѣ дѣти бывали пришиблены выпавшими камнями, и Подлипную нельзя будетъ узнать. Изъ того же лѣса западный пролетарій срубитъ чистенькій домикъ вмѣсто курной лачуги, изъ той же глины и камней сложитъ печь, которая не будетъ выѣдать глаза дымомъ и пришибать ребятишекъ. Корова въ тепломъ стойлѣ, съ запасомъ хорошаго сѣна, не будетъ тощать; толково обработанныя гряды огорода дадутъ хорошій запасъ овощей. Живутъ же люди среди природы еще болѣе суровой и непріютной, чѣмъ природа Подлипной, напр. на сѣверѣ Норвегіи, и не мрутъ съ голода, не вырождаются въ идіотовъ. Но эти люди связаны съ цивилизованнымъ міромъ не одною внѣшнею, искусственною связью.

Первое знакомство подлиповцевъ съ общественностью и цивилизаціей сохранилось въ ихъ памяти, какъ страшное народное бѣд-

ствіе—то былъ пріѣздъ станового, который *обласкалъ* ихъ. Отъ этой ласки станового подлиповцы не досчитались кто лошади, кто кормилицы-коровы. Наѣзды поповъ были не менѣе страшны для подлиповцевъ. Попъ наѣзжаетъ смотрѣть, молятся ли подлиповцы образамъ вмѣсто своихъ пермякскихъ божковъ, попъ креститъ, вѣнчаетъ и хоронитъ, за все это надо попу платить, а гдѣ взять плату голоднымъ подлиповцамъ? Благодаря этому-то обстоятельству, родины, свадьбы, эти торжественныя событія нехитрой жизни темнаго люда, бывающія для него предлогомъ незатѣйливаго, грубаго веселья, которое даетъ ему передохнуть на мгновеніе, бываютъ для подлиповцевъ страшнымъ бѣдствіемъ. Родится ребенокъ; «а пошто онъ родился?" скажутъ подлиповцы, и будутъ плакать и ругаться при мысли, что за крестины надо отдать послѣднюю курицу; зачахнетъ ребенокъ—и они будутъ преравнодушно смотрѣть на его страданія, а помретъ—опять заругаются и заплачутъ, что надо платить попу за то, чтобы похоронить ребенка въ землю. Полюбилъ подлиповскій парень дѣвушку и радъ бы обвѣнчаться, не ради религіозныхъ убѣжденій,—подлиповцы еще не доросли до нихъ,—а ради страха, чтобы наѣхавшій попъ, найдя ребятъ въ избѣ, не наложилъ штрафа,—да платить попу нечѣмъ; и ребята родятся, да также скоро и мрутъ у матери, изнуренной голодомъ. Зароютъ подлиповцы или закинутъ куда ни попало умершихъ ребятъ, да и дрожатъ отъ страха, не нашелъ бы становой мертвыя тѣла. Вся психическая жизнь ихъ сводится на страхъ передъ темными силами природы, не менѣе темными для нихъ общественными силами вродѣ становаго, которыя, какъ онѣ ни мелки и ни ничтожны въ механизмѣ государственной машины,—страшныя, грозныя силы для подлиповцевъ. Каждый годъ у подлиповцевъ бываетъ время голодухи, когда они всѣ поголовно лежатъ больные и не знаютъ, что съ ними дѣлается, „и только плачутъ и ругаются", какъ повѣствуетъ наивнымъ тономъ лѣтописца Рѣшетниковъ о жизни подлиповцевъ.

Невѣжество подлиповцевъ можетъ сравниться съ невѣжествомъ развѣ какихъ-нибудь дикарей Тихаго океана. Весь міръ подлиповцевъ заключается въ ихъ Подлипной; все, что лежитъ за предѣлами ихъ жалкой деревушки—міръ чуждый и страшный подлиповцамъ. «О существованіи земли они знали, что земля даетъ пищу, да еще что въ землю зарываютъ покойниковъ. Знали они, что есть городъ Чердынь только потому, что бывали въ немъ, а есть ли еще что за

Чердынью—дѣло темное," говоритъ авторъ. Слѣдовательно, подлиповцы не доросли еще до соображеній о томъ, что земля держится на трехъ китахъ и что Іерусалимъ есть пупъ земли. Можно болѣе или менѣе остроумно осмѣять эти соображенія, но народные мудрецы, которые своимъ умомъ дошли до нихъ, все-таки работали умомъ, стремились выбиться изъ своего невѣжества, все-таки и для такого нехитраго вывода, какъ тотъ, что Іерусалимъ есть пупъ земли, нужно было имѣть хоть какое-нибудь темное религіозное чувство, этотъ первый признакъ выхода человѣка изъ животной непосредственности, первый признакъ его пробуждавшагося сознанія; подлиповцы не доросли даже до понятія, ставившаго Іерусалимъ пупомъ земли, они не доросли даже до понятія, что и другіе такіе же люди, какъ и они. «Въ городѣ они видѣли разныхъ людей, повѣствуетъ авторъ, и не могли понять, что это за люди; этихъ людей они боялись, не вѣрили имъ, а только ѣздили туда, чтобы сбыть необходимое для обмѣна на пищу».

Кажется, такая жизнь, въ которой все сводилось на удовлетвореніе животныхъ потребностей, должна была бы убить въ подлиповцахъ всякое человѣческое чувство, сдѣлать изъ нихъ звѣрей или скотовъ. Но велика сила человѣка; она сказывается, несмотря на всѣ условія, которыя, казалось, должны бы были задавить ее; она подняла человѣчество отъ степени безсмысленнаго скота и дикаго звѣря. Проходя съ Рѣшетниковымъ подлиповскую жизнь день за днемъ, слѣдовало бы ожидать, что подлиповцы перегрызутся между собой изъ-за куска хлѣба. Жизнь дала имъ такъ мало крохъ этого хлѣба, что они заѣдаютъ вѣкъ одинъ другому. Сысойка хочетъ жениться на Апроськѣ, но онъ долженъ ждать пока умрутъ его старая мать и маленькіе братъ и сестра, а то Апроськѣ не будетъ мѣста въ лачугѣ. Когда брата и сестру пришибло камнемъ, Пила подозрѣваетъ, не убилъ ли ихъ Сысойка, чтобы очистить мѣсто Апроськѣ. «Што ты, медвѣдь я што-ли?» говоритъ Сысойка, обиженный подозрѣніемъ. Бѣдный темный Сысойка не дикій звѣрь, онъ не способенъ сдѣлаться убійцей, чтобы избавиться отъ тѣхъ, кто стоитъ на дорогѣ между нимъ и единственнымъ счастьемъ его темной жизни, и не способенъ не изъ страха ласокъ становаго, не изъ страха передъ тѣмъ или другимъ наказаньемъ, а потому, что онъ не медвѣдь, какъ онъ говоритъ, потому что въ немъ, хоть смутно, но живетъ сознаніе, что онъ человѣкъ. Бѣдный темный Сысойка, за-

бытый цивилизаціей, болѣе человѣкъ, чѣмъ иные люди изъ такъ называемаго цивилизованнаго *порядочнаго* общества, которые не дрогнувъ растопчутъ хоть бы роднаго отца, если онъ стоитъ поперегъ ихъ дороги, и если не сдѣлаютъ этого, то изъ другихъ побужденій, далеко не столь человѣчныхъ, какъ побужденіе Сысойки. И за бѣднымъ темнымъ людомъ есть не одна отрицательная заслуга, доказывающая, что онъ не медвѣдь. Онъ готовъ подѣлиться послѣдней картошкой съ больнымъ пріятелемъ, подѣлиться опять-таки не изъ страха наказанія, не изъ надежды на награду, но подѣлиться просто по чувству человѣчности, которое не позволитъ съѣсть одному свои драгоцѣнныя картошки, при мысли, что пріятель лежитъ больной отъ голода. Счастливымъ героямъ и героинямъ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ эта заслуга можетъ показаться ничтожной, смѣшной; но еслибы эти герои и героини доросли до человѣчности бѣднаго подлиповца, жизнь была бы не тѣмъ, что она есть. Поставьте этого Пилу, который дѣлится послѣдними картошками, въ другія условія, онъ найдетъ средства служить своимъ братьямъ дѣйствительнѣе, нежели дѣлежомъ картошекъ, онъ точно такъ же будетъ отдавать имъ свою жизнь, какъ отдавалъ ее, дѣля послѣднія картошки, стоявшія между нимъ и голодной смертью. Кто умѣлъ быть вѣренъ въ маломъ, съумѣетъ быть вѣренъ и въ большомъ.

Пускай эти черты человѣчности рѣдки между подлиповцами, но часто ли онѣ встрѣчаются и въ цивилизованномъ мірѣ, гдѣ бы ихъ скорѣе слѣдовало ожидать? Эти черты всплываютъ надъ бездной невѣжества и дикости подлиповцевъ, онѣ ручательство, что подлиповцы не обречены остаться подлиповцами, какъ только цивилизація,—только не та цивилизація, которая создаетъ западнаго пролетарія,—внесетъ свой свѣтъ въ ихъ темный бытъ. Честь и слава писателю, который съумѣлъ и въ темномъ подлиповскомъ бытѣ уловить эти свѣтлыя черты и чуять человѣчность подъ самыми дикими и безобразными формами, подъ которыми скрыла ее жизнь. Эту же человѣчность умѣлъ найти Рѣшетниковъ и въ безднѣ безобразія и дикости семейныхъ отношеній подлиповцевъ. Эти отношенія стоятъ у подлиповцевъ на той ступени, на которой они стояли у доисторическихъ народовъ. Два—три очень ясные намека на отношенія Пилы къ дочери его Апроськѣ даютъ полную мѣру безобразной животности семейныхъ отношеній подлиповцевъ. Но негодующему читателю, готовому за то забросать подлиповцевъ каменьями, слѣ-

дуетъ напомнить черты той же животности, проявляющіяся, хотя и не такъ грубо, въ лицѣ Эленъ и Анатоліевъ Курагиныхъ изъ «Войны и мира» Л. Н. Толстаго. Животность подлиповцевъ—слѣдствіе того, что ни одинъ лучъ свѣта не запалъ еще въ непроглядный мракъ ихъ жизни; а животность Курагиныхъ — слѣдствіе извращенности всѣхъ человѣческихъ чувствъ, порочнаго стремленія къ мраку, когда свѣтъ былъ имъ такъ доступенъ, такъ и билъ имъ въ глаза. Для подлиповцевъ возможно возрожденіе,—его нѣтъ для Курагиныхъ. Подлиповцы вымираютъ потому, что имъ не дали жить, Курагины вырождаются потому, что они не способны жить. Если подлиповцы сходятся съ женщиной на томъ нехитромъ основаніи, которое выражается словами, что „безъ бабы жить неловко, а съ бабой баско жить," то масса общества, за исключеніемъ немногихъ свѣтлыхъ личностей, умѣвшихъ внести человѣчность въ свои отношенія къ женщинѣ, руководится въ этихъ отношеніяхъ исключительно подлиповскими побужденіями, прикрытыми или романтизмомъ, или мистицизмомъ. Сойдясь съ бабой, подлиповцы ругаются весь вѣкъ, зачѣмъ сошлись, зачѣмъ народили дѣтей, которыя плачутъ и ѣсть хотятъ и за которыхъ надо платить попамъ; ругаютъ жену, когда она заболѣетъ, и спрашиваютъ ее: „а што, поколѣешь ли ты?" Грубая животность, скрытая кое-какъ лакомъ цивилизаціи въ другихъ сферахъ общества, высказывается у подлиповцевъ во всей безобразной наготѣ. Въ человѣчной средѣ и болѣзненная женщина можетъ иногда быть связующей, руководящей силой семьи, у подлиповцевъ женщина —самка, и какъ скоро она перестанетъ быть ею, она лишнее бремя, которое подлиповцы рады скорѣе зарыть въ землю, чуть только она не можетъ удовлетворить смыслу подлиповской жизни. Но и между этими дикарями встрѣчается глубокое человѣчное чувство, и между ними выдаются люди, которые не бросятъ больную женщину, но пока въ нихъ есть капля силы, будутъ ходить за ней и когда она умретъ, сохранятъ о ней долгое воспоминаніе. Сысойка хоронитъ свою любимую Апроську. Горе его выражается не вертеровскими монологами и не речитативами изъ народныхъ пѣсенъ; оно выражается дико и безобразно, какъ и слѣдовало ожидать отъ дикаря: «Апроська, открой глаза» умоляетъ онъ. «Апроська, запишши»! Но видя, что Апроська безотвѣтна на мольбы его, онъ приходитъ въ изступленіе. «Запишши, чортъ, убью!» кричитъ онъ, грозя кулакомъ. „Дикъ и золъ сдѣлался Сысойка, говоритъ Рѣшетниковъ

Теперь онъ походилъ на собаку, лишившуюся своего дѣтища; онъ готовъ былъ Богъ знаетъ что дѣлать, только бы Апроська была жива, готовъ былъ помереть, но не зналъ, какъ помереть.“ Но не въ одномъ темномъ Сысойкѣ въ эти страшныя минуты, когда человѣкъ становится лицомъ къ лицу съ тупой безжалостной силой, вырывающей у него все, что ему было дорого въ жизни, пробуждаются всѣ дикія силы, которыя, усыпленныя образованіемъ, привычными приличіями, дремлютъ въ его душѣ, готовыя проснуться при первомъ ударѣ. И еслибы Сысойка былъ тѣмъ животнымъ, какимъ повидимому должна была его сдѣлать жизнь, если бы онъ сошелся съ Апроськой только на томъ нехитромъ основаніи, что безъ бабы неловко, онъ не сталъ бы такъ долго тосковать о ней, и заживъ жизнью, которая сначала показалась ему невѣроятно баской послѣ подлиповской жизни—бурлачествомъ, не сталъ бы въ каждую счастливую минуту вспоминать съ сожалѣніемъ: „Эхъ, кабы Апроська была жива, пошто Апроська умерла!“ Бабъ вездѣ много, но ему нужна была одна его Апроська.

Повидимому, слѣдовало бы ожидать, что жизнь Подлипной, жизнь голода, дикости, мрака, должна была бы убить въ подлиповцахъ послѣднія силы, энергію, способность труда; но эта сила, эта способность воскресаютъ въ нихъ при первой перемѣнѣ къ лучшему, вѣрнѣе при томъ, что темные подлиповцы считаютъ этой перемѣной. Съ какой радостью кинулись подлиповцы на бурлацкую работу, какъ они гордятся тѣмъ, что могутъ работать тамъ, гдѣ работаютъ другіе люди. Пусть эта сила труда проявляется безтолково, неумѣло, но она проявляется и подлиповцы не виноваты въ томъ, если эта честная сила не сказывается въ нихъ болѣе умѣло, дѣльно. Они хватаются за всякую работу: «Рубятъ доску безъ нужды, и весело имъ, и они думаютъ, что робятъ. Рубятъ такъ, что потъ ихъ прошибаетъ, и имъ баско кажется. Работаютъ они каждый день и бахвалятся, что они робить мастера». Бѣдный темный людъ, работающій безъ толку потому, что въ немъ сказалась его рабочая сила,—какой урокъ даетъ онъ всѣмъ празднымъ героямъ и героинямъ, у кого въ виду работы, кровную необходимость которой они сознаютъ, не поднимаются руки, потому что вся сила изжита въ праздныхъ мечтаніяхъ, потому что не хочется выйти изъ своего лѣниваго комфорта! И какое теплое чувство своей связи съ человѣчествомъ сказалось въ этихъ жалкихъ дикаряхъ; они счастливы тѣмъ, что могутъ ра-

ботать вмѣстѣ съ другими людьми. Они счастливы тѣмъ, что живутъ съ другими людьми. „Они никогда не живали въ такомъ большомъ обществѣ людей своей братьи, говоритъ авторъ. Подлиповцы торжествовали“. Пусть это чувство братства съ человѣчествомъ—смутное, темное чувство, но оно есть, и подлиповцы не виноваты, если жизнь не дастъ ему созрѣть въ свѣтлое сознательное чувство, которое бы стало великой силой, зиждущей будущее человѣчество. Но жизнь подлиповская вмѣсто братьевъ, дружно работающихъ для общаго блага, создаетъ дикарей, которые въ голодную минуту утащатъ другъ у друга хлѣбъ и когда имъ горько станетъ отъ тяжелой работы и ругани прикащика, отведутъ душу тѣмъ, что выругаютъ другъ друга. Но ругань и воровство подлиповцевъ—наивное воровство и ругань; это темные инстинкты дикарей; воровство болѣе крупнаго размѣра и ругань героевъ Иліады не помѣшало имъ быть героями; это воровство, эта ругань—не мелкая отвратительная вражда, не глубокій развратъ людей, которые готовы изъ-за оскорбленнаго самолюбія портить безжалостно жизнь другъ другу, пускать по міру цѣлыя семьи, торговать совѣстью и правдой для того, чтобы пороскошнѣе убрать свои будуары и гостинныя.

Всѣ условія, кажется, сошлись для того, чтобы сдѣлать изъ подлиповцевъ поголовно идіотовъ и дикарей; суровая природа, безъисходная нужда и неумолимый гнетъ общественныхъ условій и, несмотря на то, между подлиповцами выдаются крупныя, даровитыя личности, которыя указываютъ путь другимъ. Таковъ Пила, самый умный и энергическій мужикъ изъ подлиповцевъ. Всѣ подлиповцы лежатъ больными и только плачутъ и ругаются. Пила, хоть онъ и самъ также боленъ какъ и они, пойдетъ набирать лекарственныхъ травъ, которыя онъ выучился отличать у одной городской бабы, обдастъ ихъ кипяткомъ и поитъ больныхъ; пускай цѣлебность травъ сомнительна, но Пила не виноватъ, что онъ не учился въ медицинской академіи, и врачи первобытныхъ народовъ пользовали своихъ паціентовъ, по всѣмъ вѣроятіямъ, травами, цѣлебность которыхъ была такъ же сомнительна. Дикарю Подлипной, для того чтобы усвоить новое для него понятіе о цѣлебности травъ въ болѣзни, нужна была такая же усиленная работа мозга, какъ какому-нибудь европейскому ученому, чтобы усвоить новое ученіе. Пила авторитетъ Подлипной. Лежатъ подлиповцы въ своихъ лачугахъ, стонутъ и не знаютъ, работать ли имъ въ огородѣ, или косить сѣно. Пила

скажетъ: надо косить,—и они косятъ, скажетъ: надо робить,—и они робятъ. Пила выучилъ ихъ торговать въ городѣ; онъ возитъ продавать въ городъ ихъ лапти, набирухи и кадки, которыхъ они не сработали бы безъ него; безъ Пилы давно всѣ подлиповцы „подохли бы съ голоду," какъ они сами говорятъ. Ему стоитъ сказать слово, и подлиповцы покидаютъ свои лачуги и идутъ бурлачить. Словомъ, еслибы подлиповцы жили въ эпоху младенчества человѣчества, имя Пилы могло бы дойти до нашихъ временъ, какъ имя какого-нибудь миѳическаго врача, вождя и учителя народа. Пила имѣетъ всѣ задатки такого учителя и вождя дикихъ племенъ въ борьбѣ съ суровой природой и неменѣе суровой нищетой; но Пила въ девятнадцатомъ вѣкѣ—жалкій дикарь. Пила, что грѣха таить, несмотря на все радѣнье о подлиповцахъ, не чуждъ и жадности и корысти этихъ историческихъ вождей. Когда онъ везетъ продавать на городской рынокъ незатѣйливыя издѣлія подлиповской промышленности, онъ забираетъ себѣ половину выручки, какъ принадлежащую ему по праву, а половину отдаетъ подлиповцамъ; но за то когда онъ не выручилъ ничего, то идетъ побираться Христа ради и дѣлится набранной милостыней съ подлиповцами.

У дикаря Пилы много смѣтливости, много здраваго ума. Отправившись въ городъ поступить въ бурлаки, онъ успѣлъ разглядѣть, что и въ большомъ городѣ тѣ же отношенія между сильными міра сего и темнымъ людомъ, какъ и въ его Подлипной; онъ сразу разгадалъ тотъ же гнетъ и подъ новой, невиданной еще формой. Въ Подлипной онъ не зналъ никого выше попа и становаго, въ городѣ онъ понялъ, что нетолько съ такими большими людьми какъ попъ и становой, которыхъ не смѣютъ бить и сѣчь какъ подлиповцевъ, но и съ людьми побольше поповъ и становыхъ дѣлаютъ «только не силой, а чѣмъ-то инымъ» все, что захотятъ, какъ это было и съ подлиповцами. Дикарю, не видѣвшему ничего кромѣ Подлипной, для того, чтобы придти къ такому заключенію, нужна замѣчательная способность обобщенія—отличительный признакъ даровитыхъ натуръ. Это открытіе не подавило въ Пилѣ ни чувства собственнаго достоинства, ни энергіи. Когда его бьетъ частный, который для него и больше и страшнѣе попа и становаго, взятыхъ вмѣстѣ, Пила не молчитъ. „Ты не дерись, я, батъ, самъ восемь медвѣдей убилъ," говоритъ онъ. Пила не выноситъ напраслины и обиды. Уйдя бурлачить съ подлиповцами, онъ подбиваетъ ихъ про-

тивъ лоцмана, который бьетъ ихъ, ругаетъ и обсчитываетъ. „Што вы молчите,“ говоритъ онъ, и бурлаки не изъ однихъ подлиповцевъ, подчинившіеся его авторитету, отказываются работать сверхъ положенія. Вскорѣ Пила самъ положилъ конецъ своему авторитету, проговорившись, что сидѣлъ въ острогѣ, куда засадилъ его частный, избившій его за наивную похвальбу, „я, батъ, самъ восемь медвѣдей убилъ.“ Острожникъ становится подозрителенъ бурлакамъ. Пила не зналъ, что острогъ кладетъ пятно на того, кто разъ попалъ въ него, хотя бы и неповинно; эта утонченность цивилизаціи непонятна дикарю Подлипной. Одинъ авторитетъ надъ подлиповцами сохраненъ имъ неприкосновенно. „Твоя голова не намъ чета,“ говорятъ они съ наивнымъ удивленіемъ. И Пила гордъ и счастливъ этимъ признаніемъ его силы. „Али я не сила?“ наивно бахвалился онъ.

И Пила правъ. Онъ сила въ жизни подлиповцевъ. Еслибы въ первобытномъ человѣчествѣ не было такихъ силъ, какъ Пила, оно никогда не поднялось бы изъ своего дикаго состоянія до той ступени, на которой стоитъ теперь. Еслибы въ немъ было болѣе силъ такого же размѣра какъ Пила, оно бы не стояло такъ долго на этой ступени, но твердо, дружно шагнуло бы на высшую. Въ обществѣ, гдѣ много такихъ силъ какъ Пила, въ которыхъ воплощается сознаніе неправды, негодованіе противъ насилія, не будетъ мѣста для разгула дикаго произвола; эти силы пробудятъ дремлющую общественную совѣсть, заставятъ общество устыдиться неправды и униженія, которое оно выносило безмолвно. Давно бурлаки были недовольны обсчитываньемъ, руганью и кулаками лоцмана, но они молча сносили все, пока Пила не сказалъ имъ: »да што вы его слушаете?“ Кажется ничто не измѣнилось въ положеніи бурлаковъ, имъ не стало тяжелѣе, чѣмъ было прежде; но послѣ этого слова Пилы, имъ уже стало невозможно сносить все безгласно, какъ прежде сносили. Сказано два-три слова не болѣе— и обаяніе могущества лоцмана подорвано. Но эти слова показали бурлакамъ, что лоцманъ не страшенъ, что его злоупотребленіямъ можно сопротивляться. И лоцманъ испугался дружнаго протеста бурлаковъ. Онъ тотчасъ перемѣнилъ тонъ и сталъ упрашивать бурлаковъ вмѣсто того, чтобы грозить имъ. И не проговорись Пила, что онъ сидѣлъ въ острогѣ, лоцманъ до конца пути не смѣлъ бы заставить бурлаковъ работать сверхъ положенія. Произволъ силенъ не собственной силой

своей, онъ силенъ равнодушіемъ тѣхъ, кого онъ давитъ, и при первомъ протестѣ задавленныхъ скажется его собственное безсиліе.

И не смотря на все, Пила, оторвавшійся отъ своей Подлипной, затерянный съ своими товарищами среди незатѣйливой цивилизаціи приволжскихъ городовъ, не болѣе какъ вьючное животное, которое должно тянуть свою лямку, пока не надорвется его послѣдняя сила. Его міръ мыслей и чувствъ тѣсенъ, нужда, гнетущая, безъисходная нужда, сдавливаетъ ихъ неумолимо въ темный кругъ физическихъ ощущеній, и въ рѣдкія минуты удается имъ вырваться изъ этого темнаго круга. »Чувствовать имъ нечего,“ говоритъ авторъ, описывая обыденную жизнь бурлаковъ: „имъ или баско, или худо; они своихъ деревенскихъ забыли, съ людьми имъ хорошо, да и чувствовать имъ некогда; то рубить, то стругать, то колотить надобно. А встанутъ рано, ѣсть захотятъ—чувство, поработаютъ, ѣсть хотятъ—чувство, спать захотятъ—чувство.“ Но вотъ тяжелую работу смѣняетъ отдыхъ, и бурлаки ложатся на солнцѣ. Тутъ просыпаются въ бурлакахъ другія ощущенія. „Солнышко такъ и грѣетъ ихъ, оно освѣщаетъ загрубѣлыя желтыя лица бурлаковъ и вообще какъ-то привѣтливо. Бурлаку любо, что солнышко свѣтитъ и грѣетъ баско и онъ долго, долго смотритъ на солнышко и думаетъ какую-то думу.... «Славное солнышко, пошто оно не каждый день свѣтитъ? когда и вовсе его нѣтъ, а когда покажется и спрячется, чучело.» Бурлацкая жизнь научила подлиповцевъ радоваться и свѣту солнца, и красотѣ міра—чувства, которыхъ они не знали въ Подлипной; тамъ они грѣлись на солнцѣ, какъ животное грѣется, не сознавая радостнаго ощущенія красоты—это ощущеніе было первымъ пробужденіемъ сознанія жизни высшей, чѣмъ жизнь Подлипной. Это ощущеніе усиливается новыми встрѣчами, видомъ новыхъ мѣстностей. »Барки плывутъ. И хорошо бурлакамъ, какъ плывутъ барки. Люди сидятъ измученные и что-то думаютъ, вѣроятно о трудной работѣ, которой еще не дѣлывали, и весело имъ, барка плыветъ, плыветъ, лѣсъ и камни мелькаютъ. Ишь какое дерево-то хорошее промелькнуло! Вонъ какой лѣсъ показался, рѣчка бѣжитъ, а тамъ вдали деревушка подъ горой стоитъ и сѣрыя поля съ грядами видятся... Вонъ село какое-то съ деревянной церковью, или какія-то крыши высокія, такъ вотъ и кажется, что дома другъ на дружку лѣпятся. Вонъ опять поле, плетнемъ огороженное, какой-то мужикъ въ тележкѣ ѣдетъ. А вотъ на лѣво лѣсъ горитъ, и тушить его некому.

А вонъ мужики куда-то бревна везутъ. Вотъ и въ лодкѣ мужикъ съ бабой переѣзжаетъ... и все плыветъ, идетъ, бѣжитъ куда-то, все смотритъ на бурлаковъ, киваетъ имъ привѣтливо, здравствуй, молъ, поштенный, куда те Богъ несетъ?" Какой поэтической прелестью дышатъ эти безъискусственныя строки, которыми передаются первыя впечатлѣнія подлиповцевъ при встрѣчѣ съ незнакомымъ имъ міромъ, и какой правдой вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ! Чувствуется, что подлиповцы должны были именно испытывать то, что говоритъ авторъ. Мы видимъ грубыхъ, задавленныхъ дикарей, которые съ теплымъ, глубоко человѣчнымъ чувствомъ встрѣчаютъ новую для нихъ жизнь. Сколько любви въ этихъ простыхъ, привѣтныхъ словахъ, которыя чудятся имъ во всемъ, что они видятъ, которыя служатъ откликомъ привѣту жизни, звучащему въ нихъ самихъ: „здравствуй, молъ, поштенный, куда те Богъ несетъ?« И въ этой чертѣ нѣтъ ни малѣйшей натяжки, ни малѣйшей идеализаціи, чтобы заинтересовать читателя. Это сама жизнь.

Но эти свѣтлыя минуты коротки въ жизни подлиповцевъ. Не въ жизни темнаго люда развиться теплому человѣчному чувству. Бурлацкая жизнь научила подлиповцевъ другимъ отношеніямъ къ жизни и людямъ. Въ праздникъ, когда барка стоитъ, бурлаки идутъ смотрѣть городъ. На бульварахъ гуляетъ разряженная губернская публика, это міръ чуждый бурлакамъ, міръ, который брезгливо отварачивается отъ нихъ, отъ котораго отгоняетъ ихъ полиція, чтобы они своими лохмотьями не оскорбили зрѣнія этого люда, и подлиповцы съ первой же встрѣчи начинаютъ понимать свою рознь съ этимъ міромъ. «Любуется она (публика) бурлаками, Богъ вѣсть», говоритъ авторъ: „Для нея играетъ музыка, и пріятно какъ-то играетъ, но нѣтъ лучше бурлацкихъ пѣсенъ. Около загородки стоятъ бурлаки и боятся войти въ загонъ; слушаютъ они музыку, хорошо, весело играютъ, долго бы слушалъ, да непонятно что-то. Постоитъ бурлакъ, заноетъ у него сердце и пойдетъ онъ невеселый на барку. А тамъ поютъ родныя пѣсни, выигрываютъ родные напѣвы, пляшутъ: все какъ-то лучше, отраднѣе.—Баско играютъ, да не по намъ, разсуждаютъ бурлаки.—И люди-то тамъ какіе.—Эхъ, батъ, сыграй веселую.. Вотъ тутъ болитъ, говоритъ одинъ бурлакъ, указывая на грудь или на сердце.—Што тамъ! у нихъ свое, у насъ свое. И выпѣваются бурлацкія пѣсни, грустныя, заунывныя, и далеко и долго разносятся эти пѣсни. А поютъ-то

какъ они. Сидитъ бурлакъ, подопретъ щеку руками, задумается точно, въ глазахъ жизнь видится, на лицѣ горе и смотритъ въ воду.« Сознательная жизнь сказалась въ подлиповскомъ людѣ выраженіемъ горя, и это горе пробудила въ немъ встрѣча съ другими людьми, его братьями, которые зовутся гордо старшей братьей. Эта счастливая, нарядная, довольная собой старшая братья—міръ чуждый подлиповцамъ; у нихъ свое, у насъ свое, говорятъ подлиповцы. И подлиповцы не глядятъ уже болѣе на этотъ міръ съ наивнымъ изумленіемъ, какъ на невиданную диковинку. Они поняли, что этой нарядной, довольной собой правинціальной публикѣ нѣтъ дѣла до бѣдныхъ, полуголодныхъ, измученныхъ бурлаковъ въ ихъ жалкихъ лаптяхъ и грязныхъ лохмотьяхъ. Эта публика не скажетъ имъ привѣтливо „здравствуй, молъ, поштенный", и бурлаки это хорошо знаютъ, и нѣтъ у нихъ теплаго чувства къ этой публики, нѣтъ сознанія кровной связи съ ней. Хорошо житье этой публики, да не радуетъ оно подлиповцевъ, какъ радуетъ ихъ хорошее житье своего брата. Хороша и веселая музыка этой нарядной и довольной толпы, да не годится она для бурлаковъ. Раздразнитъ она ихъ и непонятна имъ; имъ понятенъ только „безконечный стонъ," стонъ ихъ бурлацкихъ пѣсенъ. И они ушли отъ счастливой и довольной братьи тянуть свой унылый стонъ.

Подлиповцы скоро разочаровались въ прелестяхъ бурлачества. Они привыкли и къ чистому хлѣбу, который такъ радовалъ ихъ послѣ мѣсива съ корой—ихъ подлиповской пищи, и къ щамъ съ гнилымъ мясомъ—своему праздничному обѣду, казавшемуся имъ такимъ рѣдкимъ лакомствомъ послѣ голодухи подлиповской. Видъ рѣки, деревень, городовъ и самое солнышко перестало ихъ радовать. Утомленіе отъ тяжелаго труда—труда вьючнаго скота—начало сказываться. Припѣвъ «дернемъ, подернемъ, да разъ, ухнемъ, да ухнемъ, да разъ», подъ который они послѣ подлиповскаго лежанья бодро тянули бичевую, радуясь, что силой двигаютъ барку, потерялъ свою чарующую силу надъ подлиповцами. Бурлацкая жизнь стала имъ ненавистна. Но куда уйти отъ нея, что дѣлать, подлиповцы не знали. «Бурлаки дѣйствуютъ веслами и поносными, говоритъ Рѣшетниковъ: вода плещется, барка скрипитъ, точно какъ плачетъ, обмывается водой, смывая бурлацкія слезы. Бурлаки работаютъ, то и дѣло нагибаютъ спины, наклоняются, поднимаются, шлепаютъ тяжелыми усталыми ногами, думаютъ что-то, вѣроятно о томъ, какъ бы лечь да

отдохнуть. Рубашки смокли, прильнули къ горячему тѣлу, по бородамъ текутъ крупныя капли пота и падаютъ то на тѣло, то на рукавицы... Эхъ ты жизнь, горе горькое!“ Пила не хвастается болѣе тѣмъ, что привелъ подлиповцевъ бурлачить, онъ говоритъ Сысойкѣ: —Что дѣлать? вотъ те и бурлачество, прибавляетъ онъ иронически. Дѣти его пропали.—Пила любитъ дѣтей и говоритъ: „Померли, ну хоть не мучатся. А пошто имъ жить-то... А вотъ на насъ такъ нѣту смерти.—Утонуть! говорятъ подлиповцы. Они годами маялись въ Подлипной и промаялись бы тамъ до послѣдней минуты, ни разу не призвавъ смерти, не задавъ себѣ страшнаго вопроса „а пошто жить?“ промаялись бы, какъ мается животное, съ тупымъ равнодушіемъ встрѣчая приближающуюся смерть. Въ Подлипной имъ не пришла бы въ голову мысль утопиться, самоубійство чуждо первобытнымъ народамъ. На этой степени животной непосредственности человѣкъ можетъ только повиноваться инстинктамъ своей природы; ему нужно подняться отъ этой непосредственности для того, чтобы противуестественная мысль самоубійства запала въ его голову. Подлиповцамъ нужна была встрѣча съ болѣе цивилизованной жизнью, нужно было убѣдиться, что имъ нѣтъ доли въ этой жизни для того, чтобы придти къ убѣжденію, что имъ жить не для чего, а лучше утонуть. Они пришли къ этому убѣжденію, несмотря на то, что зажили жизнью, которая была для нихъ привольнѣе подлиповской.

Подлиповцы вскорѣ начали выражать свою обиду на жизнь не однимъ безконечнымъ стономъ пѣсни и не одними поползновеніями утонуть. Они стали присматриваться къ жизни, и въ нихъ начало накипать сознательное недовольство. Они увидѣли, что какъ они ни робятъ, а все бѣдны; что за ихъ кровавый трудъ имъ даютъ грошевую плату, ихъ обсчитываютъ лоцмана. Одежонка, взятая изъ Подлипной, изодралась. Они по-прежнему впроголодь;—и между тѣмъ они знаютъ, что тяжелымъ трудомъ своимъ сплавляютъ богатые грузы, что грошовая плата, которую не выдаютъ имъ сполна,—и та должна принести крупный барышъ купцу. «Вотъ мы таперича муку премъ, жалуется Пила Сысойкѣ, а ее не дадутъ намъ, а дадутъ когда гривну, когда полтину,—знамо они богаты.» Затѣмъ ихъ донимаетъ другой вопросъ. Они удивляются тому, что, какъ ни плавятъ муку на Чердынь и много плавятъ, а она все тамъ дорога.—А пошто? Кто плавитъ ее—богатъ, порѣшилъ Пила. И богачество, какъ они говорятъ, кажется имъ страшной враждебной силой. Имъ кажется,

что оно виновато, если дорогъ хлѣбъ, оно виновато, если дорога обувь и одежда и подлиповцы должны носить свои драные кафтанишки и лапти. Оно виновато, если и лоцманъ бьетъ ихъ и обсчитываетъ.

Смерть скоро положила конецъ и дальнѣйшимъ размышленіямъ подлиповцевъ о богачествѣ и собственной трудовой жизни. Бичевая лопнула, бурлаки упали, Сысойка разбился, Пила перешибъ себѣ грудь и умеръ. Сцена смерти по своей безъискусственной простотѣ производитъ потрясающее впечатлѣніе.– «Померъ, говорятъ бурлаки, столпившіеся около Пилы и Сысойки.—Эхъ-ма! вотъ-те и жизнь. Померъ.—Добрый былъ, добрый. И мы такъ помремъ, разсуждали бурлаки чуть не плача.—Тятька, стонетъ Сысойка.—И онъ помретъ.—Сысоюшка, поживи ошшо чуточку, просятъ бурлаки. Пилу схоронили бурлаки. Не одна слеза упала на Пилу, холодныя это были слезы бурлацкія.“ Темная, тупая сила случайности положила конецъ этой темной безрадостной жизни. Искорка огня, которая не смотря на все, что дѣлала жизнь, чтобы загасить ее, тлѣла упорно и которая могла бы разгорѣться въ свѣтлое пламя, еслибы жизнь захотѣла того, угасла на всегда. Трудовая, страдальческая, темная жизнь, тянувшаяся годами, годами выбивавшаяся къ свѣту—порвалась, промаявшись даромъ. И много такихъ жизней такъ же промаявшись погибнетъ, погибнетъ безполезно, безслѣдно, погибнетъ даромъ. Чтожъ дѣлать, это зло неизбѣжное! скажутъ мудрецы, которые рады изъ этой неизбѣжности создать себѣ предлогъ, чтобы оставить существовать зло, потому что борьба съ нимъ лишитъ ихъ многихъ удобствъ и нарушитъ ихъ эгоистическое спокойствіе. Полно, дѣйствительно-ли ничего нельзя сдѣлать?

Мудрецы на это отвѣчаютъ обыкновенно, что все сдѣлается само собой, ходомъ прогресса, развитіемъ промышленности и пр. и пр. и въ подтвержденіе своихъ словъ укажутъ на сыновей Пилы, Ивана и Пашку. Оба мальчика подростки ушли бурлачить съ отцемъ и, запоздавши на барку, остались одни въ незнакомомъ городѣ. Иванъ и Пашка, какъ молодые парни, скорѣе освоились съ новой работой, съ новой жизнью. Отецъ ихъ—эта голова, которая была не чета подлиповцамъ, эта великая подлиповская сила, пересталъ скоро быть силой для Ивана и Пашки. Смышленные ребята слышали, какъ прикащикъ ругалъ Пилу и Сысойку свиньями за неумѣнье работать.—Пошто они свиньи? спрашиваетъ Иванъ у Пашки.—

А по то, што робить не умѣютъ. Немного помолчавъ, они спрашиваютъ другъ у друга:—свиньи мы или нѣтъ? кажется, свиньи, а ровно и нѣтъ, свиньи-то во какія, а мы вотъ какіе. Первое пробужденіе мысли Ивана и Пашки сказалось этимъ разсужденіемъ и толчкомъ, пробудившимъ ее, было оскорбленіе. Хорошее педагогическое условіе для развитія! Какой-нибудь досужій юмористъ можетъ расточать мишурныя блестки своего остроумія надъ этой сценой; но всякій, имѣющій глаза, чтобы видѣть, кому удавалось хоть разъ взглянуть на жизнь темнаго люда, скажетъ, что долго еще Иванамъ и Пашкамъ придется, и не въ однихъ темныхъ углахъ въ-родѣ бурлачества, доказывать, что они не свиньи, а люди, тѣмъ, что умѣютъ работать. Ивану и Пашкѣ посчастливилось, работа вывезла ихъ. Пробившись нѣсколько времени, гдѣ тасканьемъ тяжестей, гдѣ нищенствомъ, они попали на пароходъ. „Житье на пароходѣ хорошее ребятамъ, говоритъ Рѣшетниковъ.—Когда идетъ пароходъ, они бросаютъ въ печь дрова, и въ это время ходятъ черные какъ трубочисты и только изрѣдка *любуются надъ людьми*. Они узнали, что такое пароходъ, и знаютъ каждый уголокъ на пароходѣ, каждую вещь, для чего она тутъ хранится, или придѣлана. Товарищи любятъ ихъ, въ особенности любитъ ихъ поваръ и часто даетъ имъ то кусочекъ пирога, то кусочекъ жаркого, или иныхъ какихъ сластей понемногу, а главное—въ свободное время, когда пароходъ стоитъ, учитъ ихъ читать. Въ это свободное время Иванъ и Павелъ купались въ рѣкѣ, смывали съ себя сажу, надѣвали чистенькія рубашки и ходили по городу, или спали, или починивали одежду. Они получали по шести рублей жалованья.“ Вотъ и все. Какъ же не торжествовать мудрецамъ — Иванъ и Павелъ достигли того, что эти мудрецы считаютъ идеаломъ народнаго благоденствія. Иванъ и Павелъ одѣваются въ чистыя рубашки вмѣсто рвани, которую носили Пила и Сысойка, не только не голодаютъ, но имъ перепадаетъ иногда и сладкій кусокъ, правда, благодаря счастливой случайности, и наконецъ, благодаря той же счастливой случайности, учатся грамотѣ — высшая точка развитія, до которой мудрецы допускаютъ народъ. Но мудрецамъ, чтобы быть послѣдовательными, надо бы или вовсе запретить обученіе грамотѣ народа, или устроить такъ, чтобы онъ не шелъ далѣе одного процесса чтенія, какъ гоголевскій Петрушка. А то Иванъ и Пашка изъ книгъ узнали про разные города, узнали, какъ въ нихъ

живутъ люди, и хороша показалась имъ жизнь этихъ людей, и теменъ не только міръ Подлипной, но и тотъ, въ которомъ они жили. Молодая, свѣжая мысль заработала. — А пошто они такіе? спрашиваютъ они одинъ другаго про подлиповцевъ. — А Богъ знаетъ, такъ ужъ вѣрно Богъ устроилъ, одинъ богато живетъ, а другой бѣдно, и живутъ-то вездѣ по-своему, одинъ сытъ, а другой кору ѣстъ. — А пошто же не всѣ богаты? — Ну ужъ и не говори больше. Ты говори спасибо, что и такъ-ту живемъ.

Этими словами оканчиваются „Подлиповцы": молодой парень, только что начинающій жить, говоритъ „спасибо, что и такъ-ту живемъ". Сколько безнадежной усталости, какая неувѣренность въ жизни слышится въ этихъ словахъ. Въ эти годы смѣлыхъ надеждъ, порывовъ, когда силы молодости кипятъ и рвутся, способные молодые парни, добившись сытнаго куска, крѣпкой одежды, спѣшатъ заглушить въ себѣ всякое желаніе лучшаго, всякій пытливый вопросъ. Да и какъ не дрожать имъ надъ этимъ сытнымъ кускомъ, надъ этою чистою, крѣпкою одежонкою, которыя такъ дороги имъ послѣ гнилой рвани, послѣ корокъ хлѣба, выпрошенныхъ Христа-ради или украденныхъ изъ-за угла. Вѣдь лишиться всего этого такъ легко. Пароходство еще вещь новая, но привыкнетъ къ нему народъ — и повалитъ тысячами на пароходы, смекнувъ, что это выгоднѣе бурлачества. Но одинъ пароходъ стоитъ десяти барокъ бурлацкихъ и требуетъ менѣе рукъ, чѣмъ одна барка. Рукъ будетъ много, и тогда, не угоди Иванъ и Павелъ капитану или штурману, и на ихъ мѣсто будутъ сотни охотниковъ. Гдѣ ужъ тутъ еще думать о другой, лучшей жизни, гдѣ ужъ тутъ стремиться къ высшему развитію!

III.

Вслѣдъ за „Подлиповцами," появился цѣлый рядъ повѣстей и романовъ: „Горнорабочіе," который остался неоконченнымъ съ прекращеніемъ «Современника», „Глумовы", тоже изъ быта горнорабочихъ, и наконецъ романъ „Гдѣ лучше," который считается многими лучшимъ произведеніемъ Рѣшетникова. Но ни одно изъ этихъ произведеній не сдѣлало такого глубокаго, потрясающаго впечатлѣнія на общество, какъ „Подлиповцы". Эти романы не открывали обществу новыхъ дикарей, которые жили съ нимъ бокъ-о-бокъ, не давали

потрясающихъ эффектовъ, въ родѣ зарытой живой въ могилу Апроськи. Но зато они открывали новыя стороны изъ быта народа, бросали яркій свѣтъ на его жизнь, на складъ его понятій, и надолго останутся правдивой и безъискуственной лѣтописью его жизни, которая, когда народъ будетъ имѣть своего историка, научитъ его понимать бытъ народа въ переходную эпоху, которую переживаетъ наше поколѣніе и которую быть можетъ придется пережить и будущему. Мотивъ этихъ романовъ одинъ и тотъ же: та же нищета, невѣжество, грубость и забитость; то же безсознательное стремленіе къ свѣту, та же гибель лучшихъ силъ, смерть въ неравной борьбѣ за право жизни, или, когда это право добыто, другая, еще болѣе страшная смерть—смерть нравственная.

Въ „Горнорабочихъ", „Глумовыхъ", „Гдѣ лучше", мы видимъ массу задавленнаго темнаго люда; онъ то надрывается надъ работой, то заливаетъ горе зеленымъ виномъ. Съ перваго взгляда, можетъ, покажется, что нечего искать рѣзкихъ, выдающихся чертъ въ этой массѣ. Нищета, невѣжество и забитость выбили на ней свое однообразное, грубое клеймо. Міръ ея интересовъ тѣсенъ, цѣли ея мелки; вся жизнь сводится на одну заботу о кускѣ хлѣба. Нечего искать здѣсь смѣлаго полета мысли, нѣтъ здѣсь простора ризвитію лучшихъ силъ человѣка. Все блѣдно, сѣро, темно, все придавлено неумолимой рукой судьбы. Такъ, на дальнемъ сѣверѣ нечего искать яркихъ красокъ и причудливыхъ, прекрасныхъ формъ роскошной растительности, которая созрѣваетъ подъ жгучимъ солнцемъ юга; суровый холодъ сковываетъ творческую силу природы и даетъ пробиться только жалкому кустарнику и низменному мху. Но и жалкій кустарникъ и низменный мохъ покажутся однообразными и неприглядными только праздному туристу, который гонится за одной пріятной пестротой впечатлѣній. Человѣкъ, который умѣетъ видѣть жизнь вездѣ, гдѣ бьется пульсъ, гдѣ сказывается малѣйшій ея проблескъ, увидитъ ее и въ жалкомъ кустарникѣ и въ низменномъ мхѣ. Для привычнаго, внимательнаго глаза каждый кустарникъ, каждый мохъ имѣетъ свои отличительныя свойства, свой ясно очерченный образъ. Такъ и у Рѣшетникова, если пробѣжать наскоро его романы, масса сѣраго рабочаго люда рисуется у васъ въ глазахъ, какъ тотъ народъ, который пишутъ на заднемъ планѣ своихъ картинъ живописцы, чтобы онъ служилъ фономъ для героевъ, приковывающихъ все вниманіе зрителя на первомъ планѣ, т. е. сплошной

массой головъ съ еле-обозначенными и почти одинаковыми чертами. Это однообразіе колорита и рисунка навлекло на Рѣшетникова упрекъ въ нехудожественности его произведеній и бѣдности творчества. Нельзя не сознаться, что была и доля правды въ этомъ упрекѣ, и объ этомъ будетъ сказано далѣе; но нужно принять во вниманіе и то, что этотъ однообразный и сѣрый колоритъ—колоритъ самой жизни.

У Рѣшетникова нѣтъ героевъ, которые бы, занявъ передній планъ, отвлекали вниманіе читателя отъ сѣрой массы народа; герой его — темный людъ. И вотъ, зритель невольно начинаетъ вглядываться пристальнѣе въ эти очертанія, казавшіяся ему такъ однообразными, и мало по малу, изъ безличной сѣрой массы выдѣляется передъ его глазами человѣкъ за человѣкомъ, и онъ начинаетъ различать его незатѣйливую, дюжинную, но вѣрно очерченную физіономію; зрителю не бросаются въ глаза ни яркія краски юга, ни греческіе или римскіе профили, за то нѣтъ и фальши, нѣтъ ни одной вымученной у воображенія черты. Эти люди знакомы вамъ, они близко связаны съ вами кровной связью языка и племени, въ этихъ людяхъ, несмотря на вашу оторванность отъ нихъ, несмотря на то, что они не признаютъ въ васъ своихъ, что между вами и ими лежитъ пропасть, вы признаете своихъ, и вы послушно пойдете за авторомъ, когда онъ поведетъ васъ смотрѣть, какъ медленно, день за днемъ проходитъ жизнь этого люда.

Въ „Горнорабочихъ“ и «Глумовыхъ» описывается бытъ народа, прикрѣпленнаго къ заводу. Здѣсь читатель видитъ все безобразіе прежняго чиновничьяго управленія, передъ которымъ блѣднѣло безобразіе крѣпостнаго права. Здѣсь произволъ, несдержанный разсчетомъ уберечь свою собственность, являлся во всей своей разнузданности. У рабочаго не было ничего своего, его время, трудъ, силы, семья—все было въ рукахъ прикащиковъ. Прикащики и смотрители забирали женъ и дочерей въ любовницы, морили рабочихъ въ рудникахъ. Задавленный народъ тянулъ въ кабалѣ свою надрывающую сердце пѣсню про злую долю, да отводилъ душу дома, вымѣщая накипавшую злобу на женѣ и дѣтяхъ. Но вотъ перемѣнились порядки. Объявлена воля. Рабочая сила освободилась. Трудъ сталъ свободнымъ, и чорнорабочему явилась возможность выбирать трудъ наиболѣе обезпечивающій его съ семьей, трудъ наиболѣе сродный и доступный ему. Заводскіе рабочіе и пошли отыскивать тако-

го труда. Романъ „Гдѣ лучше“—одиссея этихъ поисковъ. Рабочіе испытали жизнь на рудникахъ, гдѣ приходилось копаться по цѣлымъ днямъ въ душныхъ, темныхъ подземельяхъ, гдѣ ихъ заливало водой, гдѣ они задыхались отъ сырости и удушливыхъ газовъ, пока не подкашивала ихъ надолго или навсегда лихорадка или гнилая горячка. Они пришли на соляныя варницы и увидѣли, что и свободный трудъ не всегда обезпечиваетъ на варницахъ, какъ и послѣ, въ другихъ промыслахъ, на которые поступали наши искатели лучшаго оказывалось, что рабочихъ рукъ болѣе, нежели спроса. При такихъ условіяхъ наниматели рабочихъ смотрѣли на себя, какъ на благодѣтелей. Хочу, беру — и у рабочаго есть кусокъ хлѣба, не возьму — и онъ голодаетъ. Ими распоряжались по произволу, усчитывали плату, оскорбляли, били, и они должны были молчать. Они могли, правда, уйти, но для того, чтобы начать тянуть ту же канитель на новомъ мѣстѣ. Терентій Горюновъ, чтобы получить мѣсто уставщика, долженъ былъ дать взятку смотрителю въ двадцать четыре рубля, за мѣсто съ жалованьемъ отъ 52 до 75 рублей въ годъ. За то ему предоставлялось право гривенниками и пятаками набрать уплату за взятку и получить исправный барышъ съ бабъ, которыя носили соль въ мѣшкахъ изъ варницы въ амбары. Племянники его и племянница, которые пошли съ нимъ отыскивать гдѣ лучше, тоже пришли къ заключенію, что на волѣ не многимъ лучше, чѣмъ въ крѣпостномъ трудѣ. То былъ подневольный трудъ, онъ давалъ жалкій кусокъ хлѣба, но онъ давалъ его, а тутъ приходилось брать этотъ кусокъ хлѣба съ боя. Онъ давался только тѣмъ изъ рабочихъ, у кого было здоровое горло и дюжіе кулаки, которые могли пробиться впередъ, безжалостно давя тѣхъ, кто былъ слабѣе. Рабочіе, чтобы добиться работы, должны были отнимать время у отдыха, забираться къ дверямъ варницъ за нѣсколько часовъ до начала работъ. Отворялись двери—и начиналась свалка. И горе тѣмъ, кто былъ слабѣе, горе и тѣмъ, кто былъ честнѣе и совѣстливѣе, чье человѣчное чувство возмущалось отъ этой драки за кусокъ хлѣба, превращавшей людей въ дикихъ звѣрей. Сильные и менѣе совѣстливые пробивались, а они уходили въ свои темные углы. Женщины могли избавиться отъ этой тяжелой борьбы за жизнь, могли купить себѣ и сладкій кусокъ и промѣнять лохмотья на наряды той же цѣной, какъ и при крѣпостномъ правѣ.

Рабочіе ушли съ варницъ въ губернскій городъ искать дру-

гихъ работъ; они перепробовали всѣ работы, которыя требовали только сырой рабочей силы; вездѣ они приносили тотъ же неутомимый трудъ, ту же упорную энергію—и вездѣ они убѣждались, что новый трудъ, за который они хватались съ надеждою, что онъ наконецъ дастъ имъ возможность жить не впроголодь, ходить не въ нищенскихъ лохмотьяхъ,—не обезпечивалъ ихъ ни на волосъ болѣе оставленнаго труда: лучшее, на которое они жадно кидались, оказывалось хуже прежняго лучшаго. Они ходили и землю копать на желѣзную дорогу,—и переболѣли отъ изнуренія и дурной пищи, ходили и на кирпичные заводы, и наконецъ пришли въ Петербургъ. Петербургъ представлялся имъ землей обѣтованной, въ богатомъ городѣ, должно быть, работы вдоволь на всѣ руки, тамъ и плата хорошая, тамъ и житье хорошее. Но и въ Питерѣ оказалось не лучше. Они увидѣли, что „никто и въ Питерѣ не хвалится житьемъ. Оно бы и заработокъ ладный, и все-таки ни сытъ, ни голоденъ. Еще ладно, кто на одномъ мѣстѣ долго держится. А какъ свернешься съ мѣста, и слоняйся да проживай денежки. Ну вотъ лѣто лѣтошнее бережешь денежки, а дома работы нѣтъ, и проживешь все, а лѣтомъ опять на работу». Пошли рабочіе по питерскимъ заводамъ, въ литейщикахъ, на сахарномъ заводѣ, на зеркальномъ. И увидѣли они, какъ день за днемъ убываетъ ихъ рабочая сила; какъ то того, то другого товарища везли въ больницу, а оттуда на погостъ. Лѣтописи темнаго люда богаты скорбными листами. Въ Питерѣ еще хуже рабочей силѣ; на каждомъ шагу дразнитъ привольное житье. Тамъ темный людъ еще глубже и больнѣе чувствуетъ свою темноту. Ему еще сильнѣе хочется зажить другой жизнью, зажить, какъ живутъ люди. Эта потребность жить, какъ живутъ люди, которая въ мірѣ будуаровъ и гостиныхъ вырождается въ мелкое и пошлое желанье щегольнуть другъ передъ другомъ роскошью, удивить безумнымъ мотовствомъ, въ бѣдномъ темномъ людѣ—сознаніе человѣческаго достоинства, законное желаніе здоровой жизни. Ему бы хотѣлось здоровой вкусной пищи, которую можетъ человѣкъ ѣсть безъ отвращенія, вмѣсто вонючей гнили, которою питается по привычкѣ, сложивъ про нее поговорку, что въ мужицкомъ брюхѣ и долото сгніетъ; ему бы хотѣлось носить чистое, приличное платье вмѣсто нищенскихъ отрепьевъ, изъ-за которыхъ его гонятъ вездѣ, и увидя которыя люди припрятываютъ свои вещи и деньги. Въ Питерѣ на каждомъ шагу соблазны: гдѣ устоять

противъ нихъ рабочему; и самъ онъ знаетъ, что плохо дѣлаетъ, что не устоялъ, да что дѣлать? „Въ Питерѣ, говоритъ онъ, и заработокъ ладный, а деньги идутъ самъ не знаешь на что". И дороговизна питерская подъѣдаетъ рабочихъ; темный, сырой уголъ обходится рубля въ два въ мѣсяцъ; хлѣбъ вдвое дороже противъ губерніи. И поживъ въ Питерѣ, рабочіе снова задали себѣ этотъ вопросъ—гдѣ лучше?

И нигдѣ не лучше рабочей силѣ — оттого, что у ней нѣтъ ничего, кромѣ рукъ. Рѣшетниковъ показываетъ намъ, какъ у темнаго люда отнимается все, чѣмъ жизнь дорога человѣку. Глубокія кровныя привязанности, счастье въ семьѣ — роскошь, недоступная темному люду. И не потому, что природа лишила его человѣчныхъ чувствъ, способности привязаться, — темная жизнь давитъ все своей желѣзной рукой. Измученный рабочій приходитъ съ работы домой. Какъ былъ бы онъ счастливъ отдохнуть въ скромной, но чистой, свѣтлой горенкѣ, встрѣтить улыбку и ласку веселой и довольной жены, смѣхъ и игры сытыхъ и чисто одѣтыхъ дѣтей. Онъ забылъ бы и тяжелый трудъ, и всякія обиды. А его ждетъ отдыхъ въ дымной, грязной лачугѣ, грубость, бѣдность, жалобы, попреки жены, ревъ голодныхъ и побитыхъ дѣтей—домашній адъ бѣдняка. Не стерпитъ онъ, выругаетъ жену, прибьетъ дѣтей, и потомъ ему самому стыдно и жалко, и онъ эти чувства стыда и недовольства вымѣститъ опять же на женѣ и дѣтяхъ. И радъ бы онъ удержаться отъ брани, побоевъ, онъ видитъ, что отъ нихъ его темная жизнь становится еще темнѣе, но онъ не можетъ удержаться. Темная жизнь не создаетъ здоровыхъ людей и эти люди больны—больны волей. Ему станетъ невыносимо и онъ уйдетъ въ кабакъ выпить съ горя опять, но и этимъ горя не размыкаетъ—дома его ждутъ ругань и попреки жены. Эти попреки оскорбляютъ его достоинство,—онъ глава дома, онъ господинъ жены. Онъ пользуется правомъ господина и «учитъ» жену—безобразіе семьи растетъ. Жена, измученная заботами, дѣтьми, непосильной работой, и рада бы угодить мужу, и рада бы смолчать, но это свыше ея силъ. Тоска, раздраженіе должны найти себѣ исходъ. Она не можетъ молчать, видя какъ мужъ тащитъ въ кабакъ гроши, на которые можно прокормить дѣтей день лишній. Она видитъ, что попреками портитъ дѣло и принимаетъ рѣшимость встрѣтить мужа лаской, но у него, измученнаго, озлобленнаго, для нея только злыя и горькія слова,—и

она отвѣчаетъ такими же злыми и горькими. И день за днемъ тянется эта убійственная жизнь. Люди, которые сошлись для того, чтобы вдвоемъ легче нести бремя жизни, люди, которые горячо любятъ другъ друга, терзаютъ одинъ другаго, какъ злѣйшіе враги.

Но зато и какъ немного надо, чтобы сдѣлать изъ домашняго ада мирную семью, изъ этихъ дикихъ звѣрей, которые грызутъ другъ друга, — довольныхъ собою и жизнью людей. Посмотрите на учителя Курносова въ праздникъ, когда у него есть чѣмъ отпраздновать его не хуже людей. У него нашлось 25 копѣекъ на поросенка, да еще 15 на мясо и пирогъ, да еще на водку—расходовъ всего менѣе рубля; и онъ счастливъ, онъ по человѣчески обращается съ женой, въ домѣ миръ и благодать — и все это куплено лишнимъ рублемъ. Сколько грубости и безобразій, сколько слезъ и горя унесетъ этотъ нашедшійся лишній рубль! Въ темномъ мірѣ безвыходной нужды лишній рубль, лишній десятокъ рублей—вопросъ жизни и смерти, вопросъ человѣческаго достоинства и униженія. Счастіе того же Курносова разбилось потому, что не хватило десяти рублей на покупку коровы. Да, въ этомъ мірѣ разыгрываются цѣлыя драмы изъ-за коровы. Прасковья Курносова страстно хочетъ, чтобы мужъ купилъ ей корову. Это не праздная бабья прихоть. Корова, это вопросъ экономической самостоятельности для женщины темнаго люда. По принятому обычаю, деньги съ коровы считаются собственностью женщинъ. Женщинѣ, у которой есть корова, не придется выканючивать у мужа каждый грошъ, у ней есть свой заработокъ, своя собственность. Независимость начинается съ возможности располагать своей копѣйкой. Если мужъ самодуръ и станетъ отбирать выручку, все-таки у ней останется возможность утянуть хоть нѣсколько грошей. Корова открываетъ цѣлый міръ дѣятельности для женщины темнаго люда. Корова—признакъ достатка, домовитости хозяйки; при коровѣ можно завести и мелкую скотину, и птицу держать. Понятно, почему Прасковьѣ Курносовой страстно хотѣлось имѣть корову—счастье это для нее такъ велико, что она убѣждена даже, что мать ея, которая сошла съ ума, когда засѣкли ея мужа, должна непремѣнно выздоровѣть, когда будетъ куплена корова. „Можетъ и маменька въ чувствіе придетъ, когда будетъ корова“, говоритъ она. А тутъ мужъ пропиваетъ деньги и не хочетъ купить коровы. Найдись у него разомъ лишнихъ рублей десять, онъ купилъ бы корову женѣ, но эти десять рублей надо

копить по грошамъ, и силъ не станетъ уберечь эти гроши, когда тоска гонитъ забыться въ кабакъ. Прасковьѣ не понять того горя, съ котораго пьетъ мужъ, она знаетъ одно, что онъ женихомъ обѣщался любить ее и ей «всякія радости предоставить». Въ отказѣ дать ей цѣль всѣхъ ея желаній, ея счастье въ жизни — корову, она видитъ охлажденіе, измѣну. Начинается пиленье мужа попреками, въ семьѣ Курносовыхъ домашній адъ. Домъ опостыливаетъ мужу и онъ тащитъ все въ кабакъ; тащитъ наконецъ и самоваръ, на который Прасковья хотѣла вымѣнять корову. Послѣдняя надежда Прасковьи убита. Она не выноситъ обиду и въ отмщенье стрижетъ мужу усы. Оскорбленный въ своемъ достоинствѣ мужа, осмѣянный, Курносовъ бросаетъ жену, связывается съ другой женщиной, развратницей и пьяницей, и спивается съ кругу. И все оттого, что у него не было ни разу въ жизни десяти свободныхъ рублей. Въ мірѣ темнаго люда разыгрываются драмы еще страшнѣе изъ-за того же десятка рублей. Степанида Елизарова отбирала у сына деньги и пропивала ихъ. Сынъ пересталъ отдавать матери заработокъ; она стала получать его прямо изъ конторы на основаніи малолѣтства сына. Озлобленный Степанъ ночью кинулся на мать съ топоромъ. Она подала жалобу и Степанъ пропалъ въ острогѣ. Иные, конечно, скажутъ, что виной этихъ драмъ не бѣдность, а собственная безхарактерность и безнравственность темнаго люда, его неспособность «терпѣть любя, терпѣть прощая", терпѣть—не ожидая лучшей участи. Но для того, чтобы во имя терпѣнія и любви сносить лишенія, страданія, обиды, чтобы ежеминутно подавлять въ себѣ накипающую злобу и отчаяніе, имѣть всегда привѣтъ и ласку въ отвѣтъ на ругань и побои — нужны нечеловѣческія силы. Этого не хотятъ понять моралисты. Превыспреннія требованія ставить легко. Но пусть бы они сами попробовали исполнить ихъ. Пусть они укажутъ на человѣка даже развитого, который былъ бы способенъ во имя принципа терпѣнія и любви вынести жизнь подобной безпрерывной нравственной ломки, подобнаго хроническаго самоотверженія. И нигдѣ ни въ какомъ слоѣ общества не найдется такого человѣка. Герои и героини хроническаго самоотверженія водились еще въ литературѣ, когда писателей звали сочинителями, и вывелись, когда литература перестала быть сочинительствомъ; подобные герои и героини видятся теперь только въ благонравныхъ англійскихъ романахъ, написанныхъ для назиданія молодыхъ дѣву-

шекъ, но жизнь не доказываетъ, чтобы эти назиданія принесли какіе-нибудь плоды. И оно понятно. Несравненно легче рискнуть жизнью въ какомъ-нибудь самоотверженномъ подвигѣ, чѣмъ постоянно выдержать подобное хроническое самоотверженіе.

Не однѣ драмы изъ-за десятка лишнихъ рублей подрываютъ семейное счастье темнаго люда. Въ его темномъ мірѣ женщина ничѣмъ не ограждена отъ наглыхъ покушеній. И отцы и мужья сами торгуютъ ею, или, когда другіе торгуютъ, молчатъ, заливая въ кабакѣ злобу и стыдъ, молчатъ потому, что со „старшихъ" взять нечего темному люду. Полицейскій Артамоновъ изнасиловалъ дочь Токменцова, Елену—и нѣтъ на него управы; въ темномъ мірѣ заводскихъ рабочихъ Артамоновъ всесильный человѣкъ. Кинется въ глаза прикащику красивое лицо работницы, онъ скажетъ: приходи, живи у меня—и она идетъ. Не поди она, ее сгонятъ съ мѣста, сгонятъ мужа, и дѣти останутся безъ хлѣба. Она идетъ, проклиная злую долю, снося дома побои отца и мужа, снося стыдъ и насмѣшки. Годы идутъ, женщина привыкаетъ къ позору, и дорога къ публичному дому проторена, ей не уйти отъ него, какъ не ушла Палагея Семихина; а если семья удержитъ—то ей не уйти отъ кабака. Много разсказовъ о такихъ семьяхъ занесено на страницы рѣшетниковскихъ лѣтописей. Жена рабочаго Елизарова въ романѣ „Гдѣ лучше" содержала семью цѣной позора. Она достала мужу выгодное мѣсто полѣсовщика. Горько было Елизарову жить этой цѣной и радъ бы былъ онъ содержать семью честнымъ трудомъ,—но честный трудъ давалъ черствый кусокъ хлѣба, и то не для всей семьи; и онъ сносилъ свой стыдъ, подъ пьяную руку срывая сердце, обругавъ жену, которая тотчасъ зажимала ему ротъ намекомъ, и онъ сваливалъ всю вину на свое горе горькое, бѣдность непокрытую.

Эта бѣдность не даетъ темному люду сплотиться въ дружную семью, она разгоняетъ кровныхъ по широкому раздолью матушки Руси мыкать горе, отыскивая гдѣ лучше. Темный людъ расходится просто, безъ мелодраматическихъ сценъ прощаній, безъ клятвъ и увѣреній. Женщины ревутъ въ голосъ, мужчины скрываютъ прошибающую слезу; расходятся, не зная сойдутся ли когда-нибудь, и мыкаютъ порознь горе годами, не зная ничего другъ о другѣ; писать—нуженъ гривенникъ, да и что писать? Встрѣтятся и не узнаютъ другъ друга, дотого измѣнило ихъ это исканье „гдѣ лучше". Вотъ какъ, наивнымъ слогомъ лѣтописца, описываетъ Рѣ-

шетниковъ встрѣчу Панфила Горюнова съ сестрой въ Петербургѣ. „Товарищи Панфила Прохорыча глядѣли то на него, то на женщину; они то улыбались, то почесовали затылки и что-то обдумывали. Ихъ лица выражали словно зависть и какъ-будто говорили: „Ишь вѣдь, свидѣлись таки; экое подумаешь людямъ счастье". И темный людъ тѣмъ глубже чувствовалъ лишеніе этого счастья—что это счастье одно доступно ему. Міръ мысли, науки, умственныхъ наслажденій, міръ широкой дѣятельности, захватывающей всѣ силы, ему недоступенъ; бѣдность забила его въ тѣсный кругъ физическихъ потребностей и естественныхъ привязанностей; эти привязанности однѣ вносятъ лучъ свѣта въ его темную жизнь, будятъ въ немъ человѣчныя стороны его природы. Ради этихъ привязанностей онъ готовъ биться, пока есть въ немъ хоть капля силъ, хоть искра жизни. „Ну, для кого я бьюсь и истязаюсь какъ собака", жалуется Токменцовъ дочери. Этими привязанностями темный людъ поднимается отъ степени животнаго и входитъ въ міръ человѣческой жизни. Но и онѣ для него запретная роскошь. При такой жизни нечего требовать человѣчности въ его семьѣ. Мужъ уйдетъ на заработки; онъ годами живетъ врозь съ женой, завертывая при случаѣ на короткую побывку. Онъ привыкаетъ къ порядкамъ и образованности большихъ городовъ. Семейная связь порвана. Жена плачетъ сначала, тамъ утѣшается и въ отместку гуляющему на чужой сторонѣ мужу сама начинаетъ гулять. Въ мірѣ, гдѣ мысль спитъ непробуднымъ сномъ, женщины рѣдко способны къ прочной связи, любовь для нихъ—безобразная гульба. Естественныя послѣдствія такихъ условій жизни—усиленіе проституціи въ большихъ городахъ, приливъ подкинутыхъ дѣтей въ воспитательныхъ домахъ, а дома подъ часъ и дѣтоубійство, чтобъ возвратившійся мужъ не поучилъ жену за чужаго ребенка, непрошеннаго пришлеца подъ его крышей.

При крѣпостномъ правѣ иные хозяйственные помѣщики въ видахъ улучшенія рабочей силы облегчали браки крестьянъ, давая имъ первое обзаведеніе; той же системы, только въ другой формѣ, держалось управленіе заводами. Женатому рабочему отпускались пайки на жену и дѣтей. Прикрѣпленный къ заводу, Токманцевъ не задумался жениться, разсчитывая на пайки, но трудъ сталъ свободнымъ, а рабочій обязаннымъ заботиться самъ о прокормленіи жены и дѣтей. Съ чувствомъ свободы родилось въ немъ и чувство собственнаго достоинства и за-

конное честолюбіе. Съ крѣпостного нечего взыскать; онъ не властенъ въ своей жизни и нищета ему не въ указъ. Но вольный человѣкъ долженъ жить какъ люди, не то скажутъ, что онъ бездѣльный, негодящій человѣкъ или пьяница. И вотъ Корчагинъ и Караваевъ, трезвые, работящіе мастеровые, насмотрѣвшись на горькую жизнь женатыхъ, порѣшили жениться тогда, когда они скопятъ настолько, чтобы самимъ быть хозяевами. Темная жизнь научила ихъ мальтусовскому закону воздержанія. Они лучше согласны протянуть одиноко ея убійственную канитель, нежели выносить домашній адъ семьи темнаго люда. Моралисты могутъ торжествовать; число неразумныхъ браковъ уменьшается—но уменьшается ли зло? Станетъ-ли темная жизнь темнаго люда свѣтлѣе отъ приложенія мальтусовской теоріи на дѣлѣ? Многіе ли изъ темнаго люда добьются возможности содержать семью безбѣдно? На одного, который добьется,—какая масса погибшихъ. Караваевъ добился, а женщина, для которой онъ работалъ, не вынесла тяжелой жизни—и умерла. Значитъ разсчетливость и предусмотрительность—роскошь для темнаго люда. Откажетъ ли себѣ темный людъ въ безразсудномъ бракѣ, или нѣтъ—все равно; такъ ужъ лучше, махнувъ рукой на будущее, урвать хоть нѣсколько мгновеній счастья. Хоть день, да мой—эта поговорка отчаянія сложена темнымъ людомъ. Для того, чтобы мальтусовское воздержаніе оказалось дѣйствительнымъ воздержаніемъ, темному люду нужна нечеловѣческая сила. Воздержаніе его оказывается только воздержаніемъ отъ одного только брака, отъ законной семьи. Оно увеличиваетъ число внѣбрачныхъ связей, подкинутыхъ дѣтей, вытравленіе плода, дѣтоубійство, усиливаетъ развратъ и проституцію съ ихъ гибельными послѣдствіями—моровой язвой новаго времени, подтачивающей жизнь еще и недоразвившихся поколѣній. Караваевъ и Корчагинъ, съумѣвшіе стать выше темныхъ инстинктовъ, въ мірѣ которыхъ живетъ темный людъ—рѣдкія исключенія. Но развѣ можно требовать, чтобы масса состояла изъ Караваевыхъ и Корчагиныхъ? И эта ломка природы не прошла даромъ ни Караваеву, ни Корчагину.

У темнаго люда жизнь отнимаетъ не одну семью; она отнимаетъ и мысль и сознаніе—все, что поднимаетъ человѣка надъ животнымъ. Если же въ немъ случайно и зашевелится мысль, то это мысль тяжелая, безрадостная, мысль о своей горегорькой бѣдности. Вотъ обращики этихъ мыслей. У Токменцова засѣкли старшаго сына. Жена пошла жаловаться; онъ привезъ домой безвинно

наказаннаго младшаго. Онъ знаетъ, что его нарядятъ не въ очередь рыть руду и зададутъ урокъ не по силамъ. „Токменцевъ думаетъ, и думы пойдутъ невеселыя, говоритъ Рѣшетниковъ: Осподи Іисусе, да пошто же ты экую напасть приставилъ намъ грѣшнымъ? Чѣмъ я-то хуже другихъ, чѣмъ я-то не человѣкъ? Вотъ Ганька, шельмецъ, говоритъ, что люди по нынѣшнему выходитъ все одно что собаки. Онъ это по малолѣтству судитъ... оно вѣдь и правда. И онъ началъ думать: почему человѣкъ—скотъ или собака, но хорошаго ничего не выдумалъ, надоѣло ему эти пустяки разбирать. Чѣмъ больше онъ думалъ, тѣмъ гаже казалась ему жизнь. Какой-бы предметъ ему ни пришелъ въ голову—этотъ предметъ мѣшалъ ему жить». А вотъ думы Ильи Глумова, кучера, который цѣлый день съ лошадьми стоитъ у подъѣзда дома, гдѣ баринъ его, прикащикъ, сидитъ за параднымъ обѣдомъ. Онъ голоденъ, не смѣетъ отойти отъ лошадей и съѣсть что нибудь на свои деньги, какъ другіе кучера; а на дворѣ праздникъ, и тутъ идетъ пиръ горой, а онъ какъ каторжный прикованъ къ лошадямъ. Пусть трудъ его не такъ физически тягостенъ, за то онъ тягостенъ нравственно. У рабочаго, когда онъ отбудетъ свои рабочіе часы, есть уголъ, сырой, тѣсный уголъ, но, свой, гдѣ онъ вздохнетъ свободно, гдѣ никто надъ нимъ не командуетъ; онъ можетъ идти, куда хочетъ, видѣть, кого хочетъ. У слуги этого нѣтъ; каждая минута его принадлежитъ хозяину; онъ долженъ обо всемъ спрашиваться хозяина, можетъ видѣть своихъ близкихъ, если это дозволитъ хозяинъ; онъ прикованъ къ хозяйскому колокольчику. Илья — слуга самодура, который говоритъ: „Ну кто кромѣ меня есть сила? Я командиръ, я всѣмъ орудую, не будь меня, не было бы и васъ, скотовъ“. Невеселыя мысли наведетъ жизнь у такого командира. Илья вспоминаетъ свое дѣтство, какъ праздникъ справлялся въ семьѣ. „Жалко ему сдѣлалось прежнихъ дней; припомнилось много и худого и хорошаго, припомнилась сестра его, особенно нравившаяся ему въ этотъ день, когда она играла съ нимъ и съ сосѣдними ребятишками въ жмурки и игры. Такъ грустно сдѣлалось ему, что онъ заплакалъ, но плакалъ незамѣтно и недолго, ругая прикащика какъ только умѣлъ“. А вотъ думы Панфила Горюнова, котораго засадили въ острогъ за фальшивую бумажку. „Общество острожниковъ показалось ему до того противнымъ, что онъ проклиналъ жизнь, грызя рукавъ своей грязной ру-

бахи, пропитанной всякой гадостью. Ему хотѣлось даже разбить голову, хотѣлось повѣситься. Будь онъ на свободѣ, онъ что-нибудь да придумалъ бы, но при теперешнемъ положеніи лучшаго ничего не могъ придумать, и только не приводилъ въ исполненіе своихъ мыслей, потому что повѣситься было не на что, билъ свою голову объ стѣну, попробовалъ руками давить свою шею,—не вынесъ".

Нужно быть геніемъ для того, чтобы мысль могла работать при такихъ условіяхъ. При всѣхъ недостаткахъ воспитанія дѣтей въ образованныхъ семьяхъ, мысль развивается тамъ на несравненно болѣе здоровыхъ впечатлѣніяхъ. Тамъ ребенокъ прежде всего поставленъ въ несравненно болѣе здоровыя физическія условія; затѣмъ ему наперерывъ спѣшатъ передать научныя понятія, осмысленно или нѣтъ, но если онъ не идіотъ отъ природы, то умъ его выберетъ изъ нихъ пригодную пищу; ему говорятъ, хоть ради приличій, о высшемъ назначеніи человѣка, о служеніи обществу, а если не говорятъ, то хоть даютъ книжки, которыя это скажутъ ему. Мысль ребенка темнаго люда пробуждается на сравненіи житья хорошо откормленной скотины и собственной жизни, и вмѣсто вывода о высшемъ назначеніи человѣка приходитъ къ тому, что человѣкъ, скотъ, или собака—все одно. Выраженія: свинья, оселъ, телячья башка, которыя ему безпрестанно приходится слышать, подтверждаютъ этотъ выводъ. Дальнѣйшая жизнь навсегда скрѣпляетъ этотъ выводъ въ его умѣ. Ребенка пришлютъ на фабрику и онъ тамъ вертитъ до одуренія рукояткою или мажетъ кистью, пока не одеревенѣютъ члены и невольный сонъ не сомкнетъ глаза. Кругомъ его грубость, пьянство, животность. Ни одного хорошаго впечатлѣнія, ни одного здороваго стимула для мысли. А думать о чемъ? Перебирать свою жизнь день за днемъ, годъ за годомъ и видѣть, „что каждый предметъ мѣшаетъ ему жить?" И порѣшитъ онъ, что думать—пустяки, какъ ни думай легче не будетъ—и пойдетъ топить назойливую мысль въ кабакѣ. Куда ему идти кромѣ кабака? Клубовъ у него нѣтъ, театровъ тоже. Чѣмъ занять свой досугъ въ праздничные дни? Чѣмъ отвести душу, когда осилитъ горе? Читать? Многіе-ли изъ темнаго люда умѣютъ читать, и многіе ли изъ тѣхъ, которые умѣютъ, поднялись выше чтенія гоголевскаго Петрушки? Да и что сталъ бы читать темный людъ? Разныя грязненькія грошовыя назидательныя книжицы, или опрятныя по наружному виду, но едва-ли не еще болѣе грязненькія по своему содержанію книги, издаваемыя нѣкоторыми

народно-солдатскими писателями. Такъ что еслибы пришлось выбирать для народа изъ двухъ золъ меньшее — кабакъ или чтеніе подобныхъ книжицъ—то трудно рѣшить, которое изъ нихъ перетянуло бы вѣсы. Наконецъ, еслибы и были книги, то для нихъ нужны деньги, а гдѣ ихъ возьметъ темный людъ? Ну, купитъ онъ двѣ-три книги въ годъ, много ли онѣ дадутъ ему чтенія. Библіотеки для чтенія ему недоступны. Мысль для него роскошь; онъ обреченъ только на одну о своей горькой долѣ—и кабакъ. Онъ и самъ не радъ, что его тянетъ въ кабакъ, но что же дѣлать, гдѣ взять силъ терпѣть, въ чемъ найти забвенье? „Въ кабакѣ забыться можно, говорятъ рабочіе Пелагеѣ Мокроносовой, которая упрекаетъ брата за то, что тотъ пьетъ. „А што ему дѣлать? Обниматься съ тобой? Какія такія радости ты предоставишь ему".

И забывается темный людъ, и глохнетъ въ немъ мысль. Притупленный мозгъ, отравленная водкой кровь, надломленныя силы передаются изъ поколѣнія въ поколѣніе, и темный людъ вырождается.

Вопросъ объ этомъ роковомъ наслѣдствѣ мучилъ Рѣшетникова, пока въ своихъ романахъ и очеркахъ „Забитые люди" онъ не далъ двухъ-трехъ картинъ этого вырожденія. Возьмите его повѣсть „Макся". Макся—сынъ дьячка, который умеръ отъ пьянства, и хотя онъ въ качествѣ чина духовнаго сословія и пользуется преимуществами передъ темнымъ людомъ—свободой отъ рекрутчины, даровымъ и обязательнымъ образованіемъ—но на дѣлѣ эти преимущества оказываются миѳомъ. Онъ долженъ всю жизнь пробѣдствовать сельскимъ причетникомъ, и это еще при самыхъ благопріятныхъ условіяхъ. Даровое и обязательное образованіе такого рода, что выдержать цѣлый курсъ и не притупиться безнадежно могутъ или тупицы, застрахованныя уже отъ притупленія, или рѣдкія даровитыя личности. Природа обидѣла Максю способностями и взамѣнъ ихъ дала ему одно всевыносливое терпѣніе и честность. Даже уроки умирающаго отца, которые были бы толчкомъ для мало-мальски смышленой натуры, пропали даромъ. „Макся, говоритъ ему отецъ,—Макся, мнѣ жалко тебя... жалко". Макся плакалъ. „Не хнычь, Макся, самъ пробивай себѣ дорогу... Вѣдь тебѣ много придется терпѣть, и ахъ, какъ много..." Макся ничего не понималъ. „Ты не вини меня, что я твой отецъ... не я виноватъ, никто не виноватъ... Родись ты отъ благочиннаго, ты бы не такой былъ. Учись главное, а коли не выучишься, не ходи пожалуйста въ монахи и солдаты, развѣ когда все

испробуешь". Легко сказать: пробивай себѣ дорогу самъ; бѣдняку, чтобы пробить себѣ дорогу, нужны недюжинныя способности. Въ мірѣ достаточныхъ людей ворожащія бабушки и дѣдушки могутъ вытащить за уши дюжинность и бездарность. Родителямъ, за хорошія деньги, можетъ посчастливиться найти и хорошаго педагога, который вложитъ хоть нѣсколько здравыхъ понятій въ голову дѣтокъ-тупицъ. Эти тупицы передадутъ дѣтямъ своимъ хоть нѣкоторую долю большей воспріимчивости мозга къ умственному труду. Не то бываетъ для темнаго люда. И сильныя личности изъ него выбиваются на дорогу поломанными, обезсиленными, а бездарныя должны гибнуть. Макся не способенъ учиться, его гонятъ изъ семинаріи. Товарищи его собираются на мѣста, говорятъ о томъ, чѣмъ они будутъ. Одинъ Макся не собирается никуда, онъ живо чувствуетъ свою бездарность, свою безпомощность. „На широкую дорогу пойдешь, смѣются надъ нимъ товарищи.—Будь я проклятъ, чтобъ я пошелъ.—Ну-ка скажи, кто ты будешь? Макся улыбается и молчитъ. Онъ ничѣмъ не могъ похвастаться". И бѣдняга Макся больно чувствовалъ и гнетъ налегшей жизни, и свою безпомощность выбиться, дотого больно, что бѣгалъ на рѣку утопиться, да „силъ не хватило, страшно показалось". Выключенный изъ семинаріи, Макся поступилъ въ звонари. Эта жизнь дикости, мрака, нищеты доканала Максю. Въ немъ было живо человѣческое чувство и онъ не могъ примириться съ этой жизнью. Вотъ какъ описываетъ Рѣшетниковъ настроеніе бѣднаго Макси. „Задумается Макся, кругомъ тихо, голуби воркуютъ. Задумается Макся и вздохнетъ: Вотъ голубямъ что, а я то что... Пей водку, а пользы нѣтъ... Потомъ ему сдѣлается грустно, такъ вотъ и защемитъ сердце... Заплачетъ Макся: какой я человѣкъ... Звонарь, сволочь. Хоть бы пѣвчимъ сдѣлаться, такъ голосу нѣтъ.

Опять сидитъ Макся и представится ему что-то хорошее, и кажется ему, что онъ хуже всѣхъ, и не можетъ понять отчего онъ такой, и только на міръ божій сердится.—А черти васъ дери, скажетъ онъ со злостью, плюнетъ съ колокольни въ городъ и пойдетъ къ колоколамъ». Послѣ онъ поступилъ въ почтальоны и допился до сумасшествія. Онъ и трезвымъ начиналъ заговариваться, и когда его спрашивали: что мучитъ тебя? онъ говорилъ: не твое дѣло! не я первый, не я послѣдній такой". И онъ правъ: не онъ первый, не онъ послѣдній былъ и, вѣроятно, будетъ жертвой этихъ условій жизни.

Шилохвостовъ еще болѣе рѣзкій примѣръ вырожденія. Онъ былъ сыномъ идіотки. Мать его призрѣли добрые люди изъ жалости къ забитой, несчастной нищей-дѣвочкѣ. Она росла молча, снося и насмѣшки, и обиды, и всѣ считали ее безчувственной. „Одно только замѣчали торговки, что послѣ того, какъ побалуютъ съ ней парни или озорники мущчины, она сядетъ въ уголъ и давай нюнить. Но нигдѣ не плакала такъ Маланья, какъ дома и по ночамъ, и плакала она такъ горько, что разбужала спящихъ. О чемъ она плакала? О томъ-ли, что она неизвѣстнаго происхожденія, о томъ ли, что ее ругаютъ и смѣются надъ нею всѣ, о томъ ли, что Богъ ей разуму не далъ? Она никому не говорила. Да если бы она и объяснила это кому-нибудь, то всякій насмѣялся бы надъ ней". Сыну призрѣвшей ее семьи вздумалось жениться на ней. У ней родился сынъ, такой же здоровый и сильный работникъ, какъ и отецъ, но наслѣдовалъ отъ матери страшное наслѣдство. На него находили припадки бѣшенства, когда у него являлась потребность убивать—и онъ поступилъ на бойню. Позже, чтобъ избавиться отъ наказанія за убійство, онъ сдѣлался палачемъ. Его убійство не было слѣдствіемъ испорченности и безчеловѣчія. Это было несчастное извращеніе его умственныхъ способностей. Въ здоровыя минуты онъ проклиналъ свое ремесло; онъ отдавалъ все, что могъ, арестантамъ. Когда его упрекали товарищи, сравнивавшіе его умѣренное житье съ привольнымъ житьемъ другихъ палачей: „пошто ты мало доходовъ получаешь?"—„Плевать мнѣ на нихъ, отвѣчалъ Шилохвостовъ. Я бы дорого далъ тому, кто замѣнилъ меня". Шилохвостовъ, убійца и палачъ, изнемогаетъ подъ клеймомъ отчужденія, которымъ онъ отмѣченъ среди людей. Онъ кончилъ дикимъ помѣшательствомъ. И Шилохвостовъ не исключеніе. Сколько есть этихъ несчастныхъ жертвъ роковаго наслѣдства въ острогахъ, разсѣянныхъ по лицу матушки Руси, сколько этихъ несчастныхъ жертвъ скитаются юродивыми, кликушами и прочими божьими людьми. Притупляющій трудъ, пища, пригодная только для „для брюха, гдѣ долото сгніетъ", униженіе, невѣжество имѣютъ одинъ исходъ—кабакъ или острогъ, или больница съумасшедшихъ. И Рѣшетникова нельзя обвинить въ пессимизмѣ за этотъ взглядъ. Онъ и не „проводитъ его", какъ писатели гражданскихъ мотивовъ; вѣрный своему характеру лѣтописца, онъ только заноситъ на страницы своей лѣтописи черные дни темнаго люда; къ этому взгляду приводитъ сама жизнь.

Моралисты скажутъ, что у темнаго люда есть свѣтъ, который долженъ освѣтить его темную жизнь, дать ему силы нести все ея тяжелое бремя. Этотъ свѣтъ — религія. Но Рѣшетниковъ ближе чѣмъ кто-либо могъ оцѣнить значеніе этого свѣта, въ томъ видѣ, въ какомъ онъ доступенъ темному люду, и онъ указалъ на значеніе его многими характерными сценами. Обиженный горнорабочій Токменцовъ, у котораго прикащикъ засѣкъ сына, молится.— Э-эхъ-ма, Осподи, Осподи! были бы деньги, поставилъ бы тебѣ рублевую свѣчу. Ужъ замолилъ бы я тебя! А то што, чѣмъ я пригоденъ, коли я всего-то въ мѣсяцъ получаю рупь на ассигнаціи. Вотъ Назару Плотникову ловко. Отецъ его управляющимъ. Поди десятирублевыя свѣчи ставитъ", переходитъ онъ отъ молитвы къ размышленію. Развѣ это не простодушная, безхитростная вѣра, вѣра безъ всякихъ лукавыхъ мудрствованій, которую требуютъ ея учителя. Обвинять народъ въ недостаткѣ вѣры могутъ только люди, незнающіе народа. Взгляните на него, когда бремя жизни станетъ ему нестерпимо и придетъ онъ молиться въ свои убогіе сельскіе храмы. Какая скорбь, какая мольба о помощи, какая надежда на эту помощь слышится въ его вздохахъ, слезахъ. Не даромъ сказалъ поэтъ:

«Молитвы жарче не слыхали
Ни римскій Петръ, ни Колизей».

Но и тутъ бѣдность отнимаетъ у народа тѣ утѣшенія религіи, которыя даются другимъ. Бѣднякъ хочетъ быть угоднымъ Господу, онъ радъ поставить ему рублевую свѣчу, но что же дѣлать, когда онъ въ мѣсяцъ получитъ всего рубль ассигнаціями. Положимъ, бѣднякъ Токменцевъ понимаетъ слишкомъ узко религію, придавая такое значеніе рублевой свѣчѣ, но развѣ есть возможность разъяснить темному люду настоящее значеніе ея?

Мы видѣли, какъ безрадостна жизнь темнаго люда, когда она идетъ своимъ чередомъ; но горе, если эту норму нарушитъ какая-нибудь несчастная случайность. Для темнаго люда есть много такихъ случайностей, отъ которыхъ избавлены болѣе обезпеченные люди. Подсунетъ какой-нибудь мошенникъ фальшивую бумажку—и честнаго рабочаго засадятъ въ острогъ. Понесетъ молодой парень на рынокъ такую бумажку, его обвинятъ въ распространеніи фальшивыхъ денегъ,

хоть онъ едва отличитъ трехъ-рублевую отъ пяти-рублевой—и онъ отправится доканчивать свое образованіе въ томъ же острогѣ. Захочется городовому показать, что и онъ административное лицо, облеченное властью, и онъ остановитъ, какъ воровку, бабу съ узломъ, въ которомъ она несетъ свое добро, и отправитъ ее въ часть. И выйдетъ темный людъ изъ части и изъ острога, безъ гроша, безъ мѣста и заработковъ, пронищенствуетъ и проголодаетъ дня два и приходитъ просить, какъ Пелагея Мокроносова, какъ милости, чтобы его снова пустили въ часть ночевать, или въ отчаяніи сдѣлаетъ какое-нибудь безчинство для того, чтобы его снова заперли въ острогъ, гдѣ покрайней мѣрѣ у него есть куда преклонить голову, есть хоть кусокъ хлѣба.

Многіе называютъ эту скорбь автора о темномъ людѣ слезливостью сантиментальныхъ барынь, готовыхъ удариться въ истерику при видѣ каждой капли пота, падающей со лба рабочаго, и потому желающихъ для народа такой жизни, въ которой онъ могъ бы жить сложа руки и только ловить ртомъ падающихъ съ неба жареныхъ жаворонковъ. Но люди, которые, какъ Рѣшетниковъ, вынесли на самихъ себѣ жизнь темнаго люда, не сантиментальныя барыни и менѣе чѣмъ кто-либо способны желать, чтобы народъ жилъ сложа руки, ловя падающихъ съ неба жареныхъ жаворонковъ. Не избавленія народа отъ труда хотятъ эти люди. Они считаютъ трудъ непремѣннымъ условіемъ разумной жизни—люди, пренебрегающіе этимъ условіемъ, вырождаются. Они хотятъ, чтобы трудъ не поглощалъ всѣ силы темнаго люда, не сводилъ его на степень вьючнаго скота; они хотятъ, чтобы трудъ давалъ ему здоровый кусокъ хлѣба, здоровый, свѣтлый уголъ, возможность жить, какъ живутъ люди; они хотятъ, чтобы онъ давалъ ему и отдыхъ, который необходимъ темному люду для того, чтобы внести въ свою темную жизнь хоть искру свѣта науки и мысли.

IV.

Въ этой темной массѣ, надрывающейся надъ работой, гибнущей въ кабакахъ, въ острогѣ, умирающей повально въ больницахъ, Рѣшетниковъ показываетъ двухъ-трехъ человѣкъ, которые наконецъ

проложили себѣ дорогу, достигли завѣтной цѣли рабочаго, сдѣлались мастерами. Но какой цѣной? Темный людъ пробился или утративъ въ борьбѣ за существованіе все, чѣмъ была ему дорога жизнь, или все, что было человѣчнаго въ немъ самомъ. Караваевъ, который по мальтусовскому закону воздержанія не захотѣлъ жениться на Пелагеѣ Мокроносовой, пока онъ не станетъ мастеромъ, добившись наконецъ хорошаго, вѣрнаго заработка въ Петербургѣ, узналъ, что Мокроносову давно схоронили. „Кабы ты женился, она была бы жива», упрекаютъ его товарищи, и онъ мучается самъ этимъ упрекомъ, хоть и замужство съ нимъ не прибавило бы Мокроносовой ни одного лишняго шанса на жизнь. Они мыкали горе порознь, тогда они мыкали бы его вмѣстѣ, задавленные семьей. Эта семья связала бы руки Караваеву и онъ пробился только потому, что у него хватило силъ отказать себѣ въ единственной радости своей темной жизни. Онъ зажилъ, довольный жизнью, но у него осталось отравленное воспоминаніе на всю жизнь. Корчагинъ заплатилъ за то, что пробился, еще болѣе дорогой цѣной. Корчагинъ былъ честный, дѣльный рабочій, признанный нравственной силой между товарищами. „Какъ Корчагинъ скажетъ, такъ тому и быть надо“, говорили про него рабочіе. Корчагинъ тянулъ свою трудовую лямку годами, надѣясь разжиться и сдѣлаться хозяиномъ, чтобы жениться на любимой женщинѣ; онъ былъ трезвый рабочій, онъ былъ выносливѣе прочихъ и ему менѣе нужно было забываться въ кабакѣ. Но бѣда лихая проняла и его крѣпкую натуру. Любимая женщина пропала безъ вѣсти. Онъ скопилъ уже деньги, но ихъ украли въ острогѣ, куда его засадили по подозрѣнію въ кражѣ у одного купца. Трезвый, бережливый работникъ запилъ. „Нашему брату стоитъ съ панталыку сбиться, а тутъ и пиши пропало“, жалуется онъ въ кабакѣ. Ну, когда я теперь поправлюсь! Вотъ я и пью съ горя. И глупо я дѣлаю, ей Богу, и Прасковья меня мучаетъ; не знаю, жива ли она или нѣтъ, и положеніе мое меня мутитъ. И все-таки глупо я дѣлаю. Будьте вы всѣ прокляты! Ну скажите, что мнѣ дѣлать? Если я удавлюсь, вы скажете, что дуракъ, бросите меня какъ собаку. Да не обидно развѣ мнѣ, что я столько безпокоился. Ужъ мнѣ не прожить столько, сколько я прожилъ. Правда, года были тяжелые, да я надѣялся, а то опять все надо съизнова начинать“. Корчагинъ очнулся, когда первая боль удара прошла и къ тому же узналъ, что его Прасковья Курносова

жива и нашелъ въ себѣ силы начать все съизнова. Но Прасковья Курносова почему-то не взлюбила его и у Корчагина осталась одна цѣль жизни: копить деньги, чтобы выбиться въ хозяева. Страстная, сосредоточенная энергія вынесла Корчагина. Онъ сталъ твердой ногой въ жизни: сдѣлался изъ батрака хозяиномъ и изъ человѣка кулакомъ. Рѣшетниковъ говоритъ: «Какъ всѣ бѣдные и многотерпѣвшіе люди, разбогатѣвши, дѣлаются кулаками, и Корчагинъ славился кулачествомъ. Съ рабочими обращался круто, пользовался ими, какъ вьючнымъ скотомъ. Раздавая по праздникамъ грошовое подаяніе, онъ съ чистой совѣстью забивалъ въ могилы сотни людей непосильнымъ трудомъ, который наваливалъ на своихъ рабочихъ. Домъ его былъ полной чашей счастія; а мастерскія— слезъ и страданій.»

Эта черта общая темному люду. И какъ ни восторгаются славянофилы любвеобиліемъ русскаго народа, но онъ ничуть не отличается своимъ любвеобиліемъ отъ другихъ народовъ. Такъ свидѣтельствуетъ его правдивый лѣтописецъ, котораго невозможно заподозрить ни въ незнаніи быта народа, ни въ клеветѣ на народъ. Изъ краткаго некролога Рѣшетникова видно, какъ онъ болѣлъ сердцемъ за народъ; онъ плачетъ, когда описываетъ мученія Пилы; онъ не ограничивается одними слезами; онъ готовъ хлопотать за каждаго побитаго крестьянскаго мальчика, хотя эти хлопоты при его общественномъ положеніи могли навлечь на него серьезныя непріятности. Но онъ понималъ любовь къ народу не въ преклоненіи передъ его мудростью, не въ восхваленіи небывалыхъ доблестей, а въ правдивомъ словѣ, которое онъ говорилъ обществу о его страданіяхъ, которое открывало его и свѣтлыя и темныя стороны. И Рѣшетниковъ, передавая толки рабочихъ пролетаріевъ, говоритъ, что русскій мастеръ хуже нѣмца мастера. Это справедливо не въ нравственномъ отношеніи, но въ практическомъ. Нѣмецъ мастеръ не проходилъ школу русскаго работника: онъ не знаетъ всѣхъ снаровокъ, увертокъ русскаго работника, не знаетъ мелкихъ обсчитываній, которымъ научила ихъ горькая нужда. Русскій мастеръ, протянувшій нѣсколько лѣтъ рабочую лямку, знаетъ все это въ точности. Естественно, что ставъ мастеромъ, онъ оказывается деспотомъ, несравненно болѣе жестокимъ, мелочнымъ и нестерпимымъ, нежели мастеръ-нѣмецъ.

И эта черта — кулачество—выбившагося въ хозяйство темнаго

люда, свойственна не одному русскому народу. Повѣсти Жоржъ-Занда, повѣсти изъ народнаго быта другихъ извѣстныхъ писателей даютъ замѣчательные типы кулаковъ-крестьянъ, мелкихъ торговцевъ и хозяевъ мастерскихъ, и въ этомъ они вѣрно слѣдуютъ указанію жизни. Жизнь не дала развиться въ темномъ людѣ другимъ силамъ, кромѣ темной животной силы, которая вынесла его въ борьбѣ за право ѣсть, пить и дышать. Выбившись на міръ довольства, онъ принесетъ въ него одну темную силу. Пока онъ выбивался, пока у него не было надежды на обезпеченную привольную жизнь, рабочему легко было дѣлиться послѣдней крохой съ товарищемъ; эта кроха не обезпечивала его; ему ничего не стоило отдать ее, чтобы избавиться отъ тяжелаго чувства видѣть горе товарища; онъ зналъ, что случись ему нужда, товарищъ сдѣлаетъ для него то же самое. Но вотъ онъ выбивается, какъ говорится, въ „люди". Чѣмъ тяжелѣе были вынесенныя лишенія, тѣмъ болѣе онъ дрожитъ за свой кусокъ хлѣба, тѣмъ безчеловѣчнѣе моритъ онъ работой своихъ рабочихъ; каждая пріобрѣтенная копѣйка для него страхованіе будущаго, ручательство, что прежніе тяжелые дни не повторятся. Чѣмъ болѣе вынесъ онъ горя—тѣмъ безпощаднѣе его кулачество, и мастерская его дѣлается „полной чашей слезъ и страданій". А если проснется совѣсть, если человѣческое чувство возмутится, то легко успокоить его. Прикащикъ, обиравшій Токменцова, поставилъ рублевую свѣчу, Корчагины крупныхъ размѣровъ пожертвуютъ колоколъ, Корчагины англійскихъ романовъ отдадутъ извѣстную сумму на Poor-tax—и совѣсть ихъ перестанетъ возмущаться.

Корчагину удалось добиться только хозяйства, и то долгимъ, упорнымъ трудомъ; но еслибы прихоть судьбы вдругъ сдѣлала Корчагина богачемъ или такимъ всесильнымъ лицомъ, какимъ былъ прикащикъ на заводахъ—и вмѣсто солиднаго, чиннаго кулака, изъ Корчагина вышелъ бы дикій самодуръ, который удивилъ бы своими безобразіями общество. Чѣмъ болѣе его гнули и ломали въ его прежней темной жизни, тѣмъ сильнѣе возгорѣлась бы въ немъ потребность гнуть и ломать другихъ въ своей новой, раззолоченной и не менѣе темной жизни; чѣмъ болѣе ему приходилось терпѣть лишеній, тѣмъ необузданнѣе сдѣлались бы теперь его прихоти. Тутъ начинается разгулъ самаго дикаго самодурства. Вмѣсто трезваго рабочаго передъ вами прикащикъ изъ „Глумовыхъ". Ему нужны рабы, наложницы для его потѣхи. Онъ нагло ломается надъ ними: „Лижи мои ноги", говоритъ

онъ безотвѣтной Пелагеѣ Семихиной: „Чувствуешь ли ты, тварь, мою милость?“ И милость въ томъ, что онъ опозорилъ ее и позоритъ передъ каждымъ встрѣчнымъ. Онъ взялъ мальчика въ казачки и потѣшается имъ, какъ звѣрькомъ. „Колька, катайся колесомъ, Колька, лай собаченкой“, и Колька долженъ все безпрекословно исполнять, потому что нужда скачетъ, нужда пѣсенки поетъ. И прикащикъ торжествуетъ, у него казачекъ такой же, какъ у управляющаго. Онъ живетъ какъ баринъ, онъ не простой рабочій, и рабочій людъ долженъ чувствовать это.

Но рядомъ съ этими темными сторонами народа, Рѣшетниковъ указываетъ и на свѣтлыя. Перебирая страницу за страницей его правдивую лѣтопись страданій народа, мы невольно проникаемся глубокимъ удивленіемъ къ силѣ этого темнаго люда и въ этой силѣ видимъ ручательство, что онъ не обреченъ безвыходно оставаться темнымъ людомъ. Эта сила не въ той рѣшимости, съ какою онъ, махнувъ рукой на старое житье, идетъ себѣ искрещивать матушку Русь по всѣмъ направленіямъ съ какой нибудь гривной въ карманѣ. Эта рѣшимость можетъ внушать удивленіе только людямъ, незнакомымъ съ народомъ. Темному люду нечего терять, онъ не отъ добра ищетъ, гдѣ лучше... Родной уголъ, который онъ оставляетъ, ничуть не лучше грязныхъ ночлеговъ, въ которыхъ ему придется пріютиться на дорогѣ. Кусокъ хлѣба, который онъ заработывалъ, такъ же непроченъ, какъ и тотъ, который ему порой приходится дорогой выпрашивать Христа-ради. Неизвѣстность пути, неизвѣстность того, что его ожидаетъ, не страшна тому, кто навѣрное зналъ, что ему дома „не у чего было жить“. Не въ этой нечеловѣческой выносливости темнаго люда сказалась эта сила, ручательство для него лучшихъ дней. Чтобы опредѣлить настоящую мѣру этой выносливости, надо знать, какой процентъ темнаго люда гибнетъ оттого, что желудокъ его доведенъ до той степени, „что въ немъ и долото гніетъ», надо знать и то, какъ онъ выноситъ: сознательно ли онъ борется, потому-ли, что не хочетъ дать жизни сломить себя, или безсознательно, какъ борется дикій звѣрь за свою добычу, какъ борется растеніе за право жизни, пробиваясь корнями въ глубинѣ земли. Эта выносливость, которая ведетъ темный людъ черезъ всю Россію искать, гдѣ лучше, та же стихійная сила, которая заставляетъ рыбу искать, гдѣ глубже и растеніе оборачивать листья къ солнцу. Эта сила даетъ расте-

нію прозябать на тощей почвѣ и потомъ, когда его перенесутъ на жирную почву, растянуть безобразно широко свои корни и безпощадно глушить другія, слабѣйшія. Эта стихійная сила не выведетъ темный людъ на свѣтъ человѣческой жизни. Эта сила можетъ создать только Корчагиныхъ и прикащиковъ.

Этотъ выходъ должны подготовить другія силы, и Рѣшетниковъ показываетъ намъ, какъ медленно зрѣютъ эти силы, какъ прорываются порой невольнымъ словомъ или честнымъ порывомъ, значеніе котораго не сознаетъ еще и самый темный людъ. Значеніе ихъ могутъ оцѣнить только люди, такъ глубоко изучившіе народъ, какъ Рѣшетниковъ. Эти силы—честное негодованіе противъ неправды, глубокое чутье правды и чувство братской связи, котораго не могло задавить въ немъ ни что. «Онъ человѣкъ справедливый»,—высшая похвала, какую только можно заслужить въ глазахъ народа. Эта потребность справедливости не выводъ холодныхъ умозрѣній или требованій догматизма, это—непосредственное, почти инстинктивное чувство, но это чувство такъ сильно, что бѣдный темный людъ бросаетъ вѣрный кусокъ хлѣба, чтобы не измѣнить этому чувству. Тимофей Горюновъ получилъ за взятку мѣсто надсмотрщика за работами; онъ можетъ держаться на этомъ мѣстѣ только обирая свою братью рабочихъ, и онъ дѣлаетъ всяческія льготы бабамъ, которыя носили соль въ мѣшкахъ, изъ одного человѣческаго чувства состраданія. Подозрѣніе прикащика, что онъ сдѣлалъ это за взятку, глубоко возмущаетъ его, и онъ рѣшается уйти съ варницъ, гдѣ можно было работать только обирая своего брата. Вотъ какъ говоритъ объ этой рѣшимости лѣтопись „Гдѣ лучше". «Жизнь казалась Горюнову до того противной, прикащикъ и смотритель такими гадкими, что онъ готовъ былъ въ ту же минуту уйдти въ другое мѣсто, чтобы не брать грѣха на душу". И онъ ушелъ. Стихійная сила дала Горюнову и силу уйдти. Лишенія не въ диковинку темному люду. Привычка опираться на одного себя даетъ ему крѣпкую вѣру въ себя, и „пропиталъ" его, какъ называетъ темный людъ свой скромный капиталъ—заработокъ дюжихъ рукъ — долженъ, такъ вѣритъ онъ, дать ему вездѣ кусокъ хлѣба. Жена Токменцова, послѣ того какъ задрали ея сына и ее самое высѣкли, идетъ жаловаться къ главному управляющему, идетъ безъ всякаго пропитала, кромѣ надежды на поданный Христа-ради кусокъ. Стихійная сила поддержала въ темной Токменцовой чувство человѣческой правды. Это чувство правды такъ

же сильно и въ ея мужѣ. Онъ узналъ, что Илья Назаровъ, сынъ прикащика, хочетъ жениться на его дочери. Прикащикъ — великій моголъ въ жизни темнаго люда, въ его власти карать и миловать, давать хлѣбъ и морить съ голоду рабочихъ. Другой, на мѣстѣ Токменцова, пришелъ бы въ восторгъ, узнавъ, что его дочь удостоилась чести быть выбранной сыномъ начальника, будь тотъ отъявленный подлецъ; такой выборъ сулитъ такъ много выгодъ, и грѣшныхъ и безгрѣшныхъ. Токменцовъ вмѣсто восторга пришелъ въ страшное негодованіе. — „Не хочу родниться съ подлыми людьми, говоритъ онъ: сроднись съ подлецомъ, и будешь самъ подлецъ". И онъ обѣщаетъ обломать ноги Назаркину Ильѣ, если тотъ осмѣлится снова появиться въ его домѣ. Честное чувство сказалось въ темномъ людѣ въ грубой формѣ, сказалось грубыми угрозами Назаркину Ильѣ, истязаніями дочери, но оно и не могло проявиться въ другой. Довольно того, что оно есть, это честное чувство. Оно въ положеніи темнаго люда — героизмъ. Токменцовъ, который знаетъ, что ему придется „издохнуть на работѣ какъ собака", и не хочетъ купить себѣ избавленіе отъ этой собачьей смерти безчестнымъ родствомъ—герой. И много есть въ темномъ людѣ такихъ безвѣстныхъ героевъ правды, которые служатъ ей просто, безъ громкихъ словъ, не сознавая всего величія своего служенія. И Горюновъ, и Токменцовъ, и Елизаровъ—рабочіе, имена которыхъ занесены въ лѣтописи Рѣшетникова, и даже презираемый товарищами „лакеишка" прикащика Илья Глумовъ, который обворовываетъ хозяина и кончаетъ острогомъ—всѣ служатъ этой братской правдѣ. Всѣ они могли бы купить себѣ привольное житье, продавъ своихъ братьевъ. На всѣхъ фабрикахъ, у всѣхъ хозяевъ водятся шпіоны, которые за свою службу пользуются многими преимуществами: они не издыхаютъ па работѣ какъ собака, въ ихъ брюхѣ не гніетъ долото; они даже скапливаютъ себѣ кругленькій капиталецъ. (Рѣшетниковъ, въ одномъ изъ своихъ очерковъ, почему-то названныхъ имъ юмористическими, описываетъ происхожденіе одного богача, разжившагося всякими неправдами). Смѣлый, энергическій, работящій Токменцовъ, смѣтливый, изворотливый Терентій Горюновъ могли бы зажить этой привольной жизнью; но они выбрали свою темную, трудовую, чистую отъ всякой неправды жизнь. Темный людъ не пойдетъ въ предатели. Общее страданіе сплачиваетъ его чувствомъ

братства, и онъ считаетъ позоромъ измѣнить ему. Но это свѣтлое чувство еще не дѣятельное чувство, оно еще не выяснилось въ народномъ сознаніи.

Но это свѣтлое чувство имѣетъ свою оборотную темную сторону; эта сторона—ненависть противъ тѣхъ, которые злоупотребляютъ своими правами. Оно часто бываетъ причиной разныхъ безнравственныхъ явленій въ средѣ темнаго люда. Такъ, напримѣръ, нанести хозяину убытокъ, обокрасть его — не считается позорнымъ дѣломъ между рабочими. Тотъ же Терентій Горюновъ, котораго порядки на варницѣ мучили дотого, что онъ ушелъ, чтобы не брать грѣха на душу, хоть самъ неспособенъ обокрасть хозяина, не считаетъ кражу у хозяина безчестнымъ поступкомъ. Тотъ же самый Токменцовъ, который ни за что не хотѣлъ родниться съ подлецами, считаетъ ни чуть не унизительнымъ для себя выдать дочь за человѣка, ворующаго руду. Это безнравственно, но темнаго люда никто не училъ нравственности; это подрываетъ общественный порядокъ, но этотъ порядокъ недоступенъ пониманію темнаго люда. Впрочемъ, только въ мелкихъ личностяхъ темнаго люда высказывается вражда въ такой безсмысленной формѣ. Въ крупныхъ она высказывается словомъ укора, хотя порой имъ приходится дорого за него расплачиваться. Глумовъ, отецъ Курносовой, не стерпѣлъ обиды своихъ братьевъ, попрекнулъ прикащика безчеловѣчіемъ и былъ засѣченъ до смерти прикащикомъ. Смерть его надолго сохранилась въ памяти темнаго люда. Глумовъ сдѣлался для рабочихъ идеаломъ правды и чести. Его именемъ корили они малодушныхъ, равнодушно сносившихъ всѣ обиды и неправды. „То-ли бы сдѣлалъ Глумовъ, Глумовъ не стерпѣлъ бы“, говорили рабочіе, „не въ отца пошелъ“, упрекали они сына Глумова за то, что тотъ поступилъ въ лакеи къ прикащику. Другому парню было бы извинительно струсить грозы прикащичей, но сынъ Глумова не долженъ былъ измѣнять памяти отца, не долженъ былъ падать такъ низко. Это чувство передается дѣтямъ по наслѣдству отъ отцовъ. Токменцовъ возвращается съ рудниковъ, везя въ телегѣ высѣченнаго сына Ганьку. Ганька грозитъ прикащику, отецъ поддразниваетъ его. „Сказано, Подосенову голову сорву! крикнулъ зло Ганька. — Ха, ха, руки коротки. — Тятька! закричалъ Ганька, и поднялся. Отецъ посмотрѣлъ на него весело. Ганька глядитъ дикаремъ, по щекамъ ползутъ слезы. Отецъ сжалъ кулаки и не

сказалъ ни слова". Эта коротенькая сцена стоитъ цѣлыхъ страницъ комментаріевъ.

Но Глумовы рѣдкія исключенія, да они и не способны указать темному люду выходъ изъ его тьмы. А темный людъ уже начинаетъ искать этого выхода... Нужда научила его тому, что все его горе-горькое ведется оттого, что нѣтъ между нимъ „согласія". Темный людъ додумался до того, что смутное чувство братской связи должно стать въ немъ дѣятельнымъ чувствомъ. Терентій Горюновъ совѣтуетъ устроить стачку. Онъ говоритъ, что выдумалъ „эту механику", чтобы не обсчитывали. Уговоримъ другихъ и скажемъ: „не хотимъ-молъ за эту цѣну робить", совѣтуетъ Пелагея Мокроносова. Но тутъ-же оказывается, что это средство не дѣйствительно. „Дура, да онъ (хозяинъ) тебя прогонитъ. Развѣ мало нашего брата безъ работы шляется? Развѣ мало нынѣ развелось нищихъ?" Потолковавъ, рабочіе приходятъ къ рѣшенію, что все зло „оттого, что мы сами плохи. Нѣтъ у насъ согласія. Такъ-ту мы, по отдѣльности, тараторимъ, а сбери насъ всѣхъ, и сало во рту застыло. Народъ загалдилъ.—Да доведись до тебя, ты первый лыжи дашь.—Чтожъ мнѣ одному што ли въ петлю лѣзть, одинъ въ полѣ не воинъ". Неутѣшительная страница лѣтописи, но въ ней есть намеки на лучшее. Народъ, который пришелъ къ сознанію, что онъ „плохъ", не долго останется плохимъ. Онъ открылъ свою язву—а только скрытыя язвы страшны. Это сознаніе собственной „плохости"—не сознаніе безнадежнаго безсилія. Народъ, который выдѣлялъ изъ себя Токменцовыхъ и Глумовыхъ, не можетъ быть въ корень „плохъ". Сегодня онъ открылъ глаза на то, что онъ плохъ, завтра онъ откроетъ ихъ на средство не быть плохимъ.

V.

Рѣшетниковъ—писатель массы. Въ его лѣтописяхъ вы не встрѣтите титаническихъ натуръ: такихъ людей не выработала жизнь нашего темнаго люда. Она выработала только людей не титаническихъ силъ, но крупныхъ, здоровыхъ силъ, которыя могли бы сдѣлать многое, еслибы въ ихъ темную жизнь внесли лучъ свѣта. Люди этихъ силъ—любимые типы Рѣшетникова: они или выносливая чернорабочая сила, которая бьется упорно, или сила, затертая въ

міръ физическаго труда, и топящая свою тоску въ винѣ. Этой силѣ, если она не отмѣчена особеннымъ талантомъ, еще труднѣе пробиться, чѣмъ первой, и горе тому изъ темнаго люда, кто отмѣченъ даромъ судьбы—его темная жизнь станетъ еще темнѣе. Возьмите два наиболѣе выдающіеся примѣра изъ многихъ примѣровъ, занесенныхъ Рѣшетниковымъ въ его лѣтописи. Петръ Савичъ Курносовъ, учитель заводской школы, человѣкъ, который самъ собой дошелъ до убѣжденія давать дѣтямъ народа основательное образованіе, безъ зуботычинъ и розогъ—и это въ то время, когда въ литературѣ еще не поднимался вопросъ о томъ, сѣчь или не сѣчь дѣтей. Курносовъ былъ посланъ заводскимъ начальствомъ въ уѣздное училище; въ городѣ онъ встрѣтился съ „умными людьми, которые давали ему хорошія книги", и ученикъ уѣзднаго училища силой своего ума переросъ многихъ жрецовъ науки, доказывавшихъ, что розги выводить слѣдуетъ въ школахъ исподоволь. Но жизнь Курносова сдѣлалась ежедневной мелкой борьбой, борьбой, на которую однакоже нужно много нравственныхъ силъ. Казначей требовалъ, чтобы дѣти вмѣсто ученья ловили ему скворцовъ, казначей не давалъ денегъ на книги и учебныя пособія и заставлялъ Курносова собирать деньги съ учениковъ, грозя отставить его отъ должности учителя, которая была цѣлью его жизни. Слободчане звали дуракомъ учителя, который, вступивъ въ должность, объявилъ ученикамъ, что хочетъ учить ихъ любовью, а не побоями; начальство звало сумасшедшимъ человѣка, который захотѣлъ учить дѣтей чернаго народа геометріи. И боролся Курносовъ, пока были силы; не стало ихъ, онъ запилъ. Его высѣкли, жена остригла ему усы. Ученики осмѣяли учителя съ обстриженнымъ усомъ, „стеганнаго учителя". Авторитетъ его подорванъ невозвратно, дѣло его жизни погибло. Ему осталось одно—допить до смерти. И честная сила погибла—погибла, но не измѣнила себѣ.

Второй примѣръ такой погибшей силы—герой повѣсти, озаглавленной „Между людьми". Эта повѣсть переноситъ насъ въ міръ мелкаго чиновничества—другого темнаго люда, который живетъ не „пропиталомъ" дюжихъ рукъ, но мелкимъ умственнымъ трудомъ, для котораго нужны умственныя способности ничуть не выше смѣтливости дрессированной лошади или собаки, умѣющей считать. По искренности тона, эта повѣсть при появленіи ея была принята за исповѣдь автора — и общество не ошиблось, какъ подтверждаетъ некрологъ Рѣшетникова: первая часть была именно исповѣдью; и пото-

му эта повѣсть имѣетъ двойной интересъ для читателей. Герой ея, сынъ пьяницы-почтальона, воспитывается дядей и теткой. Они люди не дурные, дядя честный почтальонъ, тетка добрая женщина и любятъ мальчика по-своему; но они темные люди и воспитываютъ его по преданіямъ темнаго люда: за битаго двухъ не битыхъ даютъ и учи сына, пока поперегъ лавки лежитъ, послѣ самъ почувствуетъ и спасибо скажетъ. И масса дѣтей темнаго люда „умѣетъ чувствовать" это ученье: они становятся „шолковыми", и нетолько не озлобляются, но когда придетъ чередъ имъ воспитывать своихъ ребятъ, вспоминаютъ о немъ съ благодарностью: „спасибо, молъ, что „учили", вотъ и человѣкомъ сдѣлали". Но съ ребенкомъ, отмѣченнымъ печатью нравственной силы, цѣль этого ученья не достигается. Маленькій герой озлобился—и началъ мстить своимъ учителямъ. Ненаправленная сила ушла на буйство и дикую вражду. Онъ находилъ злую радость устроить воспитателямъ и сосѣдямъ „пакость". Но много подъ этой злобой таилось въ этомъ ребенкѣ и глубокой человѣчной любви ко всему страдающему и задавленному. Отмстивъ злобной „пакостью" своимъ притѣснителямъ, онъ готовъ былъ жалѣть до слезъ и отставнаго солдата съ деревянной ногой, надъ которымъ смѣялся весь міръ почтальоновъ, когда онъ пѣлъ: „ахъ, тошно сердцу моему, нищенку", и Таню, которую всѣ ругали за то, что она высидѣла въ острогѣ за украденный кошель, испортилась тамъ, схоронила тамъ ребенка и пошла по міру. „И никто не любилъ ее, а подавали ей милостыню только Христа-ради, хотя и знали, что не въ прокъ шла эта милостыня. И жалко было смотрѣть на эту бѣдную и никто не жалѣлъ ее", говоритъ онъ о ней. Пожалѣлъ одинъ задавленный ребенокъ, чутьемъ понявшій свою связь съ бѣдной отверженной сестрой.

Жаждущее любви сердце бѣднаго ребенка не выноситъ дикой вражды съ окружающимъ его міромъ и онъ бѣжитъ и долго бродяжничаетъ съ нищими, пока его случайно не узнаютъ и не приводятъ къ роднымъ. Дядя отдаетъ его на службу — и молодая сила осуждена развиваться въ мірѣ мелкаго мошенничества, сила, уходившая на волю, должна улечься въ узкія рамки чиновничьей исполнительности. И снова она прорывается то дикимъ буйствомъ, то новыми „пакостями". Онъ крадетъ письма и газеты; въ кражѣ послѣднихъ его поощряютъ училищные педагоги, любители политическихъ новостей на даровщинку, и тщеславное желаніе по-

казать, что и онъ сила въ своемъ маленькомъ мірѣ; кромѣ того въ кражѣ имъ руководитъ инстинктъ сороки, которая тащитъ въ гнѣздо красивую вещицу; онъ таскалъ конверты, красиво надписанные, которые ему нравились, и не распечатавъ ихъ, бросалъ, налюбовавшись ими. Воровство открылось, его выгнали изъ службы. Это произвело спасительный переломъ. Но болѣе стыда и боли наказанія его потрясло зло, которое онъ сдѣлалъ дядѣ. Дядя пострадалъ по службѣ, запилъ съ горя и сталъ дурно жить съ женой. Четырнадцатилѣтній мальчикъ нашелъ въ себѣ силы перевоспитать себя и загладить сдѣланное зло. Онъ сталъ служить дядѣ всѣми силами, „носилъ дрова и воду, дѣлалъ все, что дѣлаетъ прислуга, и былъ этимъ доволенъ,—не тронулъ чужой нитки. Его послали въ монастырь на исправленіе, но здоровая натура его хотѣла жизни, а не отреченія отъ нея. Веселая монастырская жизнь сначала понравилась ему, пока онъ не приглядѣлся къ ней. Приглядѣвшись, онъ „понялъ, что онъ не нищій и можетъ самъ пріобрѣтать себѣ хлѣбъ честнымъ, безукоризненнымъ трудомъ — и разубѣдился въ своихъ намѣреніяхъ“. Проснувшаяся честная сила зрѣла медленно, но непрерывно; мысль начала свою первую работу. „Въ моей головѣ былъ чистый хаосъ, говоритъ герой повѣсти „Между людьми“: рисовались какія-то страшныя картины, то чего-то хотѣлось, то мнѣ себя было жалко, то я думалъ объ дядѣ, то мнѣ уйти куда-то хотѣлось, то не нравился весь городъ со своими людьми. Но, какъ я теперь помню, ничего я не могъ осмыслить. Работы въ головѣ было много, приглядѣлся къ жизни и увидѣлъ, что я глупъ и неразвитъ. Досадно мнѣ было и я думалъ, хорошо мнѣ умереть теперь, а то для чего я буду жить? Кругомъ темно, и не было у меня такого человѣка, съ которымъ бы я могъ, какъ говорится, душу открыть“. Это желаніе смерти—не тоска пресыщенія разныхъ байроновскихъ и лермонтовскихъ героевъ, которые трубили о томъ, что рождены не для пошлой дѣйствительности, и не дѣлали ничего, чтобы очеловѣчить эту пошлую жизнь; это законная скорбь молодой, честной силы, которая рвется къ жизни и видитъ, что для нея закрыты всѣ пути, что некому указать ей этотъ путь, скорбь о томъ, что люди осуждены жить такой жизнью. Въ этой молодой силѣ жило чутье другой, лучшей жизни. Она скорбитъ и о томъ, что въ деревняхъ бѣдность такая, что кажется можно только животнымъ жить, и о томъ, что въ мірѣ чиновничества

на желтыхъ лицахъ ни одной улыбки не замѣтишь, что этотъ міръ такъ забитъ и жалокъ. И если эта скорбь порой смѣняется невольнымъ смѣхомъ, то этотъ смѣхъ не разъѣдающая иронія Мефистофеля; это просто неловкая и невольная улыбка, которая сорвется даже въ минуту искренней печали, когда что-нибудь смѣшное кинется ему въ глаза, и тотчасъ же смѣнится привычнымъ выраженіемъ грусти. „Смѣшно видѣть этихъ забитыхъ людей, пишетъ Рѣшетниковъ, въ то время, когда они идутъ мимо начальническаго дома; видно, что имъ не хочется идти мимо оконъ; трепетъ какой-то вдругъ напалъ и зло беретъ. Одинъ, своротивъ съ тротуара, пошелъ около стѣны. Хорошо, что окна высоки, можно согнуться; другой идетъ по тротуару, смущенно глядитъ въ окно, держа руку на готовѣ, третій идетъ за нимъ слѣдомъ, въ такомъ же настроеніи“.

Вмѣстѣ съ этой скорбью о братьяхъ, съ жаждой знанія, въ героѣ живо и желаніе приносить пользу. Онъ поступаетъ на службу писцомъ—и гордится тѣмъ, что служитъ въ такомъ мѣстѣ, „гдѣ рѣшаются дѣла о людяхъ“. Бѣдный писецъ, перебѣливая бумаги, думаетъ, что и онъ своимъ трудомъ вноситъ свою долю въ жизнь общества; это чувство наивно сказывается въ немъ и во время принятія присяги: „повторяя слова, я думалъ, зачѣмъ я измѣню; я буду вѣрно служить, не такъ какъ они, буду служить для пользы людей. Когда вечеромъ я легъ спать, я долго думалъ объ этой присягѣ. Не лгалъ ли я? Нѣтъ. Я клялся отъ чистаго сердца. И когда я представлялъ себѣ всѣхъ служащихъ, всѣ ихнія дѣянія, я ужаснулся. Гдѣ же клятва? Гдѣ же тѣ желанія? Отчего эта присяга имѣетъ только тогда силу, когда произносишь слова ея? неужели тоже будетъ и со мной?“ Эти размышленія могутъ показаться очень наивными, кругозоръ мысли героя очень узкимъ, но какая сила и глубина натуры сказалась въ нихъ! Отличительная черта всѣхъ сильныхъ натуръ та, что онѣ не умѣютъ ни къ чему относиться легко. Пусть узокъ міръ мысли бѣднаго канцелярскаго писца, но онъ не подозрѣваетъ узости его, для него это міръ необъятнаго, міръ святыни, и онъ будетъ вѣрно служить ей, насколько хватитъ силъ, онъ не продастъ ее ни за какія блага міра. Не одинъ Кузьминъ принималъ присягу, съ нимъ принимали ее сотни и тысячи товарищей, но онъ одинъ отнесся такъ честно къ присягѣ; другіе отнеслись съ полнѣйшимъ равнодушіемъ къ требуемому обря-

ду и, разумѣется, не вслѣдствіе какихъ-либо убѣжденій, а просто по мелкости и пошлости натуры, не способной отнестись глубоко къ чему бы то ни было. Можно улыбнуться наивности бѣднаго писца, съ такимъ чувствомъ начинавшаго свою писарскую службу, какъ „дѣло, имѣющее вліяніе на судьбу людей", но нельзя не признать честности этихъ отношеній. Тотъ, кто умѣлъ быть вѣрнымъ въ маломъ, съумѣетъ быть вѣрнымъ и въ большомъ. Умъ, который такъ честно стремится проникнуть до глубины тѣсный міръ, въ который поставила его судьба, скоро исчерпаетъ ее, дно откроется и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ откроется истина, что глубина была призрачная. Тогда онъ съ тою же неутомимой силой и съ тою же неподкупной честностью уйдетъ въ широкій міръ науки и жизни и станетъ у нихъ допрашиваться отвѣта. Не легко даются эти отвѣты. Много силъ надо, чтобы видѣть, какъ день за днемъ исчерпывается тотъ мірокъ, въ которомъ жили, какъ обнажается мутное, тинистое дно, въ которомъ видѣли необъятность,—видѣть и не отступить пугливо, не призвать снова темныя волны, которыя, скрывая дно, сулили неисчерпаемую глубину.

Нравственный кризисъ, пережитый героемъ, разрѣшается тѣмъ, что онъ дѣлается писателемъ—но писателемъ неудачнымъ. Общество вообще относится къ такимъ писателямъ съ безчеловѣчной черствостью и оскорбительнымъ презрѣніемъ. Неудавшійся писатель для него—бездарная, мелкая, темная личность, проѣденная громаднымъ и ничѣмъ не оправданнымъ честолюбіемъ и тщеславіемъ, которая возмечтала о себѣ, что она талантъ. Въ этихъ обвиненіяхъ такъ и слышна завистливая пошлая посредственность, которая не можетъ простить тому, кто захотѣлъ выдѣлиться изъ нея. Но для людей, которые способны заглянуть поглубже въ жизнь, такіе неудавшіеся писатели, какъ Кузьминъ—жертвы роковаго закона, что все въ жизни покупается „искупительными жертвами"; они—одно изъ знаменій времени. Число этихъ жертвъ неизмѣнно увеличивается во всѣ переходныя эпохи. Въ такія эпохи мысль зрѣетъ, въ обществѣ прибываютъ новыя силы, которыя просятъ дѣла; но условія общественной жизни не даютъ исхода этимъ силамъ — и онѣ ищутъ его себѣ въ словѣ. Такъ было и съ Кузьминымъ; онъ былъ натура практическая, ему нужно было живое дѣло, такое дѣло, которое отдавало бы въ его руки жизнь тѣхъ несчастныхъ, чьей тяжелой долѣ онъ могъ только безплодно сострадать, такое дѣло,

плоды котораго онъ могъ бы видѣть, осязать; гордился же онъ тѣмъ, что служитъ въ такомъ мѣстѣ, гдѣ рѣшается судьба людей. Но такое дѣло недоступно Кузьминымъ, они могутъ быть только строчильными машинами. Неудовлетворенная потребность вліянія на другихъ, потребность дѣла, высказывается въ словѣ. Тамъ, гдѣ закрыты всѣ пути къ живому дѣлу, лучшія силы уходятъ въ литературу; понятно, что многіе, какъ Кузьминъ, уходятъ не вслѣдствіе замѣчательнаго таланта, который увелъ бы ихъ на этотъ путь при всѣхъ другихъ условіяхъ, а уходятъ потому, что литература единственный исходъ для нихъ. Понятно и то, что эти люди дѣла—могутъ быть плохими людьми слова. Шиллеръ не даромъ заставляетъ Телля сказать, что онъ не умѣетъ говорить, а явится, когда нужно будетъ дѣло. И эти люди дѣла въ несродной имъ работѣ, за которую взялись съ отчаянія,—не бездарныя, темныя личности, не проѣденныя громаднымъ честолюбіемъ ничтожества—это великія, честныя силы, которыхъ отвергаютъ непроницательные зодчіе.

Глубоко трагична жизнь этихъ людей. Бѣдный канцелярскій писецъ Кузьминъ сдѣлался, какъ говорится на канцелярскомъ языкѣ, сочинителемъ. Въ провинціи жизнь этихъ „сочинителей" нестерпима. Сочинитель наживетъ враговъ, которымъ не нужно ждать никакого удобнаго случая, чтобы стереть съ лица земли канцелярскаго писца, сочинитель заглохнетъ тамъ безъ поддержки — и въ концѣ концовъ сопьется съ круга, чтобы затопить наиболѣе злую мысль. Кузьминъ ѣдетъ изъ темнаго чиновничьяго міра въ Петербургъ. Петербургъ—городъ обѣтованный, онъ для бѣднаго писца-сочинителя

...Арена дѣятельной силы,
Пытливой мысли и труда.

Тамъ просторъ мысли, развитіе, котораго онъ такъ жадно ждалъ, тамъ, быть можетъ, ждетъ его и литературная слава. Тамъ печальники о меньшей братьи встрѣтятъ его съ распростертыми объятіями, укажутъ ему дорогу. Пріѣзжій чиновникъ изъ Петербурга, щеголявшій въ провинціи либерализмомъ, потому что либерализмъ былъ à l'ordre du jour, обѣщалъ герою мѣсто. Бѣднякъ продалъ все, что у него было, и поѣхалъ, разсчитывая на обѣщаніе и еще на даровую пищу демидовскихъ кухонь; поѣхалъ съ крѣпкой вѣрой въ себя и въ людей. Прибылъ онъ въ городъ обѣтованный и вскорѣ изъ страшной плющильной машины жизни столичной былъ выброшенъ, какъ „винтъ не-

годный". Мѣсто, доставленное чиновникомъ либераломъ, который, потому что ordre du jour смѣнился, оказался уже не меценатомъ меньшей братьи, но взыскательнымъ начальникомъ,—недавало ему средствъ существовать даже впроголодь. Питаться въ демидовскихъ кухняхъ, при необходимости обивать пороги редакцій, оказалось неудобно. Ему нуженъ былъ досугъ, чтобы учиться, чтобы развивать мысли, а ему приходилось карпѣть цѣлые дни надъ безсмысленной перепиской; ему нужно было упорнымъ трудомъ развивать свой талантъ, готовиться сказать свое слово людямъ, а ему приходилось писать, чтобъ не умереть съ голоду, размѣнивать недозрѣвшую мысль на мелочь, продать еще зеленый хлѣбъ на корню, сознавая, что люди никогда не узнаютъ, какое здоровое зерно принесъ бы этотъ хлѣбъ, если бы ему дали вызрѣть. Либералъ-меценатъ, покончившій съ либерализмомъ, выгналъ его изъ службы за нарушеніе порядка. Редакторы не платили, въ настоящемъ голодъ, въ будущемъ темная, безвѣстная смерть. Осталось одно—пить, пить, чтобы забыть и голодъ и униженіе, пить, чтобы забыть обманутыя надежды и утопить мысль. Но вино сжигало жизнь, а не топило мысль. Разбуженная мысль, мысль о темной жизни братьевъ, мысль о человѣческой правдѣ не гасла въ немъ до послѣдней минуты. И онъ передъ смертью написалъ разсказъ о своей забитой, темной, безплодно загубленной жизни, которая могла бы быть такой свѣтлой и плодотворной, могла бы внести свѣтъ и въ жизнь другихъ людей, если бы люди того захотѣли; „и онъ бросилъ этотъ разсказъ, какъ проклятіе, въ лицо людямъ, между которыми онъ погибъ". „Вы довели меня до нищеты, пишетъ онъ передъ смертью редактору, не платившему ему за статьи, но я, нищій, я честнѣе васъ, потому что я достаю себѣ теплый уголъ и хлѣбъ такимъ трудомъ, надъ которымъ вы въ вашей паршивой газеткѣ смѣетесь. Идите на площадь и вы увидите сотрудника вашего съ сапогами и сюртуками, кричащаго: сапоги хороши, сапоги купите, г. редакторъ. Спросите Кузьмина, онъ по вашей милости пьяницей сдѣлался". Но еще болѣе своей личной обиды озлобляетъ его мысль объ обидѣ той великой правды, для которой онъ жилъ; честное чувство гражданина не прощаетъ редактору его измѣны гражданскому долгу, и онъ бросаетъ ему въ лицо негодующій укоръ за новое направленіе его газеты. „Я прочиталъ одинъ № газеты. Позвольте спросить, какое направленіе вашей плюгавой газеты, какія идеи вы проводите?" Эти слова:

гражданскій долгъ и чувство гражданина, покажутся чѣмъ-то страннымъ и смѣшнымъ людямъ, между которыми сгибла эта честная сила,—эти слова у насъ не получили права гражданства, и лишь изрѣдка являются люди, для которыхъ они символъ вѣры, и которые остаются имъ вѣрны, вѣрны до смерти, какъ герой повѣсти „Между людьми". Безсильный, умирающій, онъ еще „смотритъ на народъ". И сколько отчаянья, какое убійственное сознаніе своего безсилія выноситъ онъ изъ этого „смотрѣнья". Незадолго до смерти онъ заноситъ въ дневникъ слѣдующія строки: „По вечерамъ, я шляюсь по кабакамъ и смотрю на народъ. Дуракъ". Дуракъ, скажутъ и люди, между которыхъ онъ погибъ, люди, довольные своей жизнью, люди не дѣлающіе своимъ символомъ вѣры словъ, которыми жилъ бѣдный „сочинитель"... Дуракъ, самъ виноватъ. Кто велѣлъ ему бросать службу и ѣхать въ Петербургъ? Служилъ бы у дяди, который и его вывелъ бы въ почтмейстеры, женился бы на дочери какого нибудь секретаря, взялъ бы хорошее приданое и служилъ бы какъ служатъ всѣ, записывая на имя жены то домикъ, то ломбардные билеты; и жилъ бы себѣ, какъ живутъ всѣ, и жирѣлъ бы, подписывая бумаги, да поигрывая въ преферансъ, пока ударъ не положилъ бы конецъ мирно и благонамѣренно протекшей жизни, и не на больничной кровати, среди умирающаго темнаго люда, окончилась бы эта жизнь, но среди горько оплакивающей семьи, готовой идти по его стопамъ; и бренные останки съ подобающей торжественностью были бы отвезены подъ пышнымъ катафалкомъ на кладбище, сопровождаемые плачущей родней и ассистентами, несущими знаки отличія безпорочной службы,—вмѣсто того, чтобы быть забитыми въ деревянный ящикъ изъ голыхъ досокъ, отвезенными на ломовомъ на кладбище и заваленными въ общую яму. Какъ не дуракъ! Его ждалъ завидный удѣлъ, удѣлъ порядочныхъ людей—и онъ не захотѣлъ взять его. Не захотѣлъ—или не могъ?

Не могъ—вотъ въ чемъ дѣло. Въ людяхъ, какъ онъ, есть безпокойная и честная сила, которая не даетъ имъ зажирѣть въ безсмысленной жизни, но гонитъ ихъ изъ нея—въ міръ труда, борьбы, нищеты, въ міръ страдающаго темнаго люда. Тѣсно этой силѣ и въ мірѣ темнаго люда, но она задохлась бы въ другомъ.

Она погибла потому, что была одинока. И много гибнетъ такихъ силъ. Но не погибель страшна. Страшно то, что она погибла, увидавъ тщету своей борьбы, погибла безъ надежды, что по слѣ-

дамъ ея явятся другія, которыя поведутъ ту же борьбу и не погибнутъ безслѣдно, не погибнутъ, не сдѣлавъ ничего. Она погибла безъ этой отрадной надежды, которая примирила бы ее и съ загубленной жизнью, безъ свѣтлой вѣры, видящей вдали цѣль достигнутую другимъ поколѣніемъ. Съ такой надеждой, съ такой вѣрой и жить не страшно и умирать легко. Люди отняли у Кузьмина и эту надежду и эту вѣру. Онъ пишетъ въ дневникѣ, умирая въ Обуховской больницѣ: „Славное мѣсто!.. Лежу я въ другой палатѣ, при мнѣ уже четверо умерли безъ стоновъ, безъ мученій. Помучились вы. бѣдные, въ этой жизни, нечего вамъ смерти страшиться... Такъ и я встрѣчу смерть, можетъ быть сію минуту. Какая она? По медицинѣ я вычиталъ, что страшилищъ нѣтъ... Умирай Кузьминъ, умирай тварь земная, ничтожное твореніе природы, и теперь передъ смертью сознайся, что ты только лягушка, хотѣвшая быть воломъ. Ну, къ чему ты стремился? чего ты желалъ? чего ты достигъ? Ничего, кромѣ того, что ты скорѣе умрешь. Кому ты принесъ пользу?“ Вотъ участь честной силы между людьми. Горе тому обществу, гдѣ гибнутъ такія силы!

VI.

Лѣтописецъ темнаго люда не могъ забыть тѣхъ, кому въ темномъ мірѣ выпала самая темная доля — женщинъ. Двойнымъ гнетомъ налегла на нихъ жизнь: гнетомъ нищеты и гнетомъ семьи. И бьются всю жизнь подъ этимъ гнетомъ всевыносливыя труженицы, бьются, отстаивая у жизни самихъ себя, своихъ дѣтей, бьются, не смотря на то, что природа дала имъ менѣе силъ. Темная жизнь ихъ начинается тычками въ родной семьѣ, гдѣ онѣ являются непрошеными гостьями, лишними ртами, которые отнимаютъ долю другихъ. Едва окрѣпнутъ немного ихъ руки—ихъ ждетъ тяжелая работа. Не необходимость труда страшна, страшно то, что трудъ не по силамъ, что онъ забиваетъ еще неразвившіяся силы, что онъ забиваетъ мысль. Наступаетъ молодость — праздникъ жизни, пора счастья и надеждъ. Но для женщины темнаго люда нѣтъ праздника жизни. Дома жизнь ея—подозрительный надзоръ семьи, оскорбительные попреки и пренебреженіе. Дѣвушка не кормилица семьи, какъ братья, дѣвушка—товаръ, который сбывается въ чужую семью. И цѣнность

товара оберегается ревниво, а то онъ останется на рукахъ. Вотъ что говоритъ рѣшетниковская лѣтопись объ этой безотрадной молодости. „А жить въ родительскомъ домѣ молодой дѣвушкѣ ужасно опротивѣло: одной скучно; хотя за работой она и поетъ пѣсни для того, чтобы ей не думалось, и тутъ все-таки лѣзутъ мысли и ей не весело; придетъ мать: это не ладно, то не такъ, и пошла ворчать; при отцѣ немного получше, но за то тошно смотрѣть и слушать, какъ родители грызутся между собой и ровно не ссорятся они, а все у нихъ брань. Придутъ ребята—крикъ, а отъ этого Кольки и покою нѣтъ и ничѣмъ не уговоришь... И вездѣ-то, Господи, такая идетъ жизнь. Развѣ вотъ съ Илинькой будетъ спокой. Говорятъ же дѣвушки, что только и радостей у насъ, что замужъ выходить". Но и эта радость коротка. Замужество не счастье для нея. Тамъ тотъ же трудъ, та же нужда и новыя тяжелыя заботы. Она внесетъ съ собой въ семью не свѣжія, бодрыя силы, но силы уже надломленныя домашнимъ гнетомъ, накипѣвшее озлобленіе. Послѣ первыхъ дней радости она почуетъ надъ собой новый гнетъ, еще болѣе тяжелый —

Будетъ бить ее мужъ привередникъ
И свекровь въ три погибели гнуть.

И день за днемъ будутъ гаснуть ея силы, засыпать непробуднымъ сномъ мысль; и въ сорокъ лѣтъ будетъ она глядѣть дряхлой старухой, и будетъ такъ же безпощадно забивать своихъ дочерей, какъ забивали ее самоё—уча ихъ уму-разуму. И такъ до безконечности будутъ смѣняться поколѣніе за поколѣніемъ, прозябая въ своемъ темномъ мірѣ.

Это—прозябаніе нормальной жизни женщины темнаго люда. Порой оно нарушается новымъ горемъ. Дѣвушка не дождется свадьбы, парень обманетъ ее и броситъ беременную. Праздникъ ея жизни—въ одной любви; но за пиръ на этомъ праздникѣ она расплачивается горькими слезами. Дома попреки, товаръ потерялъ цѣнность и можетъ остаться на рукахъ лишнимъ бременемъ; въ деревнѣ — насмѣшки подругъ, нахальныя оскорбленія парней, а впереди на рукахъ ребенокъ, котораго нужно будетъ кормить, котораго въ ея семьѣ ждутъ пинки и ругань и завалявшаяся корка хлѣба. Правда, ей не придется выносить то поруганіе, то общее отчужденіе, которому обречена обманутая и брошенная дѣвушка въ западной Европѣ. Въ нашемъ народѣ менѣе фарисейской нетерпимости и бо-

лѣе здраваго смысла, но до полнаго пониманія и прощенія далеко— и жизнь такой дѣвушки не легка. Много слезъ пролила брошенная Лизавета Елизарова, упрекая мать за то, что та не учила ее съ любовью тому, какъ горько приходится дѣвушкѣ, когда она повѣритъ льстивымъ рѣчамъ парня; много тяжелыхъ попрековъ отъ отца и пересмѣшекъ подругъ, и охлажденіе другаго парня, который полюбилъ ее. Но человѣчное чувство восторжествовало въ парнѣ. Онъ снова сошелся съ нею и они пошли вмѣстѣ искать, гдѣ имъ будетъ лучше, гдѣ они заработаютъ настолько, чтобы имъ можно было зажить, какъ „люди“.

Вѣковая нужда и горе, забивая тысячи слабыхъ, учила умуразуму немногихъ сильныхъ. Вѣковой гнетъ училъ понимать цѣну самостоятельности—и въ средѣ задавленныхъ женщинъ темнаго люда нарождались силы. Тѣмъ крупнѣе были эти силы, что онѣ проявились среди вѣковой немощи. Эти силы, не однѣ стихійныя силы, не одна выносливость и рѣшимость идти отыскивать, гдѣ лучше живется; это силы нравственныя, негодованіе противъ гнета, негодованіе противъ тѣхъ, кто рабски сноситъ его, вызовъ на борьбу съ нимъ. Всѣ эти черты выхвачены изъ жизни и занесены на страницы лѣтописей Рѣшетникова. На осиновскомъ заводѣ ждутъ ревизора, рабочіе собираются подать прошеніе на притѣсненія. Женщины злятся, что прошеніе выходитъ не ладно. Ихъ честолюбіе оскорблено несостоятельностью мужей.—„Вы только на словахъ бойки!.. Вотъ и видно, что у васъ ни на грошъ ума-разума! кричали онѣ: а еще харахоритесь“. Ждутъ пріѣзда ревизора. Женщины поджигаютъ мужчинъ стоять крѣпко.—„Если вы, олухи царя небеснаго, будете смотрѣть на него, да хлопать ушами, мы вамъ не жены“, грозятъ онѣ мужчинамъ. Все это броженье пробуждающихся силъ оканчивается словами, какъ всегда оканчивается первое броженіе. Не было ядра, къ которому бы могли примкнуть бродившія силы. Управляющій пригрозилъ, рабочіе струсили и бабы оказались энергичнѣе мужчинъ. Всѣ молчатъ. Молодые пятятся за стариковъ, бабы начинаютъ выдвигаться впередъ. Но протестъ ихъ кончился ничѣмъ. За то послѣ какъ горько упрекали бабы струсившихъ мужей!— „Ну, не правда ли, вы свиньи, отчего вы не говорили. А?“ Жены стали плевать на мужей.—„Будьте вы прокляты, хвастуши! Вотъ и надѣйся; на словахъ такъ города берете“. Не изящно высказы-

вается въ женщинѣ темнаго люда ея сила, но она есть, и ея, какъ видно изъ этихъ строкъ, болѣе у женщинъ, чѣмъ у мужчинъ.

Рѣшетниковъ не первый писатель, который замѣтилъ въ женщинѣ эту черту; ее замѣтилъ и Тургеневъ. Женщины Тургенева тоже идутъ смѣло тамъ, гдѣ мужчина отступаетъ въ нерѣшимости. Но онѣ сильны только въ одномъ мірѣ любви и сила ихъ—сила отчаянія человѣка, который отстаиваетъ все, что есть у него въ жизни. И, кромѣ того, сила ихъ—сила ограниченности. Онѣ не заѣдены рефлексіей и не больны гамлетствомъ, потому что міръ мысли былъ закрытъ для нихъ. И Помяловскій замѣтилъ, что болѣзнь „кладбищенства, заѣвшая его героя, была болѣзнь не дамская". Если и болѣли его женщины, то по привычкѣ молчать, болѣли неслышно въ своемъ углу и никто не зналъ объ этой болѣзни. Другимъ же легко было оказаться сильными силой Наташи Рудиной и Елены въ „Наканунѣ". Но тутъ другая сила. Тутъ женщина гонитъ на борьбу, тутъ она идетъ сама, и не отступаетъ, когда мужчина пятится назадъ. Этой силы не показывали тургеневскія героини — и понятно. На нихъ не ложился неумолимо тотъ гнетъ, который давилъ женщинъ темнаго люда и который закалилъ въ нихъ силу отпора. Въ романѣ „Гдѣ лучше" женщины тоже первыя подстрекаютъ устроить стачку. Во многихъ очеркахъ Рѣшетникова встрѣчаются типы бойкихъ женщинъ, которыя закалились гнетомъ и умѣютъ постоять за себя. Такъ, напр., героиня очерка Мирониха, смышленая рабочая баба, которая заткнетъ за поясъ мужчину и недастъ себя въ обиду. Ей не платитъ долга чиновникъ, но она-таки вытребовала свой долгъ, не смотря на то, что чиновники эти полновластные властелины заводскихъ бабъ.—„Гдѣ это такіе порядки написаны, чтобы долговъ не получать,—жалуется она начальнику.—Ты думаешь, мнѣ мое добро не дорого? Подикось, я бы и съ тебя взыскивать стала. На что начальство поставлено?" Это не бойкость какой нибудь чиновницы, которая даетъ волю языку на томъ основаніи, что она благородная дама, что дамамъ все позволено, и которыя тотчасъ опѣшатъ при малѣйшемъ возраженіи. Для женщинъ темнаго люда не существуетъ привиллегій благородныхъ дамъ: имъ приходится платиться дорого за каждое лишнее слово. И когда обида и неправда вырвутъ у нихъ это смѣлое „лишнее" слово, онѣ скажутъ его не сдуру, не безсознательно, и не опѣшатъ потомъ трусливо.

Въ этомъ словѣ скажется сознаніе ихъ правъ и требованіе,

чтобы ихъ уважали.—„Мы васъ кормимъ,—говоритъ Мирониха далѣе,—безъ насъ вамъ бы и трескать было нечего“.

Мирониха—только намекъ на такой типъ женщинъ; но вполнѣ сложившійся типъ этихъ женщинъ представляетъ бабушка Опариха. Это сильная, дѣятельная баба, которая своимъ вліяніемъ заправляетъ цѣлой деревней. Къ Опарихѣ идутъ всѣ за совѣтомъ въ бѣдѣ и за помощью въ болѣзни. Но Опариха вовсе не идеалъ женщины, которая служитъ обществу, она далеко не Феликсъ Гольтъ въ сарафанѣ. Опариха принадлежитъ къ хищническому типу. Когда жизнь такъ сложилась, что надо давить или быть задавленнымъ, то сильныя натуры берутся за первое. Нужно исключительное развитіе и особенныя благопріятныя условія, чтобы изъ сильныхъ выработались слуги обществу, а не хищники его. Опариха—кулакъ-баба. Вся деревня у ней кругомъ въ долгу и потому волей ея вершится все въ деревнѣ. Деревенскіе, какъ водится, въ глаза кланяются ей, а за глаза ругаютъ ее. Опариха понимаетъ свою силу и глубоко презираетъ толки деревенскихъ: „кто самъ плохъ, не подастъ Богъ“, говоритъ она, какъ всѣ кулаки, называющіе божьей подачкой свои вымогательства. Но если Опариха не научена жизнью исполненію заповѣди: у кого двѣ рубашки, отдай одну неимущему, за то она твердо научена стоять за себя и своихъ. Она не стерпитъ обиды женщинъ. Мужикъ Алексѣй, съ которымъ она была много лѣтъ въ связи, заколачиваетъ жену. Другая женщина стала бы радоваться униженію соперницы; Опариха говоритъ, что онъ несправедливо бьетъ ее за то, что та не отдаетъ выручку за скотину и огородъ, „потому что огородъ и скотинка должны завсегда принадлежать хозяйкѣ“. Она узнаетъ, что міръ собирается сѣчь ненавистную ей соперницу, и заставляетъ міръ измѣнить приговоръ. „Слышала, хотятъ стягать Дарью Яковлеву?“ Лицо Опарихи передернулось, глаза сверкнули. — „Какое право они взяли бабу стягать?—Да тебѣ тутъ што?—„Разѣ мнѣ не обида? Разѣ это не обида всѣмъ бабамъ, коли надъ нами мужики будутъ командывать такъ и издѣваться“. Опариха забыла, что Дарья Яковлева ея злѣйшій врагъ; чувство общей обиды поглотило чувство личной вражды. На замѣчаніе, что она зла на Дарью Яковлеву, она отвѣчаетъ: „Сколь сердита, столько и милостива. Ты думаешь, я безъ чувствія, што ли?“ И Опариха, не смотря на свою усталость, отправляется въ деревню и поднимаетъ всѣхъ бабъ, объявивъ имъ, что вышелъ та-

кой указъ, чтобы бабъ больше не стегать. Агитація ея увѣнчана успѣхомъ. Бабы голосятъ про мужиковъ: „Врутъ они все, этому не должно быть, на то рази мы дались имъ“. Но эта агитація не дѣйствительна для спасенія Дарьи отъ розогъ, и Опариха дѣйствуетъ рѣшительнѣе. Когда повели Дарью, она врывается въ волостное правленіе. „Всѣ крестьяне разомъ смолкли и удивленно смотрѣли на нее.—Гдѣ старшина? Внезапно наставшая тишина, или громкій голосъ Опарихи заставили старшину выйти въ эту комнату.—Вотъ гляди, Опариха,—кричалъ старшина, кусая рѣдьку.—Я давно Опариха, а ты кто? Ахъ ты пьяница горькая, и какой такой дуракъ тебя, старый чортъ, старшиной поставилъ, кричала Опариха, при послѣднемъ словѣ дернувъ старосту чувствительно за бороду.—Нѣтъ, ты па-астой, говорилъ пьяный старшина. — Молись Богу, что ты пьянъ, а то бы я тебѣ всѣ глаза выковыряла.—Ой ли, выковыряла?—Ну-ка, скажи, какъ твой судъ насчетъ Дарьи? — Стегать.—Вотъ тебя постегать бы!—Народъ захохоталъ.—А вы-то што, олухи царя небеснаго. Вы-то што стоите точно подохлые... Для того ли васъ въ судъ позвали, штобъ табачище проклятый курить и хохотать... Эхъ, гляди, они водку лопаютъ. Ну, и судъ!—Да ты пошла, наше дѣло, загорланили крестьяне.—Вы-то што, вы и слова сказать хорошенько не умѣете!—Потомъ, обратясь къ ошеломленному старшинѣ, который тупо глядѣлъ то на народъ, то на нее и почесывалъ спину, Опариха крикнула:—Подавай писаря.—Ты што кричишь, халатница. Не твое дѣло, пошла вонъ!—Какъ, меня гнать! да я у самого губернатора была, да и онъ выслушалъ, не гналъ. А ты што за фря такая. Анъ и впрямь здѣсь кабакъ, только бочки нѣтъ. Поглядите-ка, православные, писарь съ старшиной лыка не вяжутъ.—Ребята, гоните ее! закричалъ разозлившійся писарь. Но никто не трогался съ мѣста, всѣ переглядывались другъ съ другомъ, улыбались и шептали: „накось, эва какая“. Опариха воспользовалась одержаннымъ торжествомъ. Она заставила писаря прочитать вслухъ указъ, что бабъ стегать не слѣдуетъ, и затѣмъ потребовала написать паспортъ Дарьѣ на годъ и тутъ же выложила на столъ свои трудовые три рубли. На удивленіе бабъ, Опариха отвѣчала:—„Нечего удивляться, всякій можетъ успѣть коли дѣло правое и разсудокъ имѣешь“.

Отъ этой сцены, приведенной въ нѣсколько сокращенномъ видѣ, такъ и вѣетъ дѣйствительной, живой правдой; Опариха—типъ,

живьемъ выхваченный изъ народа. Передъ вами энергическая, смѣлая личность, какихъ рѣдко удается встрѣчать, которая умѣетъ понимать правду и постоять крѣпко за эту правду, и не смотря на то, передъ вами живая баба, простая торговка, которая свое пониманье правды выражаетъ простымъ живымъ языкомъ. Идеальные поклонники народа не преминули бы сдѣлать изъ Опарихи вѣщую пророчицу, которая изрекла бы мудрыя изрѣченія о правдѣ, о святости ея языкомъ народныхъ былинъ и такъ-же походила бы на живую Опариху, какъ нарумяненная актриса въ сарафанѣ на крестьянку. Писатели гражданскихъ мотивовъ, за ея протестъ противъ сѣченья, одѣли бы сморщенное и плутоватое лицо Опарихи ореоломъ героини и никакъ не допустили бы разрушить этотъ ореолъ кулачествомъ. Одинъ лѣтописецъ жизни темнаго люда не побоялся правды. Онъ умѣлъ честно относиться къ жизни—и за то онъ и открывалъ такіе живые типы народной жизни, какъ бабушка Опариха. Вѣковой гнетъ не забилъ силъ женщины и въ средѣ ея являются личности, которыя умѣютъ отстаивать свои права, личности, которыя умѣютъ захватить себѣ широкій кругъ дѣятельности, не смотря на тѣсныя границы, отмѣренныя имъ жизнью. Бабушка Опариха не только ведетъ обширную, по ея средствамъ, торговлю, почище старосты вершитъ своимъ вліяніемъ деревенскія дѣла, но и находитъ управу даже на чиновниковъ: подаетъ просьбу губернатору и избавляетъ отъ рекрутчины незаконно сданнаго парня. Опариха—зарождающійся типъ буржуазіи, который выработывается изъ народа, когда ему удается добиться обезпеченнаго куска хлѣба. Въ ней и свѣтлыя и темныя стороны этой буржуазіи. Съ одной стороны, безжалостное вымогательство денегъ, безстыдное кулачество и желаніе властвовать; съ другой—сознаніе своихъ правъ, зараждающееся чувство независимости и сила отстоять ихъ отъ произвола, сила, купленная силой, управляющей міромъ — деньгами, которыя были пріобрѣтены изворотливостью, предпріимчивостью, бережливостью и черствостью—отличительными свойствами буржуазіи и бабушки Опарихи. Въ виду этого трудно сказать, слѣдуетъ ли радоваться появленію бабушекъ Опарихъ. Если, съ одной стороны, въ отношеніи высшихъ онѣ съумѣютъ отстоять правду, не дать себя и своихъ въ обиду, за то съ другой—въ отношеніи къ массѣ, онѣ окажутся безпощадными деспотами, которые будутъ давить ее гнетомъ своихъ, выжатыхъ изъ нея же, денегъ.

Рѣшетниковъ не остановился на своей бабушкѣ Опарихѣ и занесъ въ свои лѣтописи другой, болѣе свѣтлый женскій типъ, типъ женщины, которая ищетъ самостоятельной честной жизни.

Это Дарья Андреевна Яковлева, героиня романа „Свой хлѣбъ". Мысль, положенная Рѣшетниковымъ въ основу этого романа,—мысль глубокая и оригинальная. До сихъ поръ всѣ героини романовъ, которыя искали независимости и своего куска хлѣба, писались по извѣстному шаблону. Героиня, обыкновенно, жила себѣ преспокойно, не мечтая ни о трудѣ, ни о независимости, пока не встрѣчалась съ героемъ изъ новыхъ людей, который принимался развивать ее тирадами изъ публицистическихъ статей разныхъ журналовъ. Героиня проникалась тогда мгновенной и глубочайшей ненавистью къ своей жизни и роднямъ, бросала ихъ послѣ грозной сцены и уходила жить новой жизнью, о которой говорилось много краснорѣчивыхъ, но весьма туманныхъ фразъ. Все выходило книжно, ходульно, мертво. Рѣшетниковъ едва-ли не первый и единственный изъ нашихъ писателей задумалъ типъ героини, которую не книга, не чужое слово, но сама жизнь научила порвать всѣ связи съ празднымъ міромъ и идти на жизнь труда и лишеній для того, чтобы спасти свое человѣческое достоинство, чтобы добиться независимости. Вѣрный себѣ, Рѣшетниковъ представилъ не титаническую натуру, которая, разорвавъ всѣ связи со своими, уходитъ работать для великихъ цѣлей, и послѣ тяжелой и неравной борьбы умираетъ, бросивъ проклятіе обществу. Такихъ женщинъ еще не выработала жизнь; немногія исключительныя личности, именно своей исключительностью, доказывали, что онѣ только намеки на новый типъ женщины — работницы для общества, женщины-гражданки, типъ, который еще вырабатывается и Богъ знаетъ, когда еще выработается жизнью; поэтому онъ не могъ быть занесенъ какъ вполнѣ сложившійся и выяснившійся типъ на страницы лѣтописей правдивымъ лѣтописцемъ жизни. Новая героиня Рѣшетникова просто здоровая, честная дѣвушка, съ яснымъ умомъ, энергической волей, но у которой и ума, и воли ровно настолько, сколько надо, чтобы понять всю грязь окружающей ее жизни и уйти добывать себѣ честный кусокъ хлѣба. Но именно это трезвое отношеніе автора къ героинѣ и представляетъ явленіе, какъ нельзя болѣе утѣшительное. Мы переросли то время, когда женщина, которая не хотѣла ѣсть неправедно нажитый хлѣбъ, которая не хотѣла быть за этотъ хлѣбъ

рабой родныхъ, казалась героиней, передъ которой чуть ли не слѣдовало становиться на колѣни. Правда, такихъ женщинъ еще не много, но ихъ уже есть столько, что мы привыкли къ нимъ и относимся къ нимъ съ однимъ глубокимъ и вполнѣ заслуженнымъ ими уваженіемъ, но не ставимъ ихъ на ходули, не носимся съ ними, какъ съ невиданной диковинкой, не восторгаемся ими какъ признакомъ нашего развитія и зрѣлости, какъ восторгается новоиспеченный прапорщикъ своими эполетами и пробившимся усомъ.

Дарья Андреевна явленіе тѣмъ болѣе отрадное, что она создана средой, въ которой всего рѣже можно встрѣтить задатки здоровой жизни — средой мелкаго чиновничества. Эта среда выползла изъ міра темнаго люда въ сытый, но не доползла еще и до весьма ограниченной доли образованія, и въ ней сошлись наиболѣе темныя стороны и того и другаго люда. Прочная обезпеченность человѣка даетъ ему досугъ для развитія мысли, въ немногихъ даровитыхъ личностяхъ, даетъ ему наконецъ сознаніе собственной независимости. Не такъ бываетъ въ средѣ мелкаго чиновничества. Тамъ малѣйшая прихоть можетъ лишить мѣста и пустить по міру съ семьей. Мелкій чиновникъ долженъ постоянно униженно кланяться. Отъ частыхъ поклоновъ изъ него выработывается такая жалкая, уродливая, согбенная фигура, въ которой трудно различить очертаніе человѣка. Отъ вѣчнаго трепетанія и заискиванія, черты лица этой фигуры застыли въ какое-то подобострасно холопское выраженіе, которое можно встрѣтить только на лицахъ прежнихъ дворовыхъ. Такихъ фигуръ, такого выраженія лица вы не встрѣтите въ темномъ людѣ. И ему приходится дрожать передъ хозяевами, кланяться за работу, но онъ живетъ съ своимъ хозяиномъ въ двухъ разныхъ мірахъ: отдавши хозяину поклонъ за работу, онъ потомъ мѣсяцами не видится съ нимъ. Чиновникъ живетъ въ постоянныхъ сношеніяхъ съ начальствомъ, онъ долженъ постоянно снискивать его милости, — поклоны его не временное выпрашиванье заработка, какъ у темнаго люда, — его поклоны хроническое заискиванье, которое имѣетъ растлѣвающее въ корень вліяніе. Прочно обезпеченный человѣкъ усвоиваетъ себѣ хоть наружный лоскъ порядочности, увлекается хоть ради моды разными „идеями“. Во всемъ этомъ разумѣется мало утѣшительнаго; но все таки это лучше того непробуднаго мрака, того полнѣйшаго невѣжества, въ которомъ живутъ семьи Яковлевыхъ: и повторяемое ради моды слово можетъ быть услышано и сохранено

въ честномъ молодомъ сердцѣ, которое станетъ служить ему уже не ради моды; оно можетъ быть искрой, которая, по словамъ поэта, „запавъ въ чужую грудь, въ ней пробудится пожаромъ“. Въ мірѣ Яковлевыхъ нечего слышать, нечего сохранять, кромѣ преданій чиновничьяго благородства и китайской обрядности, подъ которой скрывается грубая животность. Люди обезпеченные выработали себѣ хоть извѣстную приличную форму, которой они держется въ отношеніи темнаго міра—изъ уваженія къ самимъ себѣ. Натолковавшись ради моды о бѣдномъ братѣ, нагорячившись о добрѣ, они иногда оказываютъ дѣйствительныя услуги и эти услуги ужь никакъ не могутъ быть сравниваемы съ тѣми ударами плетью по голому тѣлу, сквозящему сквозь лохмотья, которыми награждаетъ темный людъ мелкое чиновничество. Оно само такъ недавно выползло изъ темнаго люда въ „благородство“, оттого оно такъ боится, чтобы кто нибудь не заподозрилъ его прежней близости съ темнымъ людомъ, чтобы и самъ темный людъ не вспомнилъ о ней, оттого оно и страхуетъ себя отъ этихъ подозрѣній и напоминаній оскорбленіями и пинками, которые должны показать темному люду всю пропасть, залегшую между нимъ и ихъ благородствомъ. Въ этомъ мірѣ все мелко, грязно, пошло. Его борьба за существованіе отвратительна. Это не свалка рабочихъ у варницы, въ которой люди вырываютъ заработокъ другъ у друга, какъ дикіе звѣри добычу, это —мелкое подличанье, сплетни, подставленіе ноги изъ-за угла своему сопернику.

Положеніе женщины въ этой средѣ еще унизительнѣе. Работа на сторону, „на людей“, какъ говоритъ авторъ, считается позоромъ чиновничьему благородству. Жена можетъ работать только на мужа, она раба мужа — едва ли еще не болѣе, нежели женщина темнаго люда. Привычка жить на чужой счетъ убиваетъ въ ней всякую самостоятельность. „Женщина пропадетъ безъ мужа, говоритъ Рѣшетниковъ, описывая бытъ мелкихъ чиновниковъ. Она мечтаетъ только о мужѣ, она готова выйти за всякаго, кто только возьметъ ее“. Женщина темнаго люда скажетъ: одна голова не бѣдна, есть изъ за чего себя неволить—и пойдетъ въ люди. Ей работа не страшна. Привычка къ работѣ разовьетъ въ ней самостоятельность и чувство собственнаго достоинства. Она не только не кинется на шею всякому, но даже если судьба пошлетъ хорошаго человѣка и зажиточнаго—остановится передъ его зажиточностью. Она не пріучена къ мысли

жить на счетъ другаго. „Мнѣ совѣстно, у тебя все есть, а у меня ничего“, говоритъ Пелагѣя Мокроносова своему жениху Петрову. Одинокая голова женщины мелкаго чиновничьяго міра бѣдна. Ничего не придумаетъ эта голова, кромѣ жеманныхъ уловокъ, чтобы понравиться кавалерамъ и поскорѣе добыть себѣ жениха. Дѣвушка, которая считаетъ эти уловки униженіемъ, — выродокъ изъ чиновничьяго міра; на нее косо смотрятъ, зовутъ гордячкой, придумываютъ болѣе или менѣе остроумныя причины этого равнодушія къ кавалерамъ, или по-просту распускаютъ сплетни. За ними слѣдуютъ попреки родныхъ, увѣщанья жить какъ всѣ люди живутъ,— угрозы. Есть еще растлѣвающая сторона въ жизни мелкаго чиновничества, которой не знаетъ женщина темнаго люда, — взятки. Жены, сестры мелкихъ чиновниковъ ходятъ по деревнямъ, обирая яйца и цыплятъ; принимаютъ разныя приношенія, приносимыя по черной лѣстницѣ въ видѣ головъ сахару, фунтиковъ чая и кульковъ муки. Женщина, въ которой проснулось бы сознаніе всей гнусности этого крохоборства — выродокъ въ мірѣ мелкаго чиновничества. Ее считаютъ измѣнницей святынѣ чиновничьихъ преданій, модницей, нахватавшейся модныхъ идей. Не легка жизнь такой женщины въ этомъ мірѣ; такая жизнь—борьба ежедневная, ежеминутная, непрестанная борьба, и выйти изъ нея побѣдительницей дается немногимъ: побѣдительницей выйдетъ только та женщина, которая съумѣетъ вырвать у жизни свой хлѣбъ.

Рѣшетниковъ съ замѣчательной глубиной анализа показываетъ, какъ слагаются въ такихъ женщинахъ силы, которыя подготовляютъ разрывъ съ темнымъ міромъ крохоборства, продажности, неправды и рабства. Дарья Андреевна—нелюбимая мачихой падчерица; первый толчокъ къ разрыву данъ ей семьей. Обиженная дѣвочка находитъ отраду въ играхъ съ сосѣдними мѣщанскими дѣтьми. Возмущенное чиновничье благородство налагаетъ строгій запретъ на эти игры—и дѣвочка начинаетъ сознавать нелѣпость этого благородства, которое лишаетъ ее единственной отрады въ жизни. Евангеліе доказываетъ ей не одну нелѣпость, но и преступность этого благородства. Дѣти—неумолимые логики: ихъ неиспорченные свѣтской софистикой умы не допускаютъ никакихъ сдѣлокъ. Это черта, выхваченная изъ жизни. Всѣ способныя и загнанныя дѣти первое развитіе почерпаютъ въ евангеліи. Такъ было и съ Лео Шпильгагена; такъ было и съ Кузьминымъ — героемъ повѣсти „Между

людьми"; такъ было и съ многими людьми не романовъ и повѣстей, но дѣйствительной жизни. Ранній мистицизмъ — ступень, черезъ которую неизбѣжно должны были проходить всѣ лучшіе люди нашего времени. Ученіе любви и братства — единственный исходъ для честныхъ молодыхъ силъ, на которыхъ темная жизнь налегла всей своей неправдой и враждой. На требованіе молодой дѣвушки евангельской правды жизнь отвѣчаетъ казуистикой отца протопопа и монастырскими истязаніями. Дарья Андреевна бѣжитъ изъ монастыря, куда ее хотѣла отдать мачиха, домой; но не съ тѣмъ, чтобы ѣсть хлѣбъ отца. Этотъ хлѣбъ, проходящій черезъ руки мачихи, горекъ. Не сладокъ онъ даже и прямо изъ рукъ любимаго отца— за него надо платить отреченіемъ отъ собственнаго я. Она должна платить за него жизнью въ мірѣ, который ей ненавистенъ: въ мірѣ продажности, невѣжества, неправды — а жить въ этомъ мірѣ значитъ примиряться съ его грязью и безобразіемъ. Не смотря на свою кротость, сдержанность, она внесла сѣмя раздора въ семью; правда—мечъ, сокрушающій неправду. Она раздражила и сестру, удивляясь, какъ она можетъ выходить за пьяницу за мужъ, или жить у невѣстки, которая ее бьетъ; раздражила и брата, высказавъ свое негодованіе на его грубое обращеніе съ народомъ, на его поборы; раздражила и дядюшку, покровителя семьи, и всю семью тѣмъ, что не захотѣла ему кланяться, и всего болѣе раздражила мачиху, тѣмъ что стала „соваться не въ свое дѣло", т. е. заботиться о ея заброшенныхъ дѣтяхъ. Для честной силы нѣтъ примиренія съ этой жизнью, и она уходитъ жить своимъ трудомъ, — ѣсть свой хлѣбъ. Смерть отца развязала ей руки и она ушла заработывать свой хлѣбъ швеей. Почему она выбрала именно этотъ заработокъ, когда ей представлялся другой, менѣе тяжелый, которымъ она могла бы кормить и своихъ младшихъ братьевъ и сестеръ — торговля въ лавкѣ, которую хотѣла открыть ея мачиха, — неизвѣстно. Этого выбора нельзя объяснить даже и ея разрывомъ съ міромъ чиновничьимъ. Дарья Андреевна не была изъ тѣхъ болѣзненныхъ нервныхъ натуръ, которымъ нужно во что бы ни стало уйти отъ прежней обстановки, даже когда отношенія ихъ къ ней измѣнились. Работая въ лавкѣ мачихи, Дарья Андреевна была бы лицомъ вполнѣ самостоятельнымъ, семья мачихи держалась бы ею, что доказывается тѣмъ, что послѣ ея отказа—планъ лавки былъ оставленъ. Этотъ отказъ заставилъ мачиху разсовать дѣтей по разнымъ благодѣте-

лямъ и пріютамъ. Дарья Андреевна, собственнымъ опытомъ и опытомъ любимаго брата Кузьмы, знала, что такое жизнь у благодѣтелей. Авторъ объясняетъ ея поступленіе въ швеи желаніемъ жить жизнью рабочаго люда.—„Я хотѣла рабочей жизни,—говоритъ она швеямъ, которыя косятся на нее за то, что она отбиваетъ ихъ заработокъ, — и хоть получаю болѣе вашего, зато переношу лишеній не меньше". Положимъ, она права съ своей точки зрѣнія. Она лишилась всѣхъ друзей, порвала всѣ привычки, навлекла множество непріятностей на себя и брата своимъ кускомъ хлѣба, заработаннымъ иглой; лишеніе и упорный трудъ, безсонныя ночи, просиженныя надъ шитьемъ, сырой и темный уголъ, были для нея, привыкшей къ довольству, къ легкой работѣ, свѣтлому, теплому жилью, несравненно тяжеле, чѣмъ для работницъ, выросшихъ въ сырыхъ подвалахъ и съ дѣтства пріученныхъ чуть ли не по цѣлымъ суткамъ гнуть спину надъ шитьемъ. Что же заставило ее выбрать именно этотъ заработокъ, когда у нея былъ другой, болѣе легкій—и полезный для семьи? Неужели одно желанье испытать страданія рабочей жизни? Но эта эстетическая жажда страданій не вяжется съ здравымъ смысломъ героини. Или любовь ея къ страдающему темному люду? Но эта любовь должна бы была удержать отъ этой жизни. Благодаря выгодамъ своего положенья, Дарья Андреевна могла только отбивать заработокъ у своихъ сестеръ. Послѣ ея поступленія въ магазинъ, хозяйка отказала двумъ швеямъ, которыхъ держала, и первой мастерицѣ, которую замѣнила Дарья Андреевна. Эта настойчивость заработывать свой хлѣбъ швейнымъ мастерствомъ кажется со стороны Дарьи Андреевны ничѣмъ необъяснимой маніей.

Эта ошибка въ концепціи выкупается за то многими превосходными сценами изъ быта швей. Въ нихъ въ яркомъ свѣтѣ выставляется и кулачество хозяйки, которая сознается, что магазинъ можетъ держаться только при одномъ условіи—набрать дѣвочекъ въ ученье, т. е. дѣтей, трудъ которыхъ можно будетъ эксплуатировать, платя имъ за то коркой хлѣба и лохмотьями; и пустота свѣтскихъ фразерокъ, которыя кричатъ о святости труда, о женской самостоятельности, а сами живутъ на содержаніи у нелюбимыхъ мужей, и не платятъ трудящемуся люду за свои наряды; и забитость бѣдныхъ швей, которыя медленно чахнутъ надъ своей работой, или въ виду неизбѣжной смерти, махнувъ рукой, скажутъ „хоть день да мой"—и пустятся во всѣ тяжкія.

Дарья Андреевна скоро разочаровалась въ своемъ кускѣ хлѣба. Первое время, когда она устроила себѣ бѣдный, но свой уголъ, на первый заработокъ ѣла свой первый кусокъ хлѣба, за который ей никому не приходилось кланяться—она была счастлива. „На душѣ ея было такъ хорошо, какъ никогда", говоритъ авторъ. Но проработавъ годъ другой, она увидѣла всю тягость и безцѣльность своей жизни. Силы стали ломиться, однообразная трудовая жизнь, жизнь, въ которой она могла быть только исправной машиной, начала надоѣдать ей. Она хотѣла любви, счастья. „Выйти за мужъ, думаетъ она, нужно заработать столько, чтобы мужъ не упрекнулъ", и спрашиваетъ: „зачѣмъ я изнуряю себя, для кого я стараюсь и для чего?". Для того только, чтобы протянуть это темное, холодное, безцѣльное существованіе. Для того только, чтобы накормить себя. Цѣль ея жизни ничуть не выше цѣли животнаго. Все сводится на удовлетвореніе первыхъ неумолимыхъ потребностей жизни. Она человѣкъ—ей нужно большее. Она примирилась бы и съ страданіями, и съ лишеніями, если бы видѣла, что ими можетъ купить это большее, — но ими она можетъ купить только разживу магазинщицы.

Выводъ неутѣшительный. Женщина упорнымъ трудомъ можетъ купить себѣ только право на бѣдное, темное прозябаніе. Такъ дорого добытый кусокъ хлѣба не даетъ ей полной человѣческой жизни. Но какъ ни горекъ этотъ свой кусокъ хлѣба, все же онъ лучше чужого. Даже такая дрянная личность, какъ Марья Андреевна, не выпесла чужого хлѣба и хотѣла удавиться, потому что у нея не хватило мужества заработывать свой. Какъ ни непроченъ свой кусокъ хлѣба, чужой ничуть не прочнѣе. Марья Андреевна послѣ неудачной попытки самоубійства пошла на мужнины хлѣба, мужъ запилъ, лишился мѣста по смерти дядюшки-покровителя—и Марьѣ Андреевнѣ пришлось выпрашивать у Дарьи Андреевны крохи ея трудоваго куска, чтобы не голодать. Дарья Андреевна не выдерживаетъ непосильнаго труда и заболѣваетъ. Выйдя изъ больницы, она попадаетъ въ компаньонки къ богатой, выжившей изъ ума старухѣ, которая хорошо платитъ ей и оставляетъ небольшую сумму въ наслѣдство. Общество всегда цѣнитъ болѣе своихъ потѣшниковъ, нежели работниковъ. Сдѣлавшись обладательницей небольшой, но значительной для нея суммы денегъ, Дарья Андреевна ѣдетъ въ Петербургъ учиться акушерству. Смерть помѣшала автору дать читателямъ лѣтопись ея жизни въ Петербургѣ. И потому насчетъ

ея дальнѣйшей судьбы мы можемъ только ограничиться предположеніемъ, что она примкнетъ къ передовымъ людямъ, которые откроютъ ей цѣль жизни пошире той, какою она жила, и судя по тѣмъ задаткамъ, которые вложилъ въ нее авторъ, можно смѣло сказать, что и всѣ трудности и невзгоды петербургской жизни не слемятъ ее нравственно, какъ не сломило ее добыванье хлѣба въ губернскомъ городѣ.

VII.

Теперь остается подвести итоги тому, что было сказано о Рѣшетниковѣ въ этомъ обзорѣ его произведеній. Онъ неизмѣнно вездѣ вѣренъ своему характеру лѣтописца, и только изрѣдка, проблесками мелькаетъ въ немъ художникъ. Однако Рѣшетниковъ имѣлъ всѣ задатки, чтобы сдѣлаться замѣчательнымъ художникомъ: глубину пониманія жизни, знаніе народа, купленное не дилетантскимъ отрывочнымъ вглядываньемъ въ него, но добросовѣстнымъ изученіемъ, но братской связью одной жизни, глубокое, искреннее чувство, пониманіе задачъ своего времени, безошибочное чутье жизненной правды, не терпѣвшее ни одной фальшивой черты, ни одного преувеличеннаго оттѣнка, и честность труда, не допускавшая его насиловать свой талантъ и писать ради денегъ, когда онъ не чувствовалъ къ тому расположенія. Всѣ эти задатки рѣдко встрѣчаются въ одномъ писателѣ. Но эти задатки такъ и остались задатками. Они не сказались ни въ одномъ произведеніи, которое, какъ „Мертвыя души“ или „Горе отъ ума“, осталось бы и для будущихъ поколѣній памятникомъ пережитой эпохи. Рѣшетниковъ не создалъ ни одного типа; ни одно изъ дѣйствующихъ лицъ его романовъ не сдѣлалось нарицательнымъ именемъ для цѣлаго разряда людей, ему подобныхъ, какъ Скалозубъ, Фамусовъ и даже Обломовъ. Читателю нужно пристально вглядываться въ его дѣйствующихъ лицъ, чтобы различить ихъ черты; а произведенія, которыя требуютъ отъ читателя такого труда, не могутъ быть признаны художественными. И въ художественныхъ произведеніяхъ могутъ не кидаться въ глаза зрителю яркость и эффектность красокъ; но все-же и среди самаго однообразнаго и сѣраго колорита фигуры должны выдѣляться изъ полотна рельефностью очертаній.

Эта необходимость вглядываться пристальнѣе въ героевъ и героинь Рѣшетникова причина того, что его произведенія цѣнились по достоинству только небольшой частью общества и критикой, болѣе нежели читателями. Отчасти въ томъ виноваты сами читатели, привыкшіе къ эффектности французскихъ и оригинальному юмору англійскихъ романовъ. Для желудковъ, пріученныхъ къ пряностямъ, простой, здоровый хлѣбъ покажется не слишкомъ вкусной пищей. Но извѣстная доля вины лежитъ и на самомъ авторѣ. Недостаточная рельефность очертаній, множество ненужныхъ аксесуаровъ, загромождавшихъ планъ картины, отвлекали вниманіе зрителей отъ главныхъ фигуръ и утомляли его. Произведенія Рѣшетникова можно сравнить съ картинами живописца-самоучки, въ которыхъ проблески замѣчательнаго таланта теряются среди массы слабыхъ штриховъ неумѣлой руки, и самый рельефный и жизненный образъ теряетъ свою жизненность оттого, что не соблюдены законы перспективы. Этихъ законовъ не умѣлъ соблюдать Рѣшетниковъ; у него неидущія къ дѣлу подробности занимаютъ одинаковое мѣсто съ главными, жизненными чертами его героевъ, иногда даже меньшее. Такъ онъ, напримѣръ, въ Подлиповцахъ очень подробно разсказываетъ, какъ ѣли подлиповцы свою первую въ жизни булку, передаетъ ихъ ѣду и ругань во многихъ сценахъ, а о томъ, какъ Пила, побывъ въ городѣ, „понялъ, что не только съ такими большими для него людьми, какъ попъ и становой, которыхъ не смѣютъ бить и сѣчь, какъ подлиповцевъ, но и съ людьми побольше поповъ и становыхъ дѣлаютъ все, что захотятъ, только не силой, а чѣмъ-то инымъ“, говорится всего нѣсколько строчекъ. И еслибы Рѣшетниковъ въ двухъ-трехъ дышащихъ правдой жизни сценахъ, какія онъ умѣлъ писать, представилъ читателю психологическій процессъ, которымъ Пила пришелъ къ этому выводу, вмѣсто голословнаго о немъ отзыва, то онъ оставилъ бы замѣчательную страницу народной лѣтописи и разъяснилъ бы суть народной жизни и будущее, къ которому идетъ она, несравненно болѣе, чѣмъ тысячами сценъ, въ которыхъ онъ заставляетъ темный людъ по нѣскольку разъ проходить одни и тѣже мытарства и которыя своимъ повтореніемъ напоминаютъ порой ту обстоятельность, съ какой старыя бабы разсказываютъ свои исторіи, приплетая на каждомъ шагу неидущія къ дѣлу подробности. Эта способность замѣчать такія глубокія черты, какъ та, которая приведена выше

ручательство, что изъ Рѣшетникова могъ бы выработаться одинъ изъ тѣхъ писателей, которые отмѣчаютъ собою цѣлую эпоху.

Что-же помѣшало Рѣшетникову сдѣлаться такимъ писателемъ? Что не дало развиться тѣмъ богатымъ задаткамъ, которые представляютъ его произведенія? Съ одной стороны ему помѣшали несчастно сложившіяся обстоятельства, не дававшія ему выбиться изъ положенія самоучки. Онъ умеръ 29 лѣтъ, написавъ сравнительно съ другими писателями слишкомъ много. Онъ не имѣлъ возможности основательнымъ ученіемъ подготовиться къ дѣятельности писателя. Для того, чтобы быть писателемъ, мало искренняго чувства, мало знанія жизни и чутья ея правды и задачъ своего времени; нужно умѣнье создавать эту жизнь въ образахъ, которые производили бы на читателя впечатлѣніе самой жизни. Нужно умѣть сгруппировать выхваченныя у жизни черты, выдвигая главныя на первый планъ, слегка намѣчивая менѣе существенныя и вовсе опуская самыя ничтожныя. Нужно умѣть отвести каждой части принадлежащее ей мѣсто, такъ чтобы ни одна изъ нихъ не нарушала полноты впечатлѣнія общаго; нужно уловить законы перспективы, уловить у жизни ея переливы красокъ, свѣта и тѣни. Эти краски въ литературѣ, языкъ —весьма важное условіе, тѣмъ болѣе въ беллетристикѣ. Тамъ, гдѣ онъ заставляетъ говорить народъ, Рѣшетниковъ неподражаемъ; но тамъ, гдѣ ему приходится говорить отъ себя или дѣлать психологическій анализъ, языкъ его становится вялымъ и блѣднымъ. Напр., дѣлая характеристику жены Токменцовой, онъ говоритъ, что она была женщина не развитая. Таже фраза о теткѣ и невѣстѣ героя повѣсти „Между людьми“ можетъ быть умѣстна, потому что разсказъ ведется отъ лица самого героя, который образовался по журнальнымъ статьямъ того времени и весьма естественно перенялъ ихъ языкъ, какъ бываетъ со всякими новичками-учениками; но тамъ, гдѣ авторъ говоритъ отъ своего лица, очерчивая внутренній міръ своихъ героевъ, онъ долженъ бы былъ говорить живымъ языкомъ, а не подобными казенными выраженіями. Только при соблюденіи всѣхъ условій перспективы и колорита можно создать художественное произведеніе; безъ нихъ и идея, положенная въ произведеніе, какъ бы истинна и плодотворна ни была она, пропадетъ для массы зрителей; безъ нихъ произведеніе будетъ напоминать рисунки китайскихъ живописцевъ, въ которыхъ отдѣльныя частности могутъ быть разработаны съ изумительнымъ искусствомъ и поразитель-

ною вѣрностью, но цѣлая картина покажется хаотическимъ сборищемъ фигуръ, изъ которыхъ вамъ трудно будетъ создать въ памяти цѣлый образъ.

Съ другой стороны, сдѣлаться Рѣшетникову такимъ писателемъ помѣшало и то, что онъ былъ сыномъ переходнаго времени. Эпохи, какъ та, которую мы переживаемъ, вообще неблагопріятны для творчества и искусства. Старые идеалы умираютъ; но они были воплотившись въ жизни, и люди, служащіе имъ, имѣли уже рельефно сложившіеся образы для своихъ произведеній, уже выработанныя формы для выраженія своихъ идеаловъ. Но подъ этой выработанной формой имъ уже нельзя было скрыть вымирающую жизнь. Подъ мастерствомъ языка и художественностью образовъ сказывается обезсилѣвшая мысль и безплодность творчества. Произведенія ихъ напоминали старческое утомительное повтореніе старыхъ воспоминаній, грезъ, давно пережитаго и забытаго. Жизнь отвращивалась отъ нихъ и молодая сила, которая шла на службу ей, не могла учиться у нихъ, учиться ей было не у кого. Новые идеалы если и были выяснены въ сознаніи общества, то еще не настолько воплотились въ жизни, чтобы можно было уловить ихъ въ той осязательности и цѣлостности, которыя необходимы для того, чтобы художникъ учился у жизни. Онъ могъ только рабски списывать знакомыя явленія ея, но чутьемъ хотѣлъ заглянуть поглубже наружности, подняться до законовъ, управляющихъ жизнью, и останавливался въ безсиліи. Въ глубинѣ крутился такой хаосъ сталкивающихся элементовъ, что онъ не могъ уловить ни одного стройнаго образа. Ему приходилось выхватывать изъ хаоса черту за чертой, разбирать ее въ мельчайшихъ подробностяхъ, чтобы узнать, какому міру она принадлежала, и на эту работу мыслителя критика потратить всѣ силы: для возсозданія цѣлаго образа жизни изъ этихъ чертъ—не оставалось времени.

Сверхъ того, въ выяснившихся среди хаоса новыхъ идеяхъ были и такія, которыя имѣли вредное вліяніе на творчество. Прежнее ученіе, идеализмъ, выросшее на почвѣ мистическихъ ученій о независимомъ духѣ, видѣло въ человѣкѣ одно духовное начало и выдѣляло человѣка изъ жизни. Человѣкъ былъ царемъ жизни; онъ властвовалъ въ ней одной силой своей внутренней правды. Все зло въ жизни происходило отъ того, что онъ измѣнялъ этой правдѣ; стоило ему снова возвратиться къ ней и всѣ бѣдствія жизни были безсильны надъ нимъ. Эпиктетъ былъ счастливъ и въ оковахъ. Вся

сила человѣка была въ этой внутренней правдѣ, въ его я. Вотъ почему художники сосредоточивали всѣ силы свои на разсматриванье всѣхъ сторонъ этого я, они зарывались во всѣхъ мельчайшихъ складкахъ и извивахъ его: они, вооружившись микроскопомъ, разсматривали самыя крохотныя клѣточки его и открывъ самую ничтожную, считали себя великими мудрецами, проникшими въ тайникъ жизни. При такомъ кропотливомъ копошеніи въ мелочахъ, утрачивалась способность видѣть разомъ человѣка, нераздѣльно съ его средой. Условія жизни, создающія человѣка, среда, вліяющая на него—все это было забыто, все было ничто передъ его самымъ крохотнымъ чувствованьицемъ или мыслью, передъ самой микроскопической особенностью его я. Вѣрное возсозданіе этого я составляло всю цѣну произведенія, было единственной цѣлью, къ которой стремились авторы, и какъ скоро она была достигнута, ко всему остальному относились съ полнѣйшимъ равнодушіемъ. Произведенія этого рода распространяли въ обществѣ полнѣйшее безучастіе ко всему, что выходило за узкій кругъ, въ которомъ улеглась личная жизнь героевъ. Идеализмъ, все глуше и глуше запираясь въ этомъ кругу, мельчалъ день ото дня и наконецъ въ жизни послышалось вмѣсто прежняго восторженнаго юношескаго голоса одно старческое безсильное бормотанье.

На смѣну искуства идеализма явилось реальное искуство. Исходной точкой реализма былъ человѣкъ, не какъ независимый всевластный духъ, парящій надъ жизнью, но какъ продуктъ двухъ сложныхъ факторовъ: условій жизни и силъ природы. Для вѣрнаго воспроизведенія жизни, реальное искуство должно было въ своихъ произведеніяхъ отвести обоимъ факторамъ должное мѣсто. Не признавая ихъ обоихъ, невозможно было создать цѣльнаго образа человѣка. Но реализмъ не удержался на этой исходной точкѣ: онъ явился протестомъ противъ идеализма, и какъ всякій протестъ, впалъ въ крайность. Идеализмъ дѣлалъ человѣка царемъ жизни, реализмъ, или вѣрнѣе ультра-реализмъ, сдѣлалъ изъ него раба ея. Онъ проглядѣлъ силы, таившіяся въ человѣкѣ, если эти силы проявлялись въ нравственномъ мірѣ, признавъ ихъ и этотъ міръ мечтами идеализма и все вниманіе свое остановилъ на условіяхъ жизни, на средѣ. Но еслибы среда была все, а человѣкъ ничто, то человѣчество не додумалось бы даже и до свайныхъ построекъ и человѣкъ остался бы тѣмъ же рабомъ въ мірѣ природы, какъ и животное, вмѣсто того, чтобы быть въ немъ работникомъ. Среда же, въ смыслѣ обще-

ственныхъ условій жизни, создается настолько же самими людьми, сколько и природой. Какъ бы то ни было, условія жизни, какъ главный и единственный факторъ, признанный этимъ ультра-реальнымъ искусствомъ, заняли главное мѣсто въ его произведеніяхъ. Самъ человѣкъ отошелъ на задній планъ, и для того, чтобы распознать черты его, въ него приходилось пристально вглядываться. Авторъ смотрѣлъ на него исключительно со стороны вліянія на него среды. Одинаковая среда, при своемъ всемогуществѣ, могла создавать только одинаковыя личности; ультра-реализмъ не былъ способенъ разглядѣть въ этихъ личностяхъ присущихъ имъ силъ для воздѣйствія на среду, и въ результатѣ оказывалось однообразіе, безличность и бѣдность творчества. Въ какихъ многоразличныхъ комбинаціяхъ ни представлять нищету одежды, скудость пищи и ничтожность заработка, ощущенія, обусловливаемыя ими, если и выйдутъ иногда изъ тѣснаго міра физическихъ ощущеній, то не дадутъ мысли другой пищи, кромѣ страданія и озлобленія. И пока наука не внесла свой свѣтъ въ этотъ тѣсный міръ, пока ходъ жизни не поднялъ его на дѣятельную борьбу съ гнетущей средой, въ этомъ тѣсномъ кругѣ негдѣ развернуться всѣмъ силамъ человѣческой природы во всей ихъ полнотѣ и богатствѣ, и не много дастъ онъ писателю красокъ и образовъ для своихъ созданій. Ему придется поневолѣ тянуть все одну и ту же пѣсню лазаря:

Холодно, странничекъ, холодно,
Голодно, родименькій, голодно.

придется, какъ Рѣшетникову, отводить описанію того, какъ ѣли подлиповцы свою первую булку въ жизни, ровно столько же мѣста, сколько и наблюденію надъ тѣмъ, какъ Пила своимъ умомъ дошелъ до пониманія законовъ, управлявшихъ и жизнью подлипной, и жизнью губернскаго города. И если въ произведеніяхъ Рѣшетникова встрѣчаются такіе замѣчательные характеры, какъ бабушка Опариха и Горюновъ, или Глумовъ и Токменцовъ, то этимъ онъ обязанъ исключительно силѣ собственнаго таланта и чутью жизни и человѣка, а никакъ не теоріямъ ультра-реальнаго искусства.

При жизни Рѣшетникова, въ журналистикѣ появлялись самые разнорѣчивые отзывы о его талантѣ. Одни отвергали въ немъ всякій талантъ, другіе возводили его на пьедесталъ, какъ писателя, ставшаго во главѣ своего времени, какъ учителя, сказавшаго обществу новое слово жизни. Первые отзывы не стоитъ опровергать, вторые—

нельзя пройти молчаніемъ: въ нихъ молодые писатели могутъ увидѣть програму своей дѣятельности. Не только Рѣшетниковъ, но и самъ Гоголь, еслибы явился въ наше время, не могъ бы быть такимъ писателемъ. Рѣшетниковъ, какъ и Гоголь, указывалъ обществу его язвы, и явись онъ во время Гоголя, онъ пріобрѣлъ бы несравненно болѣе громкую и прочную извѣстность. Тогда нужно было безпечно заснувшему въ своемъ самодовольствѣ обществу указать на разъѣдавшія его язвы; нужно было выставить ихъ во всей ихъ наготѣ и безобразіи, потрясши его до глубины сознанія. Нужно было сказать больному „ты боленъ", для того, чтобы онъ увидѣлъ свою болѣзнь и пошелъ лечиться. Теперь мы знаемъ, что мы больны. Язвы наши обнажены давно. Мы измѣрили всю зіяющую глубину и ширину ихъ; мы содрогнулись отъ ихъ безобразія. Теперь мы хотимъ исцѣлиться. Теперь намъ нужны люди, которые указали бы намъ животворный источникъ, гдѣ бы мы нашли исцѣленіе—и только тотъ писатель, который укажетъ намъ этотъ источникъ, станетъ во главѣ своего времени. Въ Германіи есть такіе писатели—мы еще ждемъ ихъ. Рѣшетниковъ не могъ быть такимъ писателемъ, потому что онъ былъ только правдивымъ лѣтописцемъ жизни. Онъ могъ только заносить бьющія въ глаза явленія ея на страницы своихъ лѣтописей, но не провидѣть тѣ, которыя еще вырабатываются въ глубокомъ тайникѣ жизни. Для того, чтобы провидѣть ихъ, нужна та сила творчества, которая въ наукѣ создаетъ гипотезы, открывающія новые законы, въ литературѣ—типы, вродѣ тѣхъ, какіе давала Жоржъ-Зандъ. Вотъ почему Рѣшетникову, въ ряду нашихъ писателей, слѣдуетъ отвести мѣсто правдиваго лѣтописца темнаго люда, не болѣе, и признать за нимъ заслугу, что онъ лѣтописями своими открывалъ на его многострадальную жизнь глаза обществу. Онъ сказалъ обществу: „смотри, вотъ міръ, котораго ты совсѣмъ не знаешь, смотри, сколько въ немъ силъ"—и этимъ словомъ онъ сослужилъ своему времени честную, почетную службу писателя-гражданина.

М. Цебрикова.

ТИПЫ И НРАВЫ АНГЛИЧАНЪ.

Новое сочиненіе Тэна, „Очерки Англіи“, заслуживаетъ такого же вниманія, какъ и всѣ вообще сочиненія этого талантливаго писателя; но, быть можетъ, ни въ одномъ изъ его прежнихъ произведеній не находили еще мы такой замѣчательной наблюдательности, такого рѣдкаго умѣнья подмѣтить характерныя черты и нѣсколькими бойкими штрихами рисовать типъ, полный правды и жизни— типъ, по которому можно составить себѣ понятіе о цѣлыхъ классахъ людей. Тэнъ выводитъ передъ нами длинный рядъ подобныхъ типовъ, вырванныхъ на удачу изъ всѣхъ классовъ англійскаго общества, и эти обращики, представленные во всей ихъ жизненной правдѣ, такъ сказать фотографически, даютъ намъ ключъ—если мы сколько нибудь знакомы при этомъ съ исторической и политической жизнью Англіи — даютъ намъ ключъ ко всѣмъ учрежденіямъ этой страны и поясняютъ, почему рядомъ съ свѣтлыми сторонами, которыя она представляетъ, еще лежатъ такія темныя пятна. Впрочемъ это относится только къ тѣмъ, такъ сказать, фотографическимъ воспроизведеніямъ англійскаго общества, которыя мы находимъ въ книгѣ Тэна; что же касается его собственныхъ коментарій, то читатель, знакомый съ направленіемъ этого писателя, конечно не увлечется ими. Личныя симпатіи автора слишкомъ сквозятъ въ нестерпимой растянутости описаній англійскаго комфорта и богатства, дворцовъ, парковъ и галлерей, въ восхваленіи патріархальныхъ добро-

дѣтелей лордовъ и пр. Все это, по нашему мнѣнію, могло быть опущено безъ ущерба для интереса книги и для цѣли, которую мы имѣемъ въ виду, знакомя съ нею читателей. Цѣль же наша— познакомить публику съ бытомъ, учрежденіями, обычаями и характеромъ народа, который, въ новѣйшее время, начинаетъ особенно интересовать Европу. Прогрессивное развитіе англійскихъ учрежденій совершалось безъ всякихъ конвульсій, медленнымъ, едва замѣтнымъ шагомъ, въ противоположность съ конвульсивными скачками континентальной Европы, которую каждый порывъ ея къ правильному соціальному строю приводилъ, въ результатѣ, какъ разъ къ противоположному концу. Но, въ настоящее время, и въ самой Англіи порождается движеніе, и, быть можетъ, предстоитъ борьба двухъ началъ, изъ которыхъ одно коренится въ исторіи англійской расы, во всѣхъ ея обычаяхъ, традиціяхъ и учрежденіяхъ; а другое, хотя и привитое, уже давно зрѣетъ въ массахъ. Многихъ занимаетъ теперь вопросъ, дѣйствительно ли предстоитъ эта борьба, настолько ли уравнялись два противоположныя начала, чтобы борьба между ними была возможна, а ежели она возможна, то съ которой стороны болѣе шансовъ на побѣду? Для тѣхъ, кого занимаютъ эти вопросы, кого вообще занимаетъ будущее какого нибудь народа или всѣхъ народовъ Европы, такая книга, какъ «Очерки Англіи», представляетъ богатый матеріалъ для соображеній и заключеній. Но, повторяемъ, мы заимствуемъ изъ нея только то, что, по нашему мнѣнію, имѣетъ значеніе живого факта и даетъ ключъ къ уразумѣнію его характера, наклонностей и учрежденій.

I.

Вотъ уже полчаса, какъ взошло солнце, но его не видно. Въ туманной дали начинаютъ выступать зеленоватые рубцы: это земля. Пароходъ подвигается впередъ; на громадной бухтѣ плоскій берегъ кажется просто полосой грязи на водѣ; всѣ краски поглощаются сыростью; всѣ тѣни блѣднѣютъ и стушевываются, и пейзажъ походитъ на блѣдную акварель, по которой ребенокъ размазалъ капли воды. Но вотъ открывается чисто англійскій пейзажъ: блѣдно-зеленые холмы, исполосанные изгородями и усѣянные одинокими деревьями; огороженное пастбище, потомъ другое, третье,—со скотомъ, предоставленнымъ самому себѣ.

Рѣка огромна, но грязна и какого-то бураго, неопредѣленнаго цвѣта. Тѣснимая приливомъ, она поднимается на грязные холмы и, омывъ ихъ, снова опадаетъ. По ней тянутся безконечныя вереницы судовъ, большихъ и малыхъ, всевозможной величины и самыхъ разнообразныхъ формъ.

Я вступаю въ разговоръ съ молодымъ англичаниномъ средняго круга. Собесѣдникъ мой, отличающійся рѣшительными и рѣзкими чертами лица, съ насмѣшливымъ выраженіемъ, возвращается изъ пріятной и поучительной прогулки въ Индію и Австралію, продолжавшейся цѣлый годъ, въ который онъ проѣхалъ всего 40,000 миль. «Чтобы знать народы, надо видѣть ихъ», говоритъ онъ. Онъ «независимъ», т. е. имѣетъ средства къ жизни, и хочетъ жениться. Приданаго ему не нужно. Изъ разговора съ нимъ для меня становится ясно, въ чемъ состоитъ счастье англичанъ: свой home въ шесть часовъ вечера; привѣтливая, вѣрная жена, чай; четверо или пятеро дѣтей на колѣнахъ и почтительная прислуга. Родители совсѣмъ не тяготятся ими; они обязаны только дать дѣтямъ образованіе,—говорилъ мнѣ мой англичанинъ; въ Англіи дѣвушки не нуждаются въ приданомъ, а мальчики пролагаютъ себѣ дорогу въ жизни, какъ умѣютъ. Я знаю одного адвоката, каторый много получаетъ и все проживаетъ, за исключеніемъ 300—400 фун. стер. въ годъ, которые онъ ежегодно откладываетъ для своихъ дѣтей. Такимъ образомъ дѣти обезпечены, да и притомъ же торговля и промышленность открываютъ передъ ними множество дорогъ, закрытыхъ для молодого француза. Изъ всѣхъ странъ, видѣнныхъ моимъ знакомымъ, онъ находитъ Англію наиболѣе нравственною, хотя все-же, по его мнѣнію, главный порокъ ея состоитъ въ недостаткѣ нравственности. О Франціи онъ судитъ съ англійской точки зрѣнія: «французскія женщины дурно воспитаны, онѣ не читаютъ Библіи, слишкомъ пристрастны къ баламъ, занимаются только тряпками; мужчины, съ своей стороны, проводятъ все время въ кофейняхъ, содержатъ любовницъ;—отсюда столько несчастныхъ браковъ. Причина этого зла коренится совсѣмъ не въ расѣ, а въ воспитаніи. Въ Англіи изъ француженокъ, получившихъ солидное англійское воспитаніе, выходятъ очень хорошія жены».

— Стало быть, въ вашей странѣ все хорошо?

— Нѣтъ, въ нашемъ народѣ коренится страшный порокъ — пьянство. У насъ человѣкъ, заработывающій 20 шиллинговъ въ не-

дѣлю,—10 изъ нихъ навѣрное пропиваетъ. Прибавьте къ этому непредусмотрительность, недостатокъ работы, нищету.

— Но противъ нищеты вы имѣете дома призрѣнія, рабочіе дома?

— Но бѣдные не идутъ туда, они предпочитаютъ поститься, умирать съ голоду.

— Почему же такъ?

— По тремъ причинамъ. Во-первыхъ, потому что имъ хочется пьянствовать; во вторыхъ,—они не терпятъ жизни въ заперти и, наконецъ, въ третьихъ, вступленіе въ названныя учрежденія обусловлено нѣкоторыми формальностями. Необходимо доказать принадлежность къ какому-нибудь приходу, а эти люди большею частью не знаютъ, откуда они родомъ.

Мой англичанинъ очень разговорчивъ и совсѣмъ не чопоренъ. Таковы же и двое другихъ его соотечественниковъ, съ которыми я знакомлюсь на пароходѣ. Я всегда находилъ англичанъ разговорчивыми, и если о нихъ составилось противуположное мнѣніе, то это потому, какъ я полагаю, что въ чужихъ краяхъ, будучи принуждены объясняться на чуждомъ языкѣ, они молчатъ отъ застѣнчивости и наблюдаютъ за собой, чтобъ не дать повода къ насмѣшкамъ. Когда же съ ними говорятъ на ихъ языкѣ, и говорятъ плохо, съ иностраннымъ акцентомъ, то, сознавая свое превосходство, они ободряются и дѣлаются говорливы. Обратитесь къ нимъ вѣжливо, мягко, съ какимъ-нибудь вопросомъ, или даже просьбой объ услугѣ—они охотно окажутъ вамъ ее; я испыталъ это двадцать разъ, и въ Лондонѣ, и повсюду.

Одна молодая женщина страдаетъ морскою болѣзнью. Мужъ ея, повидимому торговый агентъ, поддерживаетъ ей голову, ухаживаетъ за ней съ безграничною нѣжностью, нисколько не стѣсняясь. Двѣ молодыя дѣвушки, лѣтъ 15 или 16-ти, говорящія по французски и по нѣмецки безъ малѣйшаго иностраннаго акцента, отличаются большими выразительными глазами и длинными зубами; онѣ совершенно свободно болтаютъ и смѣются, обнаруживая восхитительную живость и веселость, безъ всякой тѣни кокетства; онѣ не думаютъ о зрителяхъ. Вотъ дама въ очкахъ, лѣтъ сорока, подъ руку съ мужемъ; поношенное платье — остатокъ отъ прежнихъ нарядовъ; необыкновенные зубы въ родѣ клыковъ; необычайная серьезность и высокій комизмъ. Француженка, даже пожилая, ни за что не по-

забудетъ расположить пограціознѣе складки своего платья. Замѣтимъ еще невозмутимое терпѣніе и флегматичность долговязаго и сухопараго англичанина, неподвижно просидѣвшаго на своемъ диванѣ. Онъ прошелся всего одинъ разъ, ни съ кѣмъ не говорилъ и съумѣлъ довольствоваться самимъ собою. Какъ контрастъ съ нимъ, мнѣ кажутся славными малыми даже три француза, трактующіе о чемъ угодно, горячась, жестикулируя и сыпля плохими каламбурами.

Облака разсѣялись и заблистало солнце. По правую и по лѣвую сторону виднѣются сельскіе домики, опрятные, красивые, только что выкрашенные. На горизонтѣ—возвышенности, одѣтыя зеленымъ дерномъ, и по нимъ разсыпаны, красивыми группами, высокія деревья, по лѣвую сторону скучены, вокругъ синеватой колокольни, темные дома Грэвзенда. Все чаще и чаще встрѣчаются суда и магазины, предвѣщая близость города; узкіе мостки тянутся съ берега шаговъ на пятьдесятъ надъ лоснящимся отложеніемъ прилива, и съ каждымъ шагомъ ощущается могущество человѣка, преобразовавшаго природу. Вотъ доки, склады, лѣсные дворы, массы строительныхъ матеріяловъ, пеньки; груды товаровъ, жилые дома; вотъ по правую сторону возвышается желѣзный остовъ церкви, который прилаживаютъ здѣсь, чтобы совсѣмъ готовый перевести въ Индію. Начиная отъ Гринвича, рѣка превращается въ улицу, длиною въ цѣлую милю, если не болѣе, по которой движутся суда, по двумъ противуположнымъ направленіямъ, между двумя нескончаемыми рядами темнокрасныхъ зданій, сложенныхъ изъ кирпича и черепицъ; передъ зданіями тянется рядъ толстыхъ свай, вбитыхъ въ илъ, къ которымъ привязываютъ выгружаемыя суда. Нѣтъ счета складамъ мѣди, камня, каменнаго угля, снастей и проч., нѣтъ счета тюкамъ, бочкамъ, мѣшкамъ. Но всего любопытнѣе каналы, проведенные отъ доковъ къ морю; они похожи на улицы, пересѣкающія одна другую и по которымъ тянутся нескончаемыми вереницами корабли. Все это въ туманѣ отъ дыма, сквозь который прорѣзываются солнечные лучи. Воздухъ тяжелъ, какъ въ огромной теплицѣ, и пахнетъ углемъ.

II.

Лондонъ, въ дождливое воскресенье, съ запертыми лавками, пустыми улицами, имѣетъ видъ огромнаго безмолвнаго кладбища; про-

хожіе подъ зонтиками, точно привидѣнія, изрѣдка появляются на улицахъ и скверахъ. Впечатлѣніе самое унылое.

Мелкій, частый, неумолимый дождь, кажется, никогда не перестанетъ; шлепаешь по грязи; вездѣ вода, грязная, вонючая. Желтоватый туманъ поднимается отъ земли и стоитъ въ воздухѣ; въ тридцати шагахъ, домъ, пароходъ кажутся какимъ-то пятномъ на бумагѣ. Въ Стрендѣ, особенно, и во всей остальной части Сити, послѣ часовой прогулки васъ одолѣваетъ сплинъ и вы начинаете понимать самоубійство. На темныхъ кирпичныхъ зданіяхъ, вытянутыхъ въ линію, туманъ и сажа наложили свой отпечатокъ. Всюду царствуетъ безмолвіе.

Цѣлую недѣлю человѣчество работаетъ усидчиво, ожесточенно, борясь съ неумолимой нуждой. Что же дѣлать въ день отдохновенія? Кабаки и церковь, пьянство или проповѣдь, забвеніе или размышленіе,—вотъ занятія для празднующихъ. Тѣмъ или другимъ способомъ, размышляя или напиваясь, имъ удается разсѣяться, забыться.

Я заходилъ въ четыре церкви, и въ двухъ слушалъ проповѣди. Одна была диссиндентская, въ Стренде, въ холодномъ, пустомъ зданіи, безъ всякихъ украшеній, кромѣ двухъ аллегорическихъ фигуръ. Изъ-за большихъ деревянныхъ скамеекъ, виднѣлись однѣ только головы молящихся, между которыми не было простого народа; то была приличная, чисто одѣтая буржуазія, степенная и серьезная, которая пришла запастись нравственными совѣтами. Проповѣдникъ совѣтуетъ быть твердыми въ своихъ правилахъ, но согласоваться съ обществомъ. Двери кабаковъ хотя и запираются по воскресеньямъ, но ихъ можно отворить и пить въ задней комнатѣ. Этотъ остатокъ древняго пуританизма немыслимъ во Франціи. Запретить французскому крестьянину пить и веселиться въ воскресенье, которое, по его мнѣнію, только для этого и существуетъ, было бы дѣломъ совершенно невозможнымъ. Это возможно только при темпераментѣ англичанъ; здѣсь вино не веселитъ, какъ на югѣ, здѣсь оно раздражаетъ; не даромъ же вошло въ поговорку, что пьяный французъ болтаетъ, пьяный нѣмецъ спитъ; а пьяный англичанинъ дерется.

Другой остатокъ пуританизма—это большія Библіи на цѣпяхъ, на станціяхъ желѣзныхъ дорогъ; путешественники могутъ читать ихъ, въ ожиданіи поѣзда. По нѣкоторымъ признакамъ, сейчасъ

узнаешь аристократическую страну. Такъ напримѣръ, на воротахъ Сент-Джемскаго парка вывѣшено слѣдующее объявленіе. „Сторожамъ парка предписывается не пускать въ садъ нищихъ, оборванныхъ, неопрятно одѣтыхъ и всѣхъ вообще людей неприличнаго вида".

Въ Лондонѣ 2,250,000 жителей, т. е. вдвое больше, чѣмъ въ Парижѣ; но что значатъ цифры! Надо видѣть Лондонъ, чтобы понять, какая это громада. Отъ лондонскаго моста до Гэмптонкура считается 8,000 зданій на пространствѣ почти 3-хъ миль. Послѣ улицъ и кварталовъ, въ которыхъ дома скучены какъ ульи, начинаются безчисленные загородные дома, коттеджи всѣхъ возможныхъ стилей, окруженные зеленью и деревьями. Здѣсь живетъ зажиточная буржуазія. Дома, обыкновенно двухъ-этажные, отличаются порядкомъ и чистотой, при входѣ звонокъ для разнощиковъ и другой для посѣтителей; въ нижнемъ этажѣ кухня и помѣщеніе для прислуги; украшеній и рѣзьбы мало, наружныхъ ставень нѣтъ, большія окна даютъ много свѣта, всюду цвѣты; конюшни отдалены. Англичанинъ любитъ природу, комфортъ и обособленность. Онъ не вынесъ бы нашихъ большихъ клѣтокъ, наполненныхъ всякимъ народомъ; онъ даже въ самомъ Лондонѣ умѣетъ устроить для себя отдѣльный домикъ съ садомъ. Англійскіе парки отличаются обширностью и вкусомъ. Сент-Джемскій паркъ—настоящая деревня; старые огромные деревья, обширные луга, широкіе пруды, населенные утками и водяными птицами, коровы, овцы пасущіяся на отгороженныхъ лугахъ, на вѣчно-зеленой травѣ, — словомъ все говоритъ здѣсь о любви англичанъ къ деревнѣ: о томъ же свидѣтельствуетъ и литература ихъ.

Снѣгъ здѣсь рѣдокъ: но зато царствуетъ вѣчный туманъ, дождь идетъ почти каждый день, пѣшеходы шлепаютъ по самой отвратительной грязи. Посмотрите на ноги и на обувь женщинъ; вмѣсто ботинокъ—сапоги, ноги какъ у аиста и соотвѣтствующая тому походка.

Въ два часа, главная аллея Гайдъ-парка — самаго обширнаго изъ лондонскихъ парковъ — превращается въ настоящій манежъ. Маленькія дѣвочки, восьмилѣтніе мальчики галопируютъ на своихъ пони рядомъ со своими родителями; я видалъ полныхъ, почтенныхъ матронъ, катавшихся верхомъ. Сильное движеніе, повидимому, необходимо для здоровья англичанъ; молодыя дѣвушки и дамы ѣздятъ въ паркъ даже въ дождливую погоду. Послѣ лошадей и множе-

ства прислуги потребность всѣхъ зажиточныхъ классовъ составляетъ: чистое бѣлье и часто обновляемое платье, потому что климатъ очень портитъ его. Въ Лондонѣ множество купцовъ, скупающихъ поношенное платье. Нарядъ джентльменовъ долженъ быть безукоризненъ, ихъ платье переходитъ къ человѣку низшаго класса и кончаетъ свое существованіе на плечахъ нищаго. Нигдѣ не обозначается такъ явно общественное положеніе человѣка его внѣшнимъ видомъ, какъ здѣсь. Бальный костюмъ франта, или розовая шляпка съ цвѣтами какой нибудь лэди оказываются впослѣдствіи на какомъ нибудь нищемъ или на старой тряпичницѣ.

Отъ пяти до семи часовъ, происходитъ настоящая выставка красоты и нарядовъ, отличающихся безвкусіемъ. Васъ поражаетъ страшное смѣшеніе самыхъ негармонирующихъ цвѣтовъ, отсутствіе граціи, излишество золотыхъ украшеній, пестрыя платья, развѣвающіеся газы, массы висящихъ или завитыхъ волосъ, микроскопическія шляпки на колосальныхъ шиньонахъ. Англичанки отличаются особеннымъ искуствомъ безобразить себя. Я замѣтилъ одной дамѣ, что туалеты въ Англіи гораздо ярче, чѣмъ во Франціи. „Но мы получаемъ ихъ изъ Франціи", отвѣтила она. Я благоразумно промолчалъ, хотя могъ бы отвѣтить: „но выбираете ихъ вы сами". Часто встрѣчаешь прелестныя лица, но также часто и бараньи физіономіи. Многія похожи на восковыхъ куколъ, съ стеклянными глазами, безъ всякихъ выраженій. Иныя напоминаютъ кусокъ сырого бифштекса. На этихъ неподвижныхъ лицахъ, слишкомъ бѣлыхъ и розовыхъ, лежитъ отпечатокъ тупости. У иныхъ ноги, какъ у цапли, шея какъ у аиста и непремѣнно цѣлая батарея длинныхъ бѣлыхъ зубовъ, съ мясистыми, выдающимися челюстями. Но за то въ Англіи же можно встрѣтить образцы совершенной красоты: ангельскія лица, глаза синіе, глубокіе, цвѣтъ лица, какъ лепестки розы, походка какъ полетъ птички, божественная улыбка; прибавьте къ этому веселость, невинность, богатство непочатой натуры и наивной откровенности. Я встрѣчалъ много прелестныхъ амазонокъ, скромныхъ, серьезныхъ, безъ всякой тѣни кокетства; очевидно, онѣ пріѣзжаютъ въ паркъ только за тѣмъ, чтобы подышать чистымъ воздухомъ, а вовсе не для того, чтобы показать себя. Манеры ихъ просты, безъ всякаго жеманства, онѣ жмутъ руку крѣпко, по-мужски, въ ихъ туалетѣ нѣтъ никакихъ побрякушекъ, онъ выказываетъ въ нихъ крѣпкое тѣлосложеніе и цвѣтущее здоровье. Онѣ управляютъ своею ло-

шадью съ отвагой и увѣренностью. Иногда отецъ или братъ останавливаются побесѣдовать съ пріятелемъ о дѣлахъ, или о политикѣ, дѣвушки слушаютъ и пріучаются къ серьезному разговору. Съ удовольствіемъ смотришь на отцевъ и братьевъ, сопровождающихъ амазонокъ: это не истасканныя физіономіи, какъ у французовъ; сдержанность ихъ внушаетъ невольное уваженіе. Въ Гайдъ-паркѣ я часто и долго смотрѣлъ на полисменовъ. Они никогда не кричатъ. Если стѣснятся экипажи,—полисменъ поднимаетъ руку, чтобы остановить кучеровъ, и опускаетъ ее, когда можно ѣхать. Кучера всегда повинуются. Капитаны на пароходахъ, чиновники, негоціянты — никто не тратитъ понапрасну словъ; безъ жестовъ, безъ суеты и криковъ, за приказаніемъ слѣдуетъ немедленное исполненіе.

Умственный трудъ цѣнится въ Англіи гораздо дороже, чѣмъ на континентѣ.

Въ Оксфордѣ профессоръ (head master) очень часто получаетъ отъ одной до трехъ тысячъ фун. стерл. Тенисонъ, который пишетъ весьма мало, получаетъ въ годъ 125,000 франковъ. Ректоръ Итонской коллегіи получаетъ 152,000 фр. жалованья; многіе изъ профессоровъ коллегій получаютъ отъ 30 до 40,000 фр.; лондонскій епископъ получаетъ 250,000, Іоркскій архіепископъ— 357,000 фр. За печатный листъ въ „Revue-de-deux-Mondes“ платятъ 200 фр., а въ англійскихъ журналахъ до 500; „Times“ платитъ за нѣкоторыя статьи по 2,500 фр. Тэккерей въ 24 часа заработалъ 4,000 фр., прочитавъ по одной лекціи въ Брайтонѣ и въ Лондонѣ. Сборникъ, въ которомъ онъ помѣщаетъ свои романы, платилъ ему по 2,000 ф. стер. въ годъ и сверхъ того 10 ф. ст. съ листа; у этого Сборника было 100,000 подписчиковъ — и 120,000 фр. чистаго дохода. Не говорю уже о громадныхъ состояніяхъ извѣстныхъ фабрикантовъ и аристократовъ, о доходахъ или барышахъ въ 200,000 ф. ст. Но и расходы соразмѣрны съ доходами. Въ Англіи, имѣя 8,000 ф. ст., нельзя считать себя богатымъ. Много получать и много проживать—вотъ правило англичанъ; они ничего не откладываютъ, никогда не думаютъ о будущемъ, и развѣ только застраховываются.

О томъ, какими громадными средствами обладаетъ Англія, можно судить по ея общественнымъ постройкамъ. Начнемъ съ тоннеля; ступеней сто ведутъ внизъ; внизу отверстіе величиной съ нашъ пантеонъ; тоннель тянется на 500 шаговъ длины. Это чудо чело-

вѣческихъ рукъ, но чудо совершенно безполезное. Внутри тоннеля лавочка, гдѣ продаются дѣтскія игрушки и откуда постоянно слышится жалкая пискливая музыка; газъ бросаетъ колеблющійся свѣтъ, со стѣнъ капаетъ вода; видъ тоннеля ужасенъ, мраченъ; въ немъ можно вообразить себя внутри вавилонской башни. Я всегда находилъ, что Лондонъ похожъ на древній Римъ, а Парижъ на древнія Аѳины. Этотъ новѣйшій Римъ, также какъ и древній, тяготѣетъ на рабочемъ классѣ. Всякое чудовищное построеніе, въ родѣ Вавилона, пирамидъ, императорскаго Рима, наводятъ на мысль о невѣроятномъ, страшномъ напряженіи рабочихъ силъ.

Всякій большой городъ, столица, фабрика напоминаетъ мнѣ о націяхъ, жившихъ около Средиземнаго моря и погибшихъ подъ давленіемъ римской машины. Теперь передъ закономъ нѣтъ рабовъ; но часто и теперь сила обстоятельствъ дѣлаетъ человѣка рабомъ.

Лондонскіе доки изумляютъ, подавляютъ своими коллосальными размѣрами. Въ Лондонѣ шесть такихъ доковъ и каждый изъ нихъ образуетъ настоящую пристань, съ цѣлымъ лѣсомъ трехмачтовыхъ кораблей. Между ними есть въ 2,500, въ 3,000 и болѣе тоннъ. Они приходятъ сюда изо всѣхъ частей свѣта, и здѣсь знакомятся между собой жители всего земнаго шара. Въ лондонскіе доки приходитъ до 40,000 кораблей въ годъ, и среднимъ числомъ ихъ стоитъ здѣсь заразъ 5—6,000.

Но заглянемъ послѣ этой картины народнаго богатства, въ одинъ изъ бѣднѣйшихъ кварталовъ Лондона—въ Шедуэль. Своею обширностью и колосальною нищетой онъ вполнѣ отвѣчаетъ обширности и богатству Лондона. Я видалъ бѣдные кварталы Марселя, Антверпена, Парижа, но сравнивать ихъ съ Шэдуелемъ невозможно. Узкія, грязныя улицы, обставленныя низкими, кирпичными домами съ красными крышами, скрещиваются по всѣмъ направленіямъ и ведутъ къ рѣкѣ. Воры, нищіе, публичныя женщины—особенно послѣднія — наполняютъ Шэдуель. Изъ винныхъ погребовъ раздается раздирающая уши музыка; кое-гдѣ встрѣчается негръ, играющій на скрипкѣ; въ открытыя окна видны неубранныя постели, танцующія женщины. Три раза, въ продолженіи 10 минутъ, собиралась толпа передъ дверьми домовъ, глазѣя на драку женщинъ, — одна изъ нихъ, съ окровавленнымъ лицомъ, вся въ слезахъ, пьяная, кричала хриплымъ, пронзительнымъ голосомъ и порывалась броситься на мущину. Зрители смѣялись; населеніе сосѣднихъ переулковъ,—

оборванныя дѣти, нищіе, публичныя женщины,--волной приливало на крики. Всѣ они грязны, оборваны и только изрѣдка увидишь на комъ-нибудь признакъ опрятности, какой-нибудь новый лоскутъ. Я видѣлъ подбитые глаза, завязанные носы, окровавленныя щеки. Женщины страшно размахиваютъ руками; но самое ужасное,—это ихъ голосъ, пронзительный, разбитый, точно голосъ больной совы.

Уже отъ самаго тоннеля нѣтъ прохода отъ уличныхъ мальчишекъ, жалкихъ, босыхъ, кувыркающихся, чтобы получить милостыню; они кишатъ на лѣстницахъ Темзы, хилые, блѣдные и грязнѣе даже парижскихъ ночныхъ нищихъ. Причина, конечно, та, что климатъ здѣсь хуже, а джинъ смертельнѣе. На ступеняхъ сидятъ люди, замѣчательные по своимъ лохмотьямъ; не видавъ ихъ, невозможно вообразить, до чего можетъ быть изодрана и грязна одежда. Люди эти спятъ или дремлютъ, съ открытымъ ртомъ; ихъ посинѣлыя лица, съ землянымъ оттѣнкомъ, бываютъ иногда испещрены красноватыми жилками. Въ этихъ кварталахъ встрѣчаются цѣлыя семьи, не имѣющія другой постели, кромѣ мѣшка сажи, на которомъ они спятъ по нѣскольку мѣсяцевъ. Для такого несчастнаго, изнуреннаго созданья одно убѣжище—пьянство. „Не пить!“ вскричалъ на допросѣ одинъ подобный бѣднякъ—„лучше сейчасъ же умереть!“

Полисменъ не совѣтовалъ мнѣ ходить въ нѣкоторые переулки. Я прошелся только по самымъ широкимъ изъ нихъ, населенныхъ преимущественно публичными женщинами. На грязныхъ дворахъ, зараженныхъ вонью гніющаго тряпья, навѣшаны лохмотья и мокрое бѣлье. Дѣтей — какъ муравьевъ; на одномъ маленькомъ дворикѣ меня окружило человѣкъ пятнадцать ребятишекъ, грязныхъ, босыхъ. Сестренки таскали на рукахъ грудныхъ ребятъ; нѣтъ ничего ужаснѣе этихъ крошечныхъ, бѣлобрысыхъ, безволосыхъ созданій, у которыхъ цѣлые наросты грязи на щекахъ. Дѣти съ любопытствомъ разсматривали джентльмена и показывали на меня пальцемъ. Матери, неподвижныя, съ потухшимъ взглядомъ, смотрѣли изъ дверей, черезъ которыя было видно ихъ жилище, состоящее обыкновенно изъ одной комнаты, въ которой тѣснится все семейство, въ самомъ скверномъ воздухѣ. Дома большею частью одноэтажные, низенькіе, узкіе, настоящія конуры. Каково должно быть въ нихъ зимой, когда дождь и туманъ не прекращаются цѣлыя недѣли и окна заперты. Для того, чтобы семья не умерла съ голоду, нужно, чтобы отецъ не пьянствовалъ, не гулялъ и никогда не былъ болѣнъ.

Я не забуду этихъ узкихъ улицъ, пропитанныхъ человѣческими испареніями и наполненныхъ толпами блѣдныхъ дѣтей, которые сидятъ на скамьяхъ лондонскаго моста. Цѣлыя семейства проводятъ здѣсь ночи и жмутся другъ къ другу, чтобы сколько нибудь отогрѣть окоченѣвшіе члены. На протяженіи ста шаговъ, вы встрѣтите двадцать женщинъ; однѣ выпрашиваютъ у васъ стаканъ джину, другія говорятъ: „мнѣ нужно расплатиться съ долгами". Вы видите передъ собой не развратъ, а нищету, и какую нищету! Вамъ дѣлается дурно при видѣ этой жалкой процессіи, блуждающей по великолѣпнымъ улицамъ Лондона; вамъ кажется, что передъ вами проходятъ мертвецы. Вотъ она, язва англійскаго общества!

Она бросается въ глаза даже на общественныхъ увеселеніяхъ. Я былъ на скачкахъ въ Ипсонѣ. Скачки происходятъ на большой зеленой равнинѣ, слегка гористой. Народу собралось тысячъ двѣсти. Здѣсь не видно ничего красиваго, изящнаго: сюда ѣздятъ не показываться, а смотрѣть и шумно веселиться. По равнинѣ тянется цѣлая цѣпь кэбовъ, колясокъ, тележекъ съ пирожками, холоднымъ мясомъ, арбузами, фруктами, виномъ и преимущественно шампанскимъ. Этотъ пиръ на распашку дѣлаетъ видъ нищеты еще ужаснѣе; нищіе стараются всучить вамъ свои копѣечныя куклы или описаніе скачекъ, убѣждаютъ васъ позволить имъ почистить ваши сапоги. Они похожи на голодныхъ собакъ, избитыхъ, паршивыхъ, которыя жаждутъ, но не надѣются получить кость. Они пришли сюда въ надеждѣ насытиться крохами, остающимися отъ большаго пира. Многіе спятъ тутъ же на землѣ между гуляющими, съ поднятымъ кверху лицомъ и открытымъ ртомъ. На лицахъ лежитъ отпечатокъ тупого страданья. Большая часть этихъ бѣдняковъ босикомъ и всѣ безъ исключенія грязны; ихъ костюмы уморительны; тутъ вы увидите и фракъ, и бальное платье, и дѣтскія шляпки на древнихъ старухахъ. Съ грустью гляжу я на эту вѣтошь, побывавшую на нѣсколькихъ плечахъ; она унижаетъ человѣка, обличаетъ въ немъ самое низкое общественное положеніе. Крестьянинъ, работникъ, ремесленникъ отличается отъ насъ своимъ положеніемъ; но это положеніе не унизительно: ихъ блуза принадлежитъ имъ; она досталась имъ не съ чужаго плеча. Обычай же здѣшнихъ бѣдняковъ носить обноски, болѣе чѣмъ страненъ; въ немъ обнаруживается недостатокъ гордости. Эти люди добровольно дѣлаютъ изъ себя подонки общества.

Одна изъ женщинъ, въ старой измятой шляпкѣ, съ грязнымъ, болѣзненнымъ ребенкомъ на рукахъ, бродила около нашего омнибуса; увидавъ брошенную бутылку, она быстро схватила ее и выпила остатки. Маленькая дочь ея плелась за нею и грызла поднятую съ земли дынную корку. Невозможно изобразить ихъ улыбку, когда имъ давали шилингъ или пирожокъ. Улыбка эта какъ будто говорила: „не бейте меня, умоляю васъ! Но если хотите, то можете и бить!“ Лица загорѣли и огрубѣли; у матери на щекѣ рубецъ, вѣроятно отъ удара сапогомъ; и мать, и дѣти, особенно дѣти, малорослы и дики. Огромная общественная мельница, давящая этихъ людей, стираетъ съ нихъ своими желѣзными колесами послѣдній слѣдъ человѣческаго образа.

Раздается звонокъ. Триста, четыреста полисменовъ расчищаютъ равнину и, по данному сигналу, выступаютъ 34 всадника. Сначала кажется, будто они ѣдутъ медленно; но вотъ одна группа отдѣлилась отъ остальныхъ и мчится впередъ. „Шляпы долой!“ Всѣ поднимаются съ мѣстъ и громкое ура! оглашаетъ амфитеатръ. Неподвижныя физіономіи оживились, самые хладнокровные одушевились и сильно жестикулируютъ, внизу, гдѣ держатъ пари, страшное волненіе. Но всего любопытнѣе было смотрѣть на толпу, какъ она мигомъ разлилась и покатила по равнинѣ, точно черная волна, вслѣдъ за наѣздниками. Полисмены стоятъ въ нѣсколько рядовъ и повременамъ прибѣгаютъ къ боксу, чтобы охранить площадку, на которой они принимаютъ наѣздниковъ и лошадей; ихъ будутъ повѣрять и вѣсить. Когда лошади приближаются къ цѣли, скорость ѣзды дѣлается разомъ замѣтна, и вся масса лошадей и наѣздниковъ мчится, какъ вихрь. Пари бываютъ громадные, до 50,000 ф. ст. Недавно какой-то полковникъ, проигравъ все свое состояніе, тутъ же застрѣлился; еслибъ онъ подождалъ окончанія скачекъ, онъ выигралъ бы навѣрное на столько, чтобы расплатиться. Владѣлецъ одного изъ частныхъ амфитеатровъ вскричалъ въ минуту отъѣзда: „всѣ деньги, которыя я выручилъ здѣсь, идутъ за Бокстона“. Многіе извощики проиграли своихъ лошадей съ экипажами.

По окончаніи скачекъ, мы сходимъ внизъ; на лѣстницахъ и въ буфетахъ страшная давка; но большая часть пріѣхавшихъ въ каретахъ привезли свою провизію и обѣдаютъ на чистомъ воздухѣ. Всѣ веселы и довольны; всѣ сословія смѣшиваются; одинъ изъ нашихъ товарищей встрѣтилъ своего кучера за однимъ столомъ съ какимъ-

то господиномъ и двумя дамами; кучеръ приглашенъ къ обѣду своими сѣдоками. Онъ рекомендуетъ П..., которому предлагаютъ хересу, портвейну; здѣсь всѣ равны, какъ на древнихъ сатурналіяхъ. Завтра равенство исчезнетъ и кучеръ сдѣлается почтителенъ, какъ и всегда. Подъ вечеръ праздникъ въ полномъ разгарѣ. 24 джентльмена торжественно уставляютъ на своемъ омнибусѣ 75 выпитыхъ ими бутылокъ. Толпа бросаетъ другъ въ друга куриными костями, раковой шелухой и кусками дерна. Двѣ группы джентльменовъ вышли изъ своихъ омнибусовъ и боксируютъ десять противъ десяти; у одного изъ нихъ не оказалось потомъ двухъ зубовъ. Еще позднѣе, веселье принимаетъ характеръ полной разнузданности, которая представляетъ разительный контрастъ съ неизмѣнно чинными фигурами англичанъ. На возвратномъ пути, по всей дорогѣ, шатались пьяные.

Въ одиннадцать часовъ вечера, мы пошли въ Клермонъ-Гарденъ, нѣчто въ родѣ парижскаго Мабиля, гдѣ обыкновенно заканчивается этотъ праздникъ. При входѣ — тѣснота и безпорядокъ. Врывается толпа англичанъ, съ криками: „пропустите японскихъ посланниковъ!“ Давка страшная, особенно на поворотахъ, только гдѣ нибудь въ темномъ углу можно вздохнуть свободно. Посѣтители одѣты хорошо, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, опрятно. Женщины — лоретки, но не низшаго сорта. Забавнѣе всего ихъ манія щипать, особенно иностранцевъ, которыхъ онѣ не оставляютъ въ покоѣ. Мой товарищъ, человѣкъ лѣтъ сорока, такъ изщипанъ, что спасается бѣгствомъ. Какая-то женщина колотитъ по спинѣ мужчину за то, что тотъ наступилъ ей на ногу; мужчина смѣется и все общество тоже. Вообще англичане добрые малые, никто не сердится, всѣ веселы въ этомъ столпотвореніи. Многія изъ находящихся здѣсь бѣдныхъ дѣвушекъ красивы; нѣкоторыя кажутся скромными, тихими, смѣются очень мало, танцуютъ очень прилично; на нихъ платья съ открытыми лифами, но онѣ танцуютъ въ мантильяхъ. Число подобныхъ женщинъ въ Лондонѣ трудно опредѣлить; ихъ насчитываютъ до 50,000. Иные дома сверху до низу биткомъ набиты ими. Общество мужчинъ въ Клермонъ Гардонѣ, повидимому, состоитъ изъ богатыхъ торговцевъ и ремесленниковъ средняго класса, которые пріѣзжаютъ сюда отдохнуть отъ цифръ, торговли и угля. Имъ нуженъ грубый блескъ, иллюминація изъ разноцвѣтныхъ шкаликовъ, нарядныя женщины, яркія платья, райскія птицы. Бу-

тылка шампанскаго стоитъ 12 шиллинговъ и вечеръ обходится фунтовъ въ шесть; но для нихъ это не составляетъ разсчета; они богаты. Тяжело смотрѣть, какъ сходятся здѣсь мужчины съ женщинами. Грубость и нищета, глупость и отупѣніе соединяются за бутылкой и потомъ расходятся, съ горькимъ сознаніемъ человѣческой слабости и паденія. Общество — прекрасное зданіе; но какая помойная яма въ нижнемъ этажѣ! Цивилизація облагороживаетъ человѣка, но животныхъ инстинктовъ его не можетъ побѣдить!

III

Вотъ нѣсколько англійскихъ типовъ: Гвардейскій солдатъ (life guard), откормленный атлетъ, какъ будто вырощенный для выставки, какъ ростятъ свеклу или капусту. Веселый, добродушный нравъ, нѣкоторая неповоротливость и фатовство, но особаго рода. Въ красной, обтянутой курткѣ, съ тростью въ рукахъ, онъ чванится своимъ ростомъ и выставляетъ на показъ свои жирные бока; изъ подъ фуражки, похожей на лепешку, виднѣются напомаженные волосы, съ проборомъ во всю голову. Нужно было видѣть, въ какой монументальной позѣ остановился одинъ изъ нихъ, когда его атаковали уличные мальчишки. Не менѣе монументальны и *лакеи* въ богатыхъ домахъ. Лакей за каретой до того красивъ, что его можно принять за большую куклу. Уличные мальчишки щиплютъ ихъ за икры, чтобъ убѣдиться въ томъ, что они—живые люди.

Тѣ же мясистые атлетическіе типы и у *джентльменовъ*. Иногда обжорливость кладетъ на нихъ свою печать; при этомъ, обыкновенно, широкое, красное лицо, съ обвисшими щеками и рыжими бакенбардами, съ глазами, лишенными всякаго выраженія. Я видѣлъ такой типъ въ вагонѣ; онъ походилъ на огромный дубъ, одѣтый въ свѣтлую жокетку, былъ онъ красенъ до корней волосъ и страшно сопѣлъ. Мнѣ невольно думалось, что такое животное навѣрное дало бы 120 килогр. мяса. Убавьте крови и жиру, оставивъ тѣлосложеніе, прибавивъ къ нему деревенскую наружность, огромные усы, взъерошенные волосы и бороду, бѣгающіе глаза, широкія, жилистыя руки — и вы получите первобытнаго германца, выходящаго изъ своихъ лѣсовъ. Но это все крайности: чаще всего вы встрѣчаете рабочее животное, высокое, худое, мускулистое, но сильное и выносливое. Этотъ типъ встрѣчается, какъ между джентльменами,

духовными и среднимъ классомъ, такъ и между народомъ. Вотъ для примѣра три типа: Длинный, вытянутый clergyman (пасторъ), точно замерзшій, съ узкими, но опредѣленными идеями, направленными исключительно на добрыя дѣла. Нужно имѣть очень крѣпкое тѣлосложеніе, чтобъ выдержать это тридцатилѣтнее апостольское служеніе, непрерывныя проповѣди, посѣщенія зараженныхъ переулковъ, длинныя путешествія пѣшкомъ по грязнымъ предмѣстьямъ. Членъ парламента: плечи, руки, ноги какъ у плотника, огромные бѣлые зубы, сильныя челюсти, которыя едва пропускаютъ слова; черты лица крупныя и неправильныя; вся фигура такъ топорна, что на ней странно видѣть модное платье, ослѣпительной бѣлизны бѣлье, голубой галстухъ и перчатки. Тусклый взглядъ ничего не говоритъ, жестовъ никакихъ; это не leader, а просто—членъ партіи; онъ вотируетъ и работаетъ. Но для ночныхъ засѣданій, для повѣрки счетовъ, пересмотра старыхъ дѣлъ, для митинговъ, комитетовъ, клубовъ, для всякой скучной работы, онъ не замѣнимъ. *Англичанинъ средняго класса.* Я подмѣтилъ этотъ типъ въ омнибусѣ; онъ ѣхалъ со всей своей семьей. Ему около 32 лѣтъ; платье съ иголочки; вѣроятно не менѣе 15—20,000 дохода; видъ рѣшительный и вмѣстѣ солидный; это настоящая машина, правильно устроенная и никогда не устающая. Это будущій pater familias. Лице правильное, холодное, неподвижное; взглядъ тусклый. Подлѣ него молоденькая жена, одѣтая съ большими претензіями, граціозно-наивная, постоянно занимающаяся своимъ ребенкомъ. Ребенокъ бѣлый, толстый, цвѣтущій здоровьемъ, закутанный въ вышитыя пышныя пеленки. Напротивъ нянька, лѣтъ 35, улыбающаяся, почтительная. Это былъ отличный образчикъ англійскаго семейства. Мужъ энергически, добросовѣстно и безъ скуки несетъ супружеское ярмо; его счастіе заключается въ удовольствіи пить чай дома, въ туфляхъ; у него будетъ много дѣтей, которые отъ домашней тоски разбѣгутся изъ дому, и которымъ, чтобъ пережить трудное время, нужно обладать натурой своего папаши. Надѣлите эту сильную массу костей и мускуловъ свѣтлымъ, яснымъ, дѣятельнымъ умомъ, научите какой нибудь спеціальности, или дайте многостороннее образованіе,—и вы увидите, какой прекрасный образъ получитъ этотъ самый типъ. Представьте себѣ его на палубѣ корабля, на войнѣ, или просто во главѣ 20 человѣкъ прикащиковъ, въ судѣ, гдѣ онъ выноситъ приговоръ о жизни и благосостояніи,—онъ будетъ пре-

красенъ, онъ будетъ вполнѣ отвѣчать своему назначенію. *Женщины* въ Англіи тоже высоки и стройны; изъ десяти дѣвушекъ, одна, навѣрное, красавица. На лошадяхъ, это настоящія амазонки, какъ по ловкости, такъ и по росту и здоровью. Жизнь на воздухѣ и гимнастическія упражненія еще болѣе способствуютъ развитію и безъ того сильной и здоровой расы. Другой образчикъ—*дѣти*. Это—живые цвѣты, особенно въ деревнѣ, розовые, толстощекіе, какъ херувимы; крѣпкое пышное тѣльце обличаетъ здоровую породу—будущаго сильнаго молодца. Къ восьми годамъ, въ нихъ, вмѣсто ума, начинаетъ развиваться физическая и нравственная энергія. Выраженіе лица большею частью сердитое, неласковое и напоминаетъ молодыхъ бульдоговъ. Животные инстинкты слишкомъ преобладаютъ: книги ему противны, онъ предпочитаетъ ѣсть, боксировать, ѣздить верхомъ. Но тѣ же инстинкты надѣляютъ его и хорошими качествами; онъ храбръ, выносливъ, смѣлъ, пріученъ къ ударамъ и опасностямъ всякаго рода. Эта сильная организація требуетъ и сильнаго питанія; средній классъ въ изобиліи употребляетъ чеснокъ, портеръ и особенно грогъ, т. е. водку съ водой.

Въ Англіи вамъ вездѣ подадутъ обильный, питательный обѣдъ, но совершенно безвкусный; за то тутъ на подносѣ стоятъ разныя приправы, всякіе перцы, индѣйскіе уксусы. Однажды я глотнулъ, ошибкой, такого уксуса и подумалъ, что проглотилъ горячій уголь. Одинъ англичанинъ увѣрялъ меня, что возбуждающее необходимо для нихъ, и что даже въ Индіи, гдѣ онъ прожилъ 5 лѣтъ, англичанамъ вовсе не слѣдуетъ отучаться отъ крѣпкихъ напитковъ. Климатъ, туманъ, тяжелая умственная и физическая работа требуютъ сильнаго питанія. Англійскій работникъ, работающій вдвое противъ французскаго и живущій въ манчестерскомъ Foy, требуетъ большаго количества мяса и спирту, чтобъ дѣйствовалъ его локомотивъ. Питтъ довольствовался за обѣдомъ двумя бутылками портвейна.

Но возвратимся къ типамъ. Привожу письмо моего пріятеля, пробывшаго нѣсколько недѣль въ Англіи: „Знаете ли, что болѣе всего поразило меня въ Англіи? Полное усыпленіе нервной системы. Однажды я смотрѣлъ, какъ молодые люди играли въ крикетъ. Ихъ было семеро; они катали шары, дѣлали промахи, не попадали по нѣскольку разъ сряду; но, не смотря на то, въ продолженіи полутора часа ни одинъ изъ нихъ не возвысилъ голоса, не сдѣлалъ ни одного упрека. Игра шла совершенно спокойно и даже

большею частью молча. Вы вѣрно замѣтили, что англичане говорятъ чрезвычайно тихо, и я такъ привыкъ къ тихимъ звукамъ ихъ голосовъ, что едва не оглохъ, попавъ въ итальянское общество". На-дняхъ мой кучеръ такъ быстро въѣхалъ въ конюшню, что лошади, которыхъ тамъ запрягали, начали бѣситься. Прибѣжавшій грумъ едва усмирилъ ихъ. Но при этомъ кучеръ и грумъ не обмѣнялись ни однимъ словомъ. Случись это въ другой странѣ, какою бранью разразились бы обѣ стороны!

Вообразите себѣ человѣка сильнаго, грубоватаго и молчаливаго и вы получите особенный типъ англійскаго *буржуа*. Вотъ его біографія. Джонъ С.... сынъ работника; онъ съ самаго дѣтства работалъ въ маленькой кузницѣ своего отца, и обладая способностью къ механикѣ, изобрѣлъ какой-то снарядъ для прикрѣпленія рельсовъ къ шпаламъ. Ему предложили денегъ и онъ устроилъ заводъ, который черезъ нѣсколько лѣтъ началъ приносить компаньонамъ 20,000 ф. ст. чистаго дохода. Теперь Джону 28 лѣтъ, у него хорошее состояніе, и онъ проводитъ свой день слѣдующимъ образомъ. Утромъ отправляется на заводъ, наблюдаетъ за работами и самъ работаетъ; вечеромъ сидитъ въ кофейнѣ, на 6 пенсовъ выпиваетъ пива и аккуратно въ 10-ть часовъ ложится спать. Вотъ уже года три или четыре какъ онъ помолвленъ съ одной дѣвушкой. Невѣстѣ уже 24 года, Джонъ любитъ ее и непремѣнно женится на ней; но женится не скоро,—ему хорошо и такъ. Невѣста терпѣлива, тиха и покорна. По субботамъ, они предпринимаютъ прогулки вдвоемъ, въ понедѣльникъ возвращаются вмѣстѣ домой. Все это очень невинно; здѣшніе нравы допускаютъ эту вольность. У Джона нѣтъ ни одной мысли, никакой любознательности; онъ едва умѣетъ писать и никогда не читаетъ. Кромѣ его собственнаго состоянія его ничто не интересуетъ; старая жакетка для работы, новая—для воскресенья, вотъ весь его нарядъ, онъ какъ улитка живетъ въ своей скорлупѣ. По совѣту джентльмена, своего компаньона, онъ выстроилъ себѣ славный домъ; но ему не по себѣ въ этомъ домѣ. Элліотъ превосходно изобразилъ эти тяжелыя, ограниченныя натуры, которыя такъ часто встрѣчаются въ Англіи; вѣрныя преданію, онѣ остаются на вѣки прикованныя къ своему механическому труду и мѣстнымъ интересамъ, и лишь изрѣдка, въ видѣ исключенія, выходятъ изъ этого состоянія. На оборотъ, человѣку образованному, развитому флегматическій темпераментъ придаетъ особенное благородство. Я

помню нѣсколько такихъ господъ; блѣдныхъ, съ свѣтлыми голубыми глазами, съ правильными чертами лица; это лучшіе представители человѣческой породы; въ нихъ нѣтъ ничего рыцарскаго, блестящаго, свѣтскаго, какъ у французовъ; но за то ихъ свѣтлый умъ не легко сбить съ толку. Они приводятъ въ дѣйствіе это качество своего темперамента; по ихъ мнѣнію, первое достоинство человѣка состоитъ въ постоянномъ сохраненіи своего хладнокровія и благоразумія. Разнообразные оттѣнки каждаго типа неизчислимы. Вотъ *дэнди* втораго разряда. Это совершенно модная гравюра; бѣлье, платье— все у него безукоризненно. Голова и бакенбарды только что вышли изъ подъ рукъ парикмахера, да и самъ владѣлецъ ихъ точно парикмахерская кукла. *Clergyman* обыкновенно имѣетъ видъ суровый и ходитъ прямо, точно аршинъ проглотилъ. Здѣсь не такъ скоро старятся, какъ во Франціи и особенно въ Парижѣ, гдѣ женщины въ особенности замѣчательно скоро отцвѣтаютъ; здѣсь даже въ старости многія женщины сохраняютъ свѣжесть. Я помню двухъ сѣдыхъ старушекъ, у которыхъ были румяныя лица, безъ малѣйшей морщинки. Вмѣстѣ съ свѣжестью лица, они сохранили и душевную теплоту.

Женскіе типы въ Англіи до безконечности разнообразны, напримѣръ: *Степенная женщина*, строгихъ правилъ, съ деревяннымъ умомъ и съ деревянными манерами. *Глуповатая* безсмысленно открываетъ ротъ и видимо ничего не понимаетъ; большая, толстая, лимфатическая *самка* съ бѣлыми рѣсницами; *гусыня* съ большими, глупыми, выпуклыми глазами, съ длинной тальей надъ шарообразнымъ кринолиномъ. *Молоденькая дѣвушка*, почти ребенокъ, розовая, игривая, съ распущенными кудрями, настоящая птичка, безпрестанно смѣется, щебечетъ и въ этомъ щебетаньи столько же мысли, какъ въ щебетаньи птички. Диккенсъ изобразилъ этотъ типъ въ Дорѣ, въ романѣ „Давидъ Копперфильдъ.“ *Бѣлокурая дѣва*, съ опущенными глазами, краснѣющая, стыдливая Евва, только неспособная къ грѣхопаденію; голосъ чистый, нѣжный, какъ музыка. Типъ этотъ, съ любовью изображенный Шекспиромъ и Диккенсомъ—лучшій цвѣтокъ Англіи. *Высокочестная женщина*, спокойная, серьезная, недоступная искушенію. Къ этому же роду принадлежатъ молодыя квакерши; скромный нарядъ, ровный цвѣтъ лица монахини и непробудное чувство.

Идеалъ англійской жизни состоитъ въ томъ, чтобы съ юныхъ лѣтъ сдѣлаться самостоятельнымъ, жениться на бѣдной, имѣть много дѣтей, тратить свои доходы, трудиться безъ устали и поставить

своихъ дѣтей въ необходимость также трудиться, безпрестанно обогащать себя положительными знаніями, искать развлеченія отъ работы въ другой работѣ, отдохновенья въ путешествіяхъ,—словомъ, постоянно производить и пріобрѣтать. Другой жизни они не желаютъ ни для себя, ни для своихъ дѣтей. Подобное настроеніе я объясняю себѣ слѣдующими причинами: во-первыхъ, правомъ первородства, многочисленностью дѣтей, вслѣдствіе чего каждый изъ нихъ обязанъ самъ заботиться о себѣ и съ дѣтства свыкаться съ мыслью, что онъ самъ долженъ составить себѣ состояніе. Англичане не боятся хлопотъ, доставляемыхъ большимъ количествомъ дѣтей, и обязанностью трудиться для нихъ до глубокой старости; они заранѣе примиряются съ мыслью, что сыновья ихъ принуждены будутъ бороться съ нуждой, а дочери ѣхать, можетъ быть, въ Индію, или Австралію, чтобъ заработывать свой хлѣбъ. Вторая причина—климатъ; я все болѣе и болѣе убѣждаюсь въ его громадномъ значеніи. Шесть мѣсяцевъ здѣсь идутъ дожди, да и въ остальное время года дожди не рѣдки. Туманъ бываетъ такъ густъ, что иногда цѣлый день горитъ газъ. Подъ такимъ небомъ естественно, что идеаломъ англичанина дѣлается теплая, сухая квартира, комфортабельная обстановка, добрая жена и куча здоровыхъ дѣтей. Только этимъ онъ спасается отъ скуки. Въ такомъ климатѣ, требующемъ спиртныхъ напитковъ, мясной пищи, теплой одежды, искуственнаго свѣта и отопленія, положеніе бѣдныхъ классовъ ужасно. Живя въ Англіи, нужно имѣть 20,000 ф. ст. доходу или лишить себя жизни. Вотъ почему англичанинъ такъ страстно добивается богатства. По моему мнѣнію, оно необходимое условіе нравственности, образованія и вообще всѣхъ качествъ, дѣлающихъ человѣка джентльменомъ. Отъ этого онъ такъ много трудится; трудъ обращается для него въ привычку,—достигнувъ своей цѣли и не имѣя нужды въ личномъ трудѣ, онъ присоединяется къ сосѣду, къ своей общинѣ, къ своей ассоціаціи или къ государству и трудится для нихъ. „Трудись и помогай какому нибудь полезному дѣлу, иначе ты недостоинъ названія человѣка и не имѣешь права уважать себя“—говоритъ общественное мнѣніе въ Англіи, и этотъ новый двигатель очень важенъ и имѣетъ большое значеніе въ такой странѣ, какъ Англія, гдѣ идеи и убѣжденія усвоиваются съ большею осторожностью и обдуманностью, и вслѣдствіе чего гораздо тверже укореняются, чѣмъ въ другихъ націяхъ. Стойкость убѣжденій объяс-

няется отчасти и тѣмъ, что въ флегматическомъ темпераментѣ меньше противорѣчій живости и увлеченій, сбивающихъ съ прямого пути; меньше способности наслаждаться счастіемъ, и потому болѣе противодѣйствія соблазнамъ. Къ тому же чувство долга необыкновенно развито у англичанъ во всѣхъ слояхъ и составляетъ національную черту ихъ характера.

Бросимъ послѣдній взглядъ на типы. Англійскій бѣдный классъ необыкновенно выносливъ. Здѣшніе земледѣльцы, изнуренные, удрученные работой, напоминаютъ старыхъ извощичьихъ клячь. Безцвѣтные сѣроватые волосы висятъ жидкими прядями; ротъ полуоткрытъ отъ ослабленія мускуловъ, глаза безъ выраженія, человѣкъ двигается какъ автоматъ, и когда лице его воодушевляется, онъ кажется пробудившемся отъ непріятнаго сна. Истощеніе трудомъ особенно замѣтно на женщинахъ. Улыбка ихъ — когда онѣ улыбаются, такъ грустна, что я отворачивался, чтобъ не видать ее.

Англичанки среднихъ и высшихъ классовъ замѣчательно образованы. Отличительная черта ихъ характера — это отсутствіе кокетства; онѣ лишены того чувства, которое заставляетъ женщину быть постоянно на сторожѣ и постоянно думать, что на нее обращено вниманіе. Въ нихъ мало женственности. Недавно я гулялъ съ двумя знакомыми дѣвушками. Онѣ, какъ козы, взбирались на крутыя горы, обѣ энергичныя и больше похожія на мальчиковъ; обѣ онѣ говорили по нѣмецки, но по французски еще не умѣли объясняться: „но вѣдь у васъ гувернантка“, замѣтилъ я имъ. — „Да, но чтожъ дѣлать, когда мы такъ безтолковы“, отвѣчали онѣ съ громкимъ смѣхомъ. Въ нихъ очевидно отсутствовало всякое желаніе казаться лучше, чѣмъ онѣ есть. Взрослыя, сформировавшіяся дочери богатаго джентльмена, онѣ по характеру еще дѣти. Позднее развитіе и отсутствіе свѣтскости порождаютъ много другихъ хорошихъ качествъ. Я лично убѣдился, какою полною свободою пользуются здѣсь дѣвушки; онѣ обращаются съ мущинами, какъ съ товарищами. Катаются верхомъ съ молодыми людьми, посѣщаютъ митинги и трактуютъ обо всемъ, безъ всякой задней мысли; ни одинъ фатъ не рѣшится относиться къ нимъ иначе, какъ къ сестрамъ, съ уваженіемъ. Въ Манчестерѣ мои два товарища француза обѣдали у знакомыхъ; вечеромъ ихъ попросили проводить двухъ молодыхъ дѣвушекъ, съ которыми они провели еще полчаса, весело

разговаривая, безъ всякаго смущенія или жеманства. Благодаря такимъ обычаямъ, самый грубый и развращенный человѣкъ сохраняетъ нѣкоторую поэзію и нѣжность чувствъ. Англійскіе путешественники возмущаются на континентѣ, видя какъ нагло заглядываютъ мужчины подъ шляпки и толкаютъ женщинъ на улицѣ. Въ богатыхъ и достаточныхъ семьяхъ дѣвушки свободно говорятъ на нѣсколькихъ языкахъ, читаютъ классиковъ, многія изучаютъ латинскій языкъ, чтобъ потомъ учить своихъ дѣтей или меньшихъ братьевъ; занимаются естественными науками — иногда со страстью; вообще обогащаютъ свой умъ наблюденіями. Такъ какъ въ Англіи очень немногія женщины могутъ разсчитывать на замужество, то для нихъ съ дѣтства стараются открыть какой нибудь источникъ существованія. Часто отецъ даетъ въ приданое дочери сумму, равняющуюся годовому доходу старшаго сына и еще обязываетъ жениха ея обезпечить невѣстѣ годовой доходъ въ 200, 400 ф. стер. Подобныя требованія очень затрудняютъ браки; къ тому-же въ Англіи считается необходимымъ условіемъ вступать въ бракъ по любви. Почти во всякомъ семействѣ есть незамужняя дочь, которая становится потомъ *теткой*, помогаетъ воспитывать дѣтей, завѣдывать какимъ нибудь отдѣломъ хозяйства, или дѣлается писательницей, артисткой. Извѣстно, какое множество женскихъ именъ встрѣчается въ англійской литературѣ. Нѣкоторыя изъ нихъ пользуются европейскою извѣстностью. Онѣ пишутъ въ различныхъ сборникахъ, вступаютъ въ ассоціаціи, заводятъ школы для бѣдныхъ дѣтей. Каждая дѣвушка старается найдти занятіе, сообразное съ своими способностями, или развить какой нибудь талантъ, чтобъ предохранить себя отъ нужды или по крайней мѣрѣ отъ скуки. Изумительно, съ какимъ мужествомъ англійскія дѣвушки встрѣчаютъ свою трудную долю и начинаютъ учиться. Ни въ одномъ англійскомъ домѣ я не видалъ моднаго журнала, и меня увѣряли, что ни одна образованная женщина въ Англіи не станетъ читать такихъ пошлостей. Мнѣ попался въ руки номеръ „англійскаго женскаго обозрѣнія“; въ немъ были „письма и документы объ австрійской эмиграціи“, „объ общественномъ образованіи во Франціи“, и другія не менѣе серьезныя статьи; ни романовъ, ни описаній театровъ или модъ—ничего, кромѣ ученаго и серьезнаго. Во Франціи, въ журналѣ, предназначенномъ для женщинъ, вы неизбѣжно находите картинки модъ, выкройки, пустыя, ненужныя рукодѣлья, сантиментальные разсказы и на по-

слѣдней страницѣ корреспонденція редакторши съ подписчицами — образецъ глупости и пустоты. Не позоръ-ли для человѣчества, что его умъ можетъ переварить такую дрянь? Не желаете-ли узнать, о чемъ пишутъ въ журналахъ англійскія женщины? Вотъ вамъ статьи „о воспитаніи въ рабочихъ домахъ", „о сельскихъ школахъ для бѣдныхъ въ Англіи", „о преподаваніи въ низшихъ классахъ", „статистика госпиталей", „положеніе рабочихъ женщинъ въ Англіи и Франціи". Большая часть этихъ писательницъ не замужемъ, многія изъ нихъ исполняютъ должности секретарей различныхъ обществъ; одно изъ такихъ обществъ доставляетъ работу женщинамъ, другое—обязано посѣщать рабочіе дома, третье—больницы. Всѣ названныя статьи—полезнаго содержанія; привычка преподавать въ классахъ, пренія, разговоры съ мущинами, серьезныя занятія, самостоятельный взглядъ на вещи не остаются безплодны. Женщины научаются наблюдать и разсуждать, вникать въ самую суть дѣла, знаютъ, какъ взяться за него. Кто читалъ англійскіе романы, тотъ знаетъ, какъ вѣрно англійскія писательницы обрисовываютъ характеры. Бывали случаи, что женщина, жившая постоянно въ деревнѣ и погруженная въ семейныя хлопоты, внезапно должна была, вслѣдствіе стѣсненныхъ обстоятельствъ, выступить на литературное поприще, и тутъ оказывалось, что она знаетъ сердце человѣческое не хуже какого нибудь профессора-психолога. Сравните съ этимъ нашу провинціальную пустоту и праздность скучающихъ женщинъ, жизнь нашей старой дѣвы, которая воспитываетъ чижиковъ, переноситъ сплетни изъ дома въ домъ, вяжетъ крючкомъ и ходитъ по церквамъ. Напрасно думаютъ, что англійскія писательницы непремѣнно педантки; я знаю многихъ изъ нихъ, онѣ очень милы и естественны, и обыкновенно живутъ семейною жизнью. Между ними есть двѣ—геніальныя; но одинъ извѣстный французскій артистъ, имѣвшій случай провести съ ними нѣсколько дней, даже не узналъ, что онѣ пишутъ; ни однимъ словомъ не обнаружили онѣ желанія говорить о себѣ, или о своихъ произведеніяхъ. Это во Франціи составилось такое убѣжденіе, что женщина, переставшая быть куклой, перестала быть и женщиной. Въ романѣ „Джонъ Галифоксъ" чрезвычайно вѣрно изображенъ взглядъ англичанокъ на бракъ: въ немъ выставлена молодая дѣвушка, положительная, практичная, истая англичанка. Она не мечтаетъ о страстной любви, о сантементальныхъ прогулкахъ, рука въ руку, при свѣтѣ луны; она хочетъ быть

помощницей, полезнымъ товарищемъ своего мужа въ его трудахъ, путешествіяхъ и предпріятіяхъ. Подобные примѣры мы видимъ въ мистриссъ Ливингстонъ и въ лэди Бэкеръ; одна совершила путешествіе черезъ всю Африку изъ одного края въ другой; другая достигла устьевъ Нила и едва не погибла. Изнанка медали — это ловля мужей. Несмотря на здоровые обычаи и условія англійской жизни, въ пустыхъ, свѣтскихъ характерахъ нѣтъ недостатка и въ Англіи. Многія молодыя дѣвущки злоупотребляютъ своей свободой, охотясь на жениховъ. У каждаго англичанина въ глубинѣ сердца таится идеалъ супружества; онъ мечтаетъ жить съ женщиной, которую изберетъ, имѣть дѣтей и свой собственный, замкнутый міръ; пока онъ не достигъ своего идеала, онъ скучаетъ и тяготится жизнью. Иногда ему приходится долго ждать, особенно если онъ младшій сынъ. Онъ получаетъ такъ мало, что не можетъ содержать семью и потому уѣзжаетъ въ Индію, Австралію, работаетъ изъ всѣхъ силъ, возвращается и женится. Англичане способны сильно и глубоко привязываться, слѣдствіемъ чего бываютъ тайныя страданія, семейныя драмы. Привычка къ молчаливой сосредоточенности дѣлаетъ то, что страсть достигаетъ до высшей степени; часто она ничѣмъ не кончается, потому что нѣтъ взаимности, или средствъ на содержаніе семьи, или разница общественнаго положенія слишкомъ значительна. Тогда влюбленный путешествуетъ, чтобъ разсѣяться, ѣдетъ на край свѣта, или сходитъ съ ума. Молодые люди пользуются такой свободой, что могутъ до свадьбы хорошо узнать другъ друга. Они видятся безъ всякаго присмотра иногда впродолженіе нѣсколькихъ лѣтъ. Когда молодой человѣкъ рѣшился жениться, онъ прежде всего обращается къ дѣвушкѣ и потомъ уже къ родителямъ.

Въ Англіи почти всегда приданое жены помѣщается къ душеприказчику, который беретъ на свою отвѣтственность и выдаетъ только доходы съ него, служащіе карманными деньгами жены, на которыя она должна одѣвать себя и дѣтей. Состояніе это составляетъ ея неотъемлемую собственность и остается неприкосновеннымъ, какія бы крушенія ни потерпѣло состояніе мужа. Эту предосторожность принимаютъ въ виду закона, въ силу котораго жена не имѣетъ ничего своего, все принадлежитъ мужу. Вотъ причина, побудившая Стюарта Миля такъ настойчиво возставать противъ подчиненности женщинъ. Въ Англіи законы, религія, обычаи ста-

вятъ женщинъ въ бо́льшую зависимость, чѣмъ въ другихъ странахъ и мужья часто злоупотребляютъ этимъ. Мужъ считаетъ себя въ правѣ ничего не говорить женѣ о своихъ дѣлахъ. Это неравенство нерѣдко ведетъ къ печальнымъ послѣдствіямъ: деспотъ-мужъ умираетъ; жена, которую всю жизнь держатъ въ невѣденіи, конечно, неспособна распутать дѣла, и замѣнить главу семейства. Бракъ пользуется въ Англіи глубокимъ уваженіемъ и общественное мнѣніе строго преслѣдуетъ нарушителей его. Примѣры прелюбодѣянія въ Англіи рѣже, чѣмъ въ другихъ странахъ.

Англичане объясняютъ хорошее поведеніе своихъ женщинъ слѣдующими причинами: во-первыхъ, свободой, которою онѣ пользуются съ дѣтства и благодаря которой, рано узнаютъ людей и жизнь и теряютъ способность увлекаться мечтами. Во-вторыхъ, привычкой разсуждать, солиднымъ образованіемъ, богатствомъ свѣденій и впечатлѣній, дающихъ здоровую пищу уму. Въ-третьихъ, плодородіемъ англійскихъ женщинъ. Дѣйствительно, полная дѣтская дѣтей, съ полнымъ кортежемъ нянекъ и гувернантокъ, оставляетъ не много времени на сентиментальныя мечты. Прибавьте, что англійскія женщины проводятъ 8—9 мѣсяцевъ въ году въ деревнѣ, гдѣ у нихъ бездна занятій: собираніе коллекцій, чтеніе, посѣщеніе бѣдныхъ, преподаваніе въ воскресныхъ рабочихъ школахъ. Какихъ еще лучшихъ помощниковъ для нравственнаго принципа? Во Франціи, принципъ этотъ основанъ на чувствѣ чести, а въ Англіи—на чувствѣ долга; первое понятіе слишкомъ условно; идея долга гораздо опредѣленнѣе.

Англичанки вообще здоровѣе француженокъ и красота ихъ не нуждается въ прикрасахъ; я приписываю это благопріятнымъ гигіеническимъ условіямъ, въ которыхъ первыя воспитываются; нервы у нихъ крѣпче, темпераментъ спокойнѣе, выносливѣе. Англичанка не умѣетъ такъ, какъ француженка, поддерживать разговоръ въ своей гостинной; у нее нѣтъ столько такта, быстроты, гибкости ума, чтобъ разомъ примѣниться къ людямъ и положеніямъ, понять съ полуслова, заставить каждаго думать, что она дорожитъ его присутствіемъ, слегка польстить. Англичанка просто привѣтлива, гостепріимна; но разумѣется, свѣтская женщина, которая хочетъ, чтобъ домъ ея былъ любимымъ мѣстомъ свиданья всѣхъ замѣчательныхъ людей, должна обладать болѣе сложными качествами. Я видѣлъ забавный контрастъ въ этомъ родѣ въ Дьеппѣ, въ одномъ ресторанѣ. Мужъ-французъ, улыбающійся, хлопотливый, любезно суетился

около столовъ и, казалось, прислуживалъ изъ одного удовольствія прислуживать, между тѣмъ, какъ англичанка-жена, сухая, неподвижная фигура, ледянымъ тономъ, ломанымъ французскимъ языкомъ допрашивала всѣхъ уходившихъ послѣ обѣда: „заплатили-ли вы?“ Ей и въ голову не приходило, что вопросъ этотъ можетъ показаться оскорбительнымъ. Это не мѣшаетъ англичанамъ быть очень гостепріимными, хотя, быть можетъ, гостепріимство ихъ объясняется отчасти скукой.

Заглянемъ теперь въ ихъ домашнюю жизнь, начавъ съ прислуги.

Слуга получаетъ въ Англіи отъ 40—50 ф. стер. въ годъ, а если онъ не на хозяйскомъ столѣ, то ему прибавляютъ еще 12 шиллинговъ въ недѣлю. Обязанности каждаго слуги очень ясно распредѣлены, такъ что они не могутъ отговариваться незнаніемъ, или сваливать свое дѣло на другаго. Обыкновенно здѣшняя прислуга отличается хорошею нравственностью, исполняетъ свои обязанности добросовѣстно и все дѣлаетъ въ свое время, съ точностью и аккуратностью машины. Чувство долга царитъ и въ кухнѣ, и въ передней, какъ на кораблѣ, и въ мастерской, служа связывающимъ звеномъ между подчиненными и начальниками. Два обстоятельства еще болѣе облегчаютъ эти отношенія. Прислуга пользуется нѣкоторою независимостью и очень дорожитъ ею. Въ Лондонѣ есть служительскій клубъ — „Общество слугъ“, уставъ котораго воспрещаетъ служить долѣе двухъ лѣтъ въ одномъ домѣ, чтобъ сдерживать этимъ деспотизмъ хозяевъ. Для услугъ есть опредѣленные часы, остальнымъ временемъ прислуга вполнѣ располагаетъ и можетъ уходить со двора, оставивъ дома одного слугу. По воскресеньямъ хозяинъ дома исполняетъ обязанность каплана; члены семейства, гости и слуги собираются въ одну комнату и хозяинъ прочитываетъ небольшую проповѣдь и молитву.

Теперь я долженъ показать дурную сторону англійскихъ нравовъ. Въ обыкновенной жизни англичане необщительны; общественныя положенія у нихъ страшно разграничены, и вмѣсто того, чтобъ стараться сгладить эти границы, они все болѣе и болѣе ихъ увеличиваютъ. Такъ напримѣръ, положеніе гувернантокъ въ Англіи бываетъ иногда въ высшей степени тягостно. У всѣхъ гувернантокъ, которыхъ мнѣ случалось видѣть, какія-то окаменѣлыя лица, что особенно поражаетъ на лицахъ молодыхъ. Тонъ, походка, все у нихъ ненатурально, все какъ-будто приведено въ оборонительное положеніе. Онѣ сохраняютъ этотъ

видъ даже въ дружескомъ кружкѣ; привычка наблюдать за собой и сдерживаться такъ укореняется, что гувернантка становится особымъ типомъ, подчасъ даже непріятнымъ. Что касается до лакеевъ, то ихъ подобострастное почтеніе къ господамъ превосходитъ все, что мы видимъ на континентѣ. Непріятно смотрѣть на подобныя отношенія человѣка къ человѣку. Неравенство замѣчается даже между членами одной семьи. Молодой человѣкъ, даже въ пріятельской бесѣдѣ, называетъ своего отца *My governor*. И въ самомъ дѣлѣ, въ силу закона и обычая, отецъ естъ полновластный господинъ въ своемъ домѣ, какъ комендантъ въ своей крѣпости. Онъ можетъ лишать дѣтей наслѣдства, и мы уже видѣли, какъ подчинена ему жена. Неровное распредѣленіе наслѣдства не мало способствуетъ охлажденію между братьями; старшій получаетъ 200,000 ф. ст. годоваго дохода, меньшой же всего 5,000 ф. с., живетъ въ двухъ меблированныхъ комнатахъ, работаетъ цѣлый день; разница слишкомъ велика, чтобъ были возможны дружба и откровенность. Наконецъ, послѣдняя причина разъединенія—это независимость дѣтей; сынъ можетъ жениться, дочь выйти замужъ, безъ согласія отца, вслѣдствіе чего ссоры между родителями очень часты и нерѣдко длятся всю жизнь. Отецъ знаетъ, что сынъ можетъ оставить его, пойдти противъ него въ главныхъ случаяхъ жизни и потому говоритъ себѣ: „онъ вправѣ такъ поступать, такъ пусть же несетъ и всѣ неудобства этого права.“ Англичане удивляются, что во Франціи по нѣсколько семействъ живутъ иногда подъ одной кровлей, обѣдаютъ за однимъ столомъ. У англичанъ не бываетъ ничего подобнаго; у нихъ каждая семья должна имѣть свое отдѣльное хозяйство, или, если семьи живутъ вмѣстѣ, то строго разсчитываются. У англичанъ на первомъ планѣ—я. Каждый имѣетъ свой уголъ, куда не въ правѣ проникать ни отецъ, ни братъ, ни мать, ни сестра. Эта привычка къ сдержанности, отсутствіе короткости, даже съ близкими, ведутъ къ нѣкотораго рода стоицизму. Но вотъ оборотъ медали: сколько я могъ замѣтить, отсутствіе короткости порождаетъ, съ одной стороны, деспотовъ, съ другой—безгласныхъ, угнетенныхъ и эксцентриковъ.

Трудно заставить молодыхъ англичанъ разговориться о ихъ любовныхъ интригахъ; самый намекъ на этотъ предметъ оскорбляетъ ихъ; литература ихъ еще скромнѣе; нѣтъ романа, котораго нельзя было бы читать молодой дѣвушкѣ. Послѣ многихъ наблюденій и разговоровъ, я пришелъ къ слѣдующимъ заключеніямъ: сѣверные жители разви-

ваются позднѣе; чувства у нихъ также пробуждаются поздно. Англичане, вообще, застѣнчивы, а въ этомъ случаѣ—особенно; огромная конкуренція подстрекаетъ ихъ къ усиленной работѣ, потому что дѣло идетъ о карьерѣ; жизнь въ Англіи очень дорога; умъ настроенъ на одно—пріобрѣсти какъ можно болѣе денегъ, и воображенію некогда разыграться. Физическія занятія служатъ противодѣйствіемъ ему; чтобъ отдохнуть отъ этихъ занятій, они катаются на лодкахъ, верхомъ, на конькахъ, охотятся, ѣздятъ за границу, дѣлаютъ экскурсіи, поднимаются на вершины горъ. Молодой, богатый, не занятый англичанинъ всего мѣсяца три проводитъ въ Лондонѣ. Лондонскія удовольствія не такъ заманчивы, какъ парижскія; общественное мнѣніе въ Англіи менѣе снисходительно, а имъ очень дорожатъ. Гризетки, лоретки, „погибшія, но милыя созданья" въ Англіи рѣдки, остается уличная женщина, отъ которой пахнетъ джиномъ, и къ которой чувствуешь сожалѣніе и отвращеніе. Замужнія женщины въ Англіи недоступны; что-же касается до такъ называемыхъ содержанокъ, то ихъ прячутъ гдѣ-нибудь въ загородныхъ домахъ, куда ѣздятъ съ субботы до понедѣльника. Дамъ полусвѣта, которыя такъ расплодились въ послѣднее время на континентѣ, въ Лондонѣ не много. Остается одинъ способъ удовлетворенія животныхъ инстинктовъ—способъ самый простой и грубый. Въ Страндѣ и Геймаркетѣ, на многихъ магазинахъ и домахъ, по наружности довольно приличныхъ, красуются вывѣски: „здѣсь отдаются постели". Вечеромъ чинныя фигуры англичанъ входятъ и выходятъ изъ этихъ домовъ. Англичанинъ никогда не пойдетъ подъ руку съ публичной женщиной; онъ хранитъ въ тайнѣ свои прогулки въ подобныя мѣста,—прогулки, совершаемыя не для удовольствія, а для удовлетворенія животной потребности. Страсти здѣсь ужасны, и потому религія и общественное мнѣніе служатъ полезною уздой для нихъ; англичане поступаютъ благоразумно, казня такъ строго порокъ: чѣмъ большею опасностью грозитъ наводненіе, тѣмъ сильнѣе надо укрѣплять доки. Положеніе дѣвушекъ изъ бѣдной буржуазіи очень печально, личный трудъ не обезпечиваетъ ихъ существованія; имъ нужна помощь мужчины. Мнѣ говорили, что число такихъ дѣвушекъ въ Лондонѣ громадно; онѣ добровольно отдаются и не умѣютъ потомъ сойти съ этого пути; англичанки не обладаютъ ни складомъ ума и сердцемъ француженокъ, ни ихъ изобрѣтательностью и предпріимчивостью. Онѣ не умѣютъ откладывать и сбе-

регать, заставить купить себѣ какое-нибудь заведеніе, сдѣлаться бѣлошвейками, модистками, какъ француженки. Англичанки сознаютъ свое паденіе, считаютъ себя на вѣки погибшими, живутъ изо дня въ день, спиваются съ круга и умираютъ въ больницѣ.

IV.

Ознакомимся теперь съ системой народнаго обученія. Гэрро, Итонъ, Рэгби—главныя второклассныя учебныя заведенія, равняющіяся французскимъ лицеямъ. Въ нихъ воспитывается 500—800 учениковъ съ 13 до 17 лѣтъ. Возьмемъ за образецъ Гэрро. Это заведеніе частное, основанное не по иниціативѣ государства, а на капиталъ, завѣщанный частнымъ лицомъ; училище это владѣетъ помѣстьемъ и небольшимъ доходомъ, всего въ 1,100 ф. ст. Помѣстьемъ управляютъ выборныя лица изъ сельской аристократіи, которыя, вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ, получаютъ право дѣлать важныя измѣненія въ училищѣ и избирать его ректора. Но главный двигатель воспитательной машины—общество профессоровъ. Кромѣ преподаванія въ училищѣ, они даютъ столъ и квартиру ученикамъ, и если учениковъ не слишкомъ много, то они обѣдаютъ вмѣстѣ съ учителемъ и его семьей; въ противномъ случаѣ, ученики обѣдаютъ отдѣльно, подъ предсѣдательствомъ женщинъ учительской семьи. Въ одной комнатѣ помѣщаются по два ученика; старшіе имѣютъ отдѣльную комнату; при подобной обстановкѣ ученикъ находится какъ-бы въ родной семьѣ и не подчиняется казарменной дисциплинѣ. Гэрро окруженъ густою зеленью, передъ домомъ огромный лугъ для игры въ крикетъ. Я встрѣчалъ маленькихъ и большихъ учениковъ, въ городѣ и за городомъ, и по ихъ грязнымъ ботинкамъ можно было судить, что они ходятъ по болотамъ и повсюду, гдѣ имъ вздумается. Въ Англіи юность проходитъ на чистомъ воздухѣ, въ поляхъ, безъ особенно строгаго надзора, и подобное воспитаніе гораздо полезнѣе вліяетъ, какъ на здоровье и на умъ, такъ и на характеръ и воображеніе мальчика, чѣмъ воспитаніе въ нашихъ училищахъ, среди душной атмосферы городовъ. Въ Англіи, права человѣка уважаются и въ дѣтяхъ; отъ ученика требуютъ, чтобъ онъ присутствовалъ въ классахъ, на репетиціяхъ, являлся къ обѣду, былъ дома вечеромъ, въ назначенный часъ; но остальное время дня принадлежитъ ему; онъ можетъ проводить его, какъ хочетъ. Отъ ученика требуютъ одного, чтобъ онъ учился, — учился когда и гдѣ

онъ хочетъ, но чтобъ исполнялъ свою обязанность. Ученики гуляютъ по улицамъ, заходятъ въ лавки, отправляются за городъ, купаться, ловить рыбу, кататься на конькахъ, отыскивать гнѣзда. Они самовластно распоряжаются своимъ временемъ, своими деньгами; устраиваютъ завтраки, украшаютъ свои комнаты; я слышалъ даже, будто ихъ маленькое имущество продается за долги. Пользуясь самостоятельностью, они несутъ и отвѣтственность за нее. Забавно видѣть 12-ти-лѣтнихъ мальчишекъ, сознающихъ все свое человѣческое достоинство. Дѣти занимаются въ Англіи не болѣе 8 часовъ въ день. Гимнастика, игры, особенно крикетъ,—занимаютъ большую часть дня, и кромѣ того, два-три раза въ недѣлю, классы кончаются въ 12-ть часовъ дня, для того, чтобъ остальное время дѣти могли заниматься физическими упражненіями. Въ нихъ англичане полагаютъ свою славу. Каждое училище старается перещеголять другія и посылаетъ на состязаніе своихъ искуснѣйшихъ гребцовъ или игроковъ. Въ прошломъ году, Гэрро одержалъ побѣду надъ Итономъ и надѣется одержать также и въ нынѣшнемъ. Дѣйствительно, въ Англіи есть много молодыхъ людей, честолюбіе которыхъ направлено къ тому же, къ чему было направлено честолюбіе греческихъ атлетовъ; они питаются извѣстной пищей, не позволяютъ себѣ излишествъ ни въ столѣ, ни въ напиткахъ, и систематически развиваютъ свои мускулы. Подготовившись такимъ образомъ, они ѣздятъ на гонки, на состязанія въ игрѣ въ крикетъ, нетолько по Англіи, но даже и въ Америку. Въ этихъ играхъ лежитъ начало ассоціацій, повиновенія и дисциплины, такъ-какъ въ каждомъ союзѣ игроковъ въ крикетъ есть свой начальникъ. Дѣти и молодые люди образуютъ организованное общество, которое имѣетъ свои законы и своихъ начальниковъ. Начальники выбираются изъ высшаго класса, обыкновенно 15 человѣкъ изъ лучшихъ учениковъ всѣхъ классовъ. Они поддерживаютъ порядокъ, заставляютъ подчиняться правиламъ и вообще заступаютъ мѣсто нашихъ надзирателей; не позволяютъ притѣснять слабыхъ, примиряютъ ссорящихся, служатъ посредниками, когда завяжется какое-нибудь непріятное дѣло между маленькимъ ученикомъ и лавочникомъ, или крестьяниномъ; наказываютъ виновныхъ. Ученики управляютъ учениками и каждый въ свою очередь пользуется властью. Ученикъ уже въ школѣ учится подчиняться закону и власти, сознаетъ ихъ пользу и не возстаетъ противъ нихъ, не

смѣется надъ ними, какъ французскій школьникъ. Онъ понимаетъ, что свобода налагаетъ обязанности и готовъ подчиниться всѣмъ общественнымъ условіямъ и принять всѣ права и обязанности гражданина. Кромѣ этой общей подготовки, онъ имѣетъ еще и подготовку частную. Старшіе ученики образуютъ изъ себя „Общество преній», гдѣ они обсуждаютъ политическіе и нравственные вопросы; ректоръ училища занимаетъ въ этомъ обществѣ мѣсто почетнаго президента. Послѣ рѣчей молодыхъ ораторовъ, вотируются мнѣнія и заносится въ протоколъ краткій отчетъ о засѣданіи. Это настоящій парламентъ въ миніатюрѣ. Трое старшихъ учениковъ издаютъ обозрѣніе, подъ названіемъ „Тріумвиратъ", въ видахъ развитія въ товарищахъ любви къ отечеству и возбужденія сочувствія къ положенію страны. Журналъ этотъ консервативнаго направленія и трактуетъ объ англо-французскомъ союзѣ, о выборахъ, объ избирательномъ правѣ; слогъ напыщенный, много общихъ мѣстъ, но разсужденія не лишены здраваго смысла. Такъ, напримѣръ, въ статьѣ объ избирательномъ правѣ высказывается желаніе расширить его, но только до извѣстныхъ предѣловъ; авторъ взываетъ при этомъ случаѣ къ опытности своихъ молодыхъ читателей, которые, во время вакацій, бывали въ деревнѣ, знакомились съ поселянами, съ лавочниками, и могутъ судить, настолько-ли они умны и развиты, чтобъ пользоваться избирательными правами. Такимъ образомъ, сужденіе почерпается изъ фактовъ, основано на практикѣ, а не на теоріи. Я читалъ одинъ номеръ этого журнала и могу утвердительно сказать, что рѣдко наши ученики имѣютъ такія свѣдѣнія въ политикѣ. Но вотъ еще одна черта: вся англійская молодежь, или почти вся, религіозна. Вообще, въ Англіи разница между жизнью ребенка и взрослаго человѣка не велика; школа и жизнь— двѣ ступени одной лѣстницы; одна ступень ведетъ на другую. Англійскій юноша не выходитъ, какъ французскій, изъ замкнутой темницы, его не поражаетъ, не смущаетъ новая атмосфера. Онъ не только образовывалъ свой умъ, но въ тоже время изучалъ и жизнь. Его понятія уже сложились; въ 20 лѣтъ у него уже выработаны убѣжденія въ политикѣ и религіи; вкусы его опредѣлились и ему нечего колебаться: онъ знаетъ, на что употребить свои способности. Во всѣхъ отношеніяхъ, англійское воспитаніе превосходнѣе французскаго, лучше готовитъ къ жизни, лучше формируетъ характеры. Подобное воспитаніе даетъ нравственныхъ и физическихъ борцевъ,

со всѣми преимуществами, но также и со всѣми недостатками такой системы. Одна изъ самыхъ дурныхъ сторонъ ея — это чрезмѣрное физическое развитіе, въ ущербъ умственному. „У насъ—говорилъ мнѣ итонскій преподаватель — игра на первомъ планѣ, а книги— на второмъ“; всякій мальчикъ стремится сдѣлаться атлетомъ. Почти всѣ игры кончаются ранами и синяками, и всякій полагаетъ свою славу въ томъ, чтобъ какъ можно равнодушнѣе переносить ихъ. Каждый ребенокъ дѣлается борцемъ, боксеромъ; кулакъ — самое употребительное оружіе въ школѣ. Боксъ—это родъ дуэли, имѣющій свои законы. У каждаго изъ сражающихся по два свидѣтеля, которые вытираютъ имъ лица, подставляютъ свое колѣно вмѣсто кресла, для отдыха. Нападенія повторяются и продолжаются по получасу. Главное правило — биться, пока держишься на ногахъ; къ концу битвы, у бойцевъ глаза подбиты, щеки вздуты, губы разбиты. Къ сожалѣнію, и самая система обученія отличается такимъ же насильственнымъ характеромъ. Кромѣ такихъ наказаній, какъ увеличенные уроки, лишеніе отпуска, карцеръ, употребляются и розги. Довольно, если ученикъ былъ три раза записанъ на доскѣ, чтобъ его высѣкли. Во всѣхъ заведеніяхъ эту пріятную обязанность выполняетъ ректоръ. Во Франціи, ни одинъ надзиратель, за сто тысячь франковъ жалованья, не возьметъ на себя такую обязанность. По правиламъ, даже и старшіе ученики не изъяты отъ этого наказанія; но разумѣется, ему подвергаются только средніе и маленькіе. Странно то, что розги очень популярны среди самихъ учениковъ; въ Чертергозѣ, лѣтъ 50 тому назадъ, ученики, узнавъ, что сѣченіе хотятъ замѣнить штрафомъ, возстали противъ этого и кричали: „не нужно штрафовъ! да здравствуютъ розги!» Разумѣется, они на другой же день возобновили знакомство съ ними. Профессоры, съ которыми я говорилъ объ этомъ наказаніи, не считаютъ его унизительнымъ и находятъ, что оно развиваетъ стоическую твердость; боль служитъ, по ихъ мнѣнію, естественнымъ укрощеніемъ и тѣлесное наказаніе не считалось бы оскорбленіемъ, еслибы общественное мнѣніе не связывало съ нимъ понятія о стыдѣ. Но вотъ еще одна унизительная обязанность, возлагаемая на младшихъ учениковъ: они должны быть слугами старшихъ. Мѣстами этотъ обычай нѣсколько сгладился; но въ принципѣ, онъ еще сохраняется и по прежнему развиваетъ наклонность къ деспотизму, жестокости и грубости, которые и безъ того уже коренятся въ ан-

глійскомъ ребенкѣ. Каждый старшій ученикъ имѣетъ у себя по нѣскольку лакеевъ изъ младшихъ учениковъ, которые обязаны исполнять всѣ его порученія, убирать комнату, готовить завтракъ, будить въ назначенный часъ, присутствовать при играхъ и занятіяхъ своего патрона и переносить всѣ его капризы. Чтобъ внушить своимъ слугамъ повиновеніе, старшіе ученики обращаются съ ними очень жестоко; пощечины и пинки считаются лаской въ сравненіи съ другими наказаніями. Случалось, что старшіе такъ били своихъ маленькихъ слугъ, что тѣ по нѣскольку недѣль не были въ состояніи принимать участіе въ играхъ и другихъ занятіяхъ. Я привелъ здѣсь самыя мрачныя стороны англійскаго воспитанія; но англичане такъ неуклонно дѣйствуютъ на почвѣ реформы, что вѣроятно и эти темныя стороны скоро прояснятся. Однако даже и при этой увѣренности онѣ оставляютъ непріятное впечатлѣніе, потому что школа съ такимъ направленіемъ есть нѣчто вродѣ первобытнаго общества, гдѣ сила царитъ безконтрольно, тѣмъ болѣе, что притѣсняемые, изъ самолюбія, не хотятъ обличать притѣснителей.

Наука въ томъ видѣ, какъ ее преподаютъ въ англійскихъ училищахъ, не можетъ противодѣйствовать грубымъ вкусамъ; въ ней нѣтъ ничего увлекательнаго и ее выносятъ, какъ неизбѣжное зло; занятія большею частію техническія, а не научныя; она болѣе служитъ къ упражненію ума и памяти, чѣмъ къ пріобрѣтенію познаній и къ расширенію умственнаго кругозора. „По выходѣ изъ училища, говорили мнѣ англичане — мы должны переучиваться, или вѣрнѣе начинать съ начала и учиться, посредствомъ чтенія, философіи, исторіи, литературѣ, искуствамъ. Всѣ наши школьныя знанія ограничиваются греческимъ и отчасти латинскимъ языками.“ Теперь начинаютъ исправлять этотъ недостатокъ и расширять программу, но все же она еще слишкомъ узка и главнымъ предметомъ изученія остается Евклидъ и классическіе поэты.

Англичане сами сознаются, что привычка много тратить и неумѣнье довольствоваться небольшими средствами составляютъ ихъ національный порокъ. На субсидію, выдаваемую парламентомъ на первоначальныя школы, содержится всего 8,500 школъ, между тѣмъ какъ на ту же сумму во Франціи устроили бы не менѣе 25,000 школъ и дали бы образованіе 1,500,000 дѣтей. Въ Англіи же на эти деньги воспитываютъ всего 950,000 дѣтей. Арнольдъ вычислилъ, что содержаніе всѣхъ французскихъ школъ, со всѣми расходами по управленію, равняется

четвертой части того, что тратится на англійскія школы. Въ Оксфордѣ студенты проживаютъ по 300 ф. ст., когда 200 ф. было бы совершенно достаточно. Авторъ „Тома Брауна“ разсказываетъ, что студентъ, у котораго была даровая квартира, тратилъ 75 ф., и на него всѣ смотрѣли съ презрѣніемъ. Въ другихъ государствахъ богачу-студенту и въ голову не приходитъ презирать своего товарища-бѣдняка. Въ Оксфордѣ находится 24 учебныхъ заведенія, одно отъ другого независимыхъ, и каждое изъ нихъ, среднимъ числомъ, получаетъ до 15,000 ф. ст. дохода, Въ Оксфордѣ 1,300 студентовъ, въ Кэмбриджѣ 1,100, въ Лондонѣ ихъ также не мало; но всѣ эти высшія заведенія существуютъ только для богатыхъ, для аристократовъ, потому что ученіе въ нихъ обходится очень дорого, отъ 200 до 300 ф. ст. въ годъ; и притомъ, даваемое въ нихъ образованіе—греческій, латинскій языки, чистая математика—составляютъ умственную роскошь и замедляютъ начало полезной карьеры. Въ нѣкоторыхъ изъ здѣшнихъ коллегій, наказаніемъ служитъ штрафъ отъ пяти шилинговъ до одного фунта, въ другихъ—умственные уроки, чаще всего выговоры директора, лишеніе отпуска, временное и наконецъ совершенное исключеніе. Въ Оксфордѣ не бываетъ кутежей; университетскіе инспектора ходятъ по городу и могутъ искать студентовъ въ трактирахъ и въ публичныхъ домахъ. Студенты ѣздятъ кутить въ Лондонъ или въ сосѣднія деревни; но большею частію они очень нравственны; главный порокъ между ними—пьянство. Впрочемъ, въ настоящее время и этотъ порокъ уменьшился сравнительно съ тѣмъ, что было назадъ тому лѣтъ пятьдесятъ. Университетскій курсъ продолжается три года. Англійскіе университеты похожи на клубы блестящей молодежи. Многіе разбогатѣвшіе отцы посылаютъ туда своихъ сыновей съ единственной цѣлью пріобрѣтенія выгодныхъ знакомствъ; бѣдные и не знатные студенты дѣлаются слугами богатыхъ, въ надеждѣ, что впослѣдствіи они помогутъ имъ составить карьеру. Самые обычаи университетовъ поддерживаютъ сословныя различія. Во многихъ коллегіяхъ, студенты-аристократы имѣютъ свой отдѣльный столъ, платье особаго покроя и пользуются всякими привиллегіями. Многіе студенты получаютъ на свои прихоти по 500 ф. ст. и кромѣ того пользуются большимъ кредитомъ. Они сорятъ деньгами изъ тщеславія; держатъ лошадей, собакъ, лодку, роскошно отдѣлываютъ свои комнаты.

Во Франціи страсти развиваются ранѣе, чему способствуютъ

многія обстоятельства: воспитанники постоянно сидятъ въ заперти; длинные часы скуки развиваютъ ихъ воображеніе; вредная столичная атмосфера проникаетъ въ ихъ заточеніе; разговоры со старшими и чтеніе распущенной литературы—довершаютъ остальное. Молодой человѣкъ, выпущенный на свободу, встрѣчаетъ заразительные примѣры: бездну искушеній, всѣ удобства къ тому, чтобы развратиться втайнѣ и, вдобавокъ, общество, ко всему относящееся снисходительно. Десять лѣтъ такой жизни отнимаютъ волю, разслабляютъ характеръ и оставляютъ послѣ себя осадокъ горечи и пустоты. Человѣкъ извиняетъ себя тѣмъ, что нужно все узнать, все испытать; и дѣйствительно, узнаетъ жизнь; но какъ часто вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ теряетъ энергію, душевную теплоту, способность къ здоровой дѣятельности и въ тридцать лѣтъ оказывается способнымъ лишь на то, чтобы сдѣлаться чиновникомъ или ростовщикомъ. Въ Англіи молодой человѣкъ не такъ легко развращается, потому что привыкъ къ свободѣ и не имѣетъ столько искушеній; притомъ же, мнѣніе общества и литературы въ Англіи гораздо строже. Два условія особенно противодѣйствуютъ разврату: во-первыхъ—ранняя любовь и ранняя женитьба, и во-вторыхъ—національная склонность къ физическимъ упражненіямъ. Любовь къ спорту служитъ отличнымъ исходомъ для сильной, здоровой юности; соперничество въ этомъ отношеніи очень развито. Въ каждомъ заведеніи имѣется своя лодка, восемь отборныхъ гребцовъ и опытный лоцманъ. Въ послѣдніе двадцать лѣтъ правила англійскихъ университетовъ значительно измѣнились. Теперь студенты могутъ жениться и къ слушанію лекцій допускаются католики и диссиденты. Страсть къ состязанію въ играхъ и въ гонкѣ уменьшилась, неравенство между студентами стало менѣе замѣтно; во многихъ заведеніяхъ студентамъ не позволяется мотать. Оксфордъ перестаетъ быть аристократическимъ клубомъ, атлетической гимнастикой, духовнымъ англиканскимъ училищемъ; онъ на пути къ тому, чтобы сдѣлаться современной, свѣтской, либеральной академіей. Но въ Англіи, настоящее никогда не разрываетъ всѣхъ своихъ связей съ прошлымъ; учрежденія не падаютъ, а измѣняются и улучшаются, при помощи все новыхъ и новыхъ реформъ.

V.

Ознакомимся теперь поближе съ различными слоями англійскаго общества. Начнемъ съ нисшихъ. Въ бѣдныхъ общинахъ, котеджи или деревенскіе дома очень бѣдны. Это просто мазанки, обитыя дранью и покрытыя соломой. Внутренность ихъ состоитъ изъ узкой, низкой комнаты, съ тонкими перегородками и съ маленькими окошечками. Каково должно быть зимой, взаперти, съ большой семьей, въ такихъ двухъ комнаткахъ, гдѣ сушится мокрое бѣлье, дѣтскія пеленки, гдѣ печка дымитъ и воздухъ пропитанъ человѣческими испареніями! Женщины чахоточныя, изнуренныя частыми родами, носятъ на лицѣ печать крайняго утомленія. Въ одной изъ такихъ хижинъ жилъ поденщикъ съ семьей, состоявшей изъ жены и шестерыхъ дѣтей. Онъ нанимался въ работу на годъ или на полгода и получалъ по 12 шиллинговъ въ недѣлю; вышеописанная квартира стóитъ отъ 3 до 4 фунтовъ стерл. въ годъ. У рабочаго, къ которому мы зашли, было худое, вытянутое лицо, съ грустнымъ, приниженнымъ выраженіемъ. Спутники мои вѣжливо попросили у него позволенія войдти и представили ему меня, какъ французскаго джентльмена. Хозяева приняли насъ радушно; я замѣтилъ, что во Франціи я видалъ хижины гораздо бѣднѣе; но это, повидимому, нисколько не утѣшило бѣднаго рабочаго. Домикъ его былъ однако опрятный, съ хорошею желѣзною печкой. Тарелки съ голубыми узорами стояли на полкахъ въ отличномъ порядкѣ.

Я видалъ потомъ много такихъ домиковъ, и почти всегда, хотя въ одной комнатѣ, находилъ на полу коверъ; иногда комната оклеена обоями, на стѣнахъ гравюры въ рамкахъ; во всѣхъ домахъ имѣется Библія, иногда и еще кой-какія книги, духовнаго содержанія, или новые романы, или „объ искусствѣ воспитывать кроликовъ“ и т. п. Но главное, что я всегда находилъ въ нихъ, это—порядокъ: двери притворяются, ставни не сломаны, стекла цѣлы, на полу не стоятъ лужи, печки не дымятъ, полъ подметенъ, все прибрано. Вѣроятно, безпорядокъ и грязь въ этомъ климатѣ дѣйствуютъ вреднѣе, чѣмъ во Франціи и человѣкъ поневолѣ долженъ быть чистоплотнѣе, порядочнѣе и предусмотрительнѣе, какъ, напримѣръ, въ Голландіи. Въ деревушкѣ, гдѣ жило не болѣе 400 душъ, была однако маленькая гостинница, очень приличная и блиставшая чистотой; въ ней съ удовольствіемъ можно было остановиться и переночевать. Мы заходили къ плот-

нику, къ каретнику; они сидѣли за столомъ со своими семьями и пили чай съ хлѣбомъ и съ масломъ. Дома ихъ выстроены изъ краснаго кирпича и покрыты красной черепицей; около одного дома былъ довольно большой огородъ; комнаты немного низки, но воздуху довольно, мелкія стекла, сплоченныя свинцовыми ободочками, пропускаютъ много свѣта. Дорога, ведущая къ пристройкамъ, вымощена кирпичемъ. Въ нижнемъ этажѣ двѣ спальни, на окнахъ ни пылинки; полъ чистый, на платьяхъ ни одной дыры.

Какъ въ высшихъ классахъ, такъ и между ремесленниками и крестьянами, развита страсть къ комфорту и расточительности, забота о будущемъ не свойственна англичанамъ и, при первомъ несчастіи, человѣкъ попадаетъ на содержаніе прихода. Въ домѣ фермера, обрабатывающаго сто десятинъ земли, я былъ пораженъ совершенно голландской чистотой; даже въ Утрехтѣ и Амстердамѣ я не видывалъ ничего подобнаго. У этого фермера 12 лошадей великолѣпной породы и паровая молотилка; кромѣ того, онъ ежегодно продаетъ по 80 головъ откормленныхъ свиней. Наружность фермера серьезная, умная, рѣшительная; онъ не болтливъ, но и не угрюмъ; жена его повидимому хорошая, умная хозяйка.

Въ 12-ти миляхъ отъ этой деревни находится образцовая ферма. Она состоитъ изъ 15 или 20 низкихъ кирпичныхъ зданій, выстроенныхъ по самому экономическому способу. Образцовая ферма не должна дорого стоить, иначе ей не станутъ подражать. Быки, свиньи, бараны помѣщены каждый въ своемъ стойлѣ; стойла всѣ вычищены и воздухъ въ нихъ чистый; намъ показали образцовыя стойла съ рѣшетчатымъ поломъ. Животныхъ откармливаютъ впродолженіи 6 недѣль и они остаются, въ теченіе этого времени, безъ движенія. Здѣсь были все дорогія и рѣдкія породы; быкъ съ своимъ семействомъ привезенъ изъ Индіи и напоминаетъ буддійскую скульптуру. Паровыя машины для всѣхъ сельскихъ работъ, маленькая желѣзная дорога для подвоза пищи скотинѣ, которую кормятъ рубленой брюквой и толчеными бобами. При этомъ очень сложное земледѣліе, основанное на теоріи и опытѣ, безпрерывно улучшаемое и снабжаемое полезными орудіями. Мнѣ говорили, что ферма эта служитъ превосходнымъ образцемъ, и что семейная жизнь фермеровъ и крестьянъ можетъ дать мнѣ точное понятіе о положеніи этихъ классовъ.

Однако впослѣдствіи я убѣдился, по офиціальнымъ документамъ, что свѣдѣнія эти не довольно точны; зло гораздо зна-

чительнѣе, а бѣдность постоянно возрастаетъ. Въ земледѣльческихъ округахъ, недѣльный заработокъ состоитъ всего изъ 7 или 8 шиллинговъ. Слѣдуетъ прибавить, что крестьянинъ пускаетъ въ наймы жену и дѣтей, которыя полютъ цѣлыми толпами. Агрономія, развиваясь все болѣе и принимая видъ ученаго ремесла, вводитъ въ деревню бѣдность, монотонность, всѣ непріятности фабричной жизни. Дѣти чахнутъ, остаются неучами, развращаются; въ линкольнскомъ округѣ, изъ 400 домовъ 200 состоятъ изъ одной комнаты, въ которой вся семья спитъ въ повалку. Всѣ позднѣйшія свѣдѣнія убѣждаютъ меня, что здѣсь классъ земледѣльцевъ-не арендаторовъ самый несчастный и невѣжественный. По развитію и уму между крестьянами и рабочими такая разница, какъ между рабочими и учеными. Люди, жившіе во Франціи, увѣряютъ, что французскій крестьянинъ гораздо развитѣе англійскаго; особенно хвалятъ они его умѣренность, привычку обходиться безъ посторонней помощи, рвеніе къ работѣ и привязанность къ землѣ. Англійскіе же крестьяне расточительны, неосмотрительны, вѣчно на содержаніи прихода, или богатыхъ крестьянъ. Если даже англійскій крестьянинъ и владѣетъ клочкомъ земли, то онъ не умѣетъ обработывать его и къ тому же земля здѣсь очень плохаго свойства, требуетъ хорошей обработки, удобренія и большихъ затратъ. Въ Дэвонширѣ и въ другихъ графствахъ, крестьянинъ получаетъ иногда отъ 8—10 шиллинговъ въ недѣлю. При такомъ ничтожномъ заработкѣ, имѣя семью, состоящую изъ 6—8 человѣкъ, трудно обойтись безъ частной или общественной помощи; крестьянка и вообще англійская женщина низшихъ классовъ не способна къ работѣ и нерѣдко не умѣетъ даже готовить кушанье; на обѣдъ покупается свѣжій хлѣбъ, масло, чай, окорокъ, что обходится дороже домашняго обѣда. Съ преобразованіемъ земледѣлія, привычки тоже измѣнились; лѣтъ 50 тому назадъ, мясо считалось роскошью у крестьянъ, и болѣе одного раза въ недѣлю они не позволяли себѣ такого лакомства, зимой же ѣли только солонину. Теперь же они и одного дня не могутъ обойтись безъ свѣжаго мяса. Несмотря на огромную производительность Англіи, въ мясѣ ощущается недостатокъ и его привозятъ изъ Даніи и Голландіи. Живущіе по деревнямъ фабричные рабочіе отчасти тоже существуютъ милостынею, но какъ ни велика частная благотворительность въ Англіи, однако и ее не хватаетъ на такую массу нуждающихся.

Здѣсь не только старинныя помѣстья переходятъ по праву первородства въ однѣ руки, но и разбогатѣвшая буржуазія старается пріобрѣсть землю, поселиться на ней и втерѣться въ мѣстную аристократію; на это преимущественно употребляются тѣ $2^1/_2$ милліарда сбереженій, которые ежегодно накопляются въ Англіи. Они идутъ скорѣе на обогащеніе богатыхъ, чѣмъ на облегченіе неимущихъ. Зато помѣщики служатъ естественными благодѣтелями и начальниками народа. Рѣдко можно встрѣтить землевладѣльца, который не отдавалъ бы безвозмездно своего времени и денегъ на пользу общинъ; они служатъ мировыми судьями, президентами комитетовъ и полезныхъ ассоціацій. Одинъ землевладѣлецъ открылъ безплатную школу, въ которой между прочими предметами обучаютъ пѣнію; въ школѣ есть фортепіано, даются концерты, самъ помѣщикъ поетъ съ дѣтьми, находя, что музыка имѣетъ хорошее вліяніе на нихъ, и съ этою цѣлью онъ даже посылаетъ учителя музыки по деревнямъ, для обученія ей дѣтей. Въ другой деревнѣ, помѣщики наняли коттэджъ изъ двухъ комнатъ, чтобъ устроить клубъ для крестьянъ и платятъ въ складчину за помѣщеніе, освѣщеніе, отопленіе, за содержаніе служанки при клубѣ, за книги и журналы, которые въ немъ имѣются. Но въ то же время, они стараются устроить такъ, чтобъ впослѣдствіи клубъ могъ существовать на ту плату, которую будутъ вносить посѣтители. Въ первой комнатѣ читаютъ, во второй играютъ въ шашки, въ шахматы, курятъ, разговариваютъ. Цѣль учредителей — отвлечь народъ отъ кабаковъ; они понимаютъ, что для этого нужно дать ему что-нибудь въ замѣнъ, сообразное съ его вкусами. Инстинкты и потребности нужно удовлетворять, но удовлетвореніе должно быть невинное и, если возможно, полезное. Напримѣръ, крестьяне не работаютъ по воскресеньямъ; дома же у нихъ холодно, грязно, темно — естественно, что они стремятся въ такое мѣсто, гдѣ всегда свѣтло и весело, т. е. въ кабакъ. Стало быть надо устроить для нихъ такой пріютъ, гдѣ вмѣсто джина имъ подавали бы чай, гдѣ время проходило бы пріятно и откуда они возвращались бы домой трезвые. Въ Англіи составилось общество, требующее, чтобъ по воскресеньямъ были открыты музеи, разрѣшены концерты и публичныя чтенія; такимъ способомъ вѣрнѣе можно уничтожить пьянство, чѣмъ проповѣдями. Помѣщики не только благотворятъ народу, но и обращаются съ нимъ внимательно и ласково.

Въ Англіи низшіе классы не завистливы, имъ и въ голову не

приходитъ завидовать и желать занять мѣсто богатаго джентльмена; они скорѣе способны смотрѣть на него, какъ на своего покровителя, гордиться имъ, особенно, если джентльменъ принадлежитъ къ старинной фамиліи, которая, впродолженіи многихъ поколѣній, живетъ въ данной мѣстности. Мнѣ случилось разговаривать въ вагонѣ съ лейбъ-гвардейцами: „Всѣ наши офицеры—джентльмены", съ гордостью говорили мнѣ эти колоссальные добряки. Они получаютъ по два шиллинга въ день и третья часть изъ нихъ женаты. „А ваши вдовы получаютъ-ли пенсію?" — „Нѣтъ, но частныя учрежденія помогаютъ имъ". Все это еще остатки феодализма: государь заботился о своихъ вассалахъ, а вассалы гордились своимъ государемъ.

Феодальный характеръ тѣмъ могущественнѣе въ Англіи, что и самое устройство ея сохранило феодальный отпечатокъ. Владѣльцы помѣщичьихъ домовъ, замѣняющихъ старинные замки, разыгрываютъ на новый ладъ роли древнихъ бароновъ. Въ каждомъ приходѣ, даже въ самомъ отдаленномъ, есть нѣсколько семействъ, имѣющихъ родовыя помѣстья, въ которыхъ они обыкновенно и живутъ, исполняя обязанности естественныхъ и признанныхъ покровителей. Въ Англіи нѣтъ такого пристрастія къ городской жизни, какъ во Франціи. Исключая большихъ городовъ, гдѣ сосредоточены торговля или фабричное производство, въ провинціальныхъ городахъ, напримѣръ въ Іоркѣ, живутъ только лавочники; цвѣтъ же націи, аристократія, живетъ по деревнямъ. Даже самый Лондонъ есть ничто иное, какъ огромное мѣсто для дѣловыхъ свиданій. Туда пріѣзжаютъ лѣтомъ, на 2—3 мѣсяца, чтобъ разсѣяться, повидаться съ друзьями или устроить свои дѣла. Но настоящее мѣстопребываніе англійскихъ богачей—ихъ country-seat: тамъ ихъ родина, ихъ кругъ дѣятельности; имъ извѣстны всѣ дѣла ихъ прихода. Они всегда исполняютъ въ немъ какую-нибудь должность и исполняютъ добросовѣстно. Они должны первые подавать примѣръ щедрости, какъ феодальный баронъ долженъ былъ идти первый подъ выстрѣлы. Одинъ землевладѣлецъ говорилъ мнѣ, что у него идетъ на подписки десятая часть его доходовъ, и у сосѣдей его точно также; прибавьте къ этому налогъ въ пользу бѣдныхъ, по 3 шиллинга съ каждаго фунта отъ поземельнаго дохода, а въ нѣкоторыхъ округахъ до 7 шиллинговъ. Покоряясь-ли закону, или добровольно, но только достаточные классы несутъ съ истиннымъ мужествомъ тягость общественной нищеты. Разумѣется, такое общество замкнуто и строго консерва-

тивно. Англичане, жившіе за границей, сознаютъ всю глупость и нелѣпость этой несчастной гордости и стоятъ выше ея, но въ остальныхъ она поражаетъ. Англійскіе аристократы увѣрены, что ремесленникъ, торговецъ, банкиръ, который цѣлый день долженъ думать о барышахъ и о заработкѣ—не джентльменъ и не можетъ имъ быть. У него нѣтъ такого образованія, такихъ идей, онъ не можетъ такъ выражаться. „О чемъ можетъ говорить купецъ, фермеръ, какъ не о своемъ ремеслѣ? Умъ грубѣетъ отъ грубыхъ занятій и грубыхъ привычекъ". Купецъ и ремесленникъ склонны къ эгоизму, чужды безкорыстія и широкихъ, возвышенныхъ взглядовъ, которые составляютъ будто-бы принадлежность только высшихъ классовъ; люди нисшихъ классовъ не могутъ будто-бы отрѣшиться отъ личныхъ интересовъ и думать объ общественномъ благѣ, а повелѣвать можно только при такихъ условіяхъ. Аристократы — властители своего края, они дѣлаютъ первый шагъ, чтобъ принять новаго владѣльца. Когда богатый человѣкъ покупаетъ землю, онъ не долженъ никого предупреждать своими визитами; если онъ уменъ, образованъ, съ хорошими манерами, словомъ — джентльменъ, то недѣли черезъ двѣ объ этомъ всѣ узнаютъ и сосѣди сами пріѣдутъ знакомиться съ нимъ. Но хотя они и примутъ новичка въ свое общество, все же онъ не будетъ пользоваться ихъ привиллегіями. Его не пошлютъ въ парламентъ и если онъ выступитъ въ кандидаты, то о немъ скажутъ: „это новичекъ, онъ не принадлежитъ странѣ. Онъ хотя и посаженъ на эту землю, но еще не пустилъ въ нее корней. Можетъ быть сынъ или внукъ его будетъ представителемъ, но не онъ самъ". Аристократія тѣмъ и сильна, что съ незапамятныхъ временъ живетъ въ данной мѣстности.

Я стараюсь хорошенько уяснить значеніе слова *джентльменъ*; оно повторяется безпрестанно и служитъ выраженіемъ многихъ чисто-англійскихъ идей. Для нихъ настоящій джентльменъ — это человѣкъ истинно благородный, честный, безкорыстный, достойный повелѣвать, способный подвергнуть себя опасности и даже принести себя въ жертву для пользы тѣхъ, представителемъ которыхъ онъ служитъ. Джентльменъ—человѣкъ честный и добросовѣстный; всѣ убѣжденія его здраво обдуманы, онъ поступаетъ хорошо, какъ по своей натурѣ, такъ и по принципу. Прибавьте къ этому англійскія черты характера: самообладаніе, неизмѣнное хладнокровіе, серьезность, исполненныя достоинства манеры, твердость въ несчастіи, полное отсутствіе хвас-

товства и афектаціи,—и вы получите лучшій образецъ джентльмена. Мы посѣтили семь или восемь замковъ, большихъ и малыхъ. Всѣ они красивы, а нѣкоторые роскошны. Вся обстановка въ нихъ отличается изумительнымъ комфортомъ. Ковры, клеенка устилаютъ домъ сверху до низу; клеенка снимается, моется и сохраняетъ ковры. Въ моей комнатѣ стоялъ столъ изъ дорогаго дерева, съ мраморной доской; на доскѣ лежалъ тростниковый поддонникъ; на поддонникѣ — графинъ съ стаканомъ. Книгу нельзя положить просто на столъ, для нея есть особенный пюпитръ. Подсвѣчникъ не простой, даже нельзя просто свѣчку задуть — она облечена въ стеклянный футляръ, съ механическимъ гасильникомъ. Другія мелочи еще замысловатѣе; даже не скоро догадаешься, для какого употребленія онѣ назначаются. Подчасъ находишь, что безъ этого комфорта гораздо удобнѣе. Во время путешествія, англичане нагружены такимъ множествомъ лорнетовъ, биноклей, зрительныхъ трубокъ, пальто, плэдовъ, чахловъ, непромокаемыхъ плащей, зонтиковъ, палокъ, нессесеровъ, мѣшковъ, книгъ, журналовъ, что на ихъ мѣстѣ я предпочелъ бы остаться дома. Страшно подумать, сколько англичане тратятъ на свой комфортъ.

Въ Англіи много историческихъ замковъ; любопытно видѣть, какія сокровища скопляются иногда въ одномъ семействѣ, благодаря праву первородства. Мнѣ показывали одинъ замокъ, гдѣ въ силу завѣщанія каждый владѣлецъ обязанъ ежегодно покупать на нѣсколько тысячъ фунтовъ стерлинговъ серебра; когда всѣ буфеты были набиты серебромъ, то рѣшено было сдѣлать серебряныя перилы у лѣстницы. Недалеко отъ Вудстока я видѣлъ замокъ, принадлѣжащій герцогу Мэльборо и напоминающій Лувръ. Замокъ этотъ былъ подаренъ націей знаменитому полководцу Мэльборо. Украшенія его очень затѣйливы. Многія залы высоки, какъ церкви; библіотека имѣетъ 100 футовъ длины. Въ домовой церкви стоитъ памятникъ родоначальнику. Въ одной галлереѣ висятъ фамильные портреты, въ другой — фарфоръ; картинныхъ галерей нѣсколько; паркъ простирается на двѣ тысячи миль въ окружности. Въ немъ великолѣпныя деревья, огромные пруды и роскошные мосты.

Право первородства имѣетъ очень много дурныхъ сторонъ, особенно въ дворянскомъ сословіи. Очень часто старшій сынъ, съ дѣтства испорченный лестью и баловствомъ, бываетъ дуракомъ или безпутнымъ мотомъ; онъ путешествуетъ, ничему не научаясь, привозитъ съ кон-

тинента однѣ дурныя привычки, слоняется безъ дѣла и скучаетъ. Еслибы аристократія не обновлялась талантливыми выскочками, то члены ея вскорѣ сдѣлались бы безполезными, ограниченными и даже вредными людьми, что и теперь уже случается. Неравенство ведетъ за собой печальные контрасты. Впрочемъ, мысль о неравенствѣ менѣе огорчаетъ младшихъ сыновей, чѣмъ мы думаемъ; они привыкли къ ней съ дѣтства и покоряются этому освященному вѣками обычаю, какъ необходимому закону природы. По своему характеру, англичанинъ не боится труда, а разумная гордость говоритъ ему, что гораздо почтеннѣе жить собственнымъ трудомъ, чѣмъ наслѣдственнымъ.

Но у этого обычая есть и хорошія стороны. Вотъ онѣ: какъ у богатыхъ, такъ и у бѣдныхъ англичанъ почти всегда много дѣтей. Англичане ни въ чемъ не умѣютъ себѣ отказывать; они хотятъ пользоваться всѣми удобствами, обращать на себя вниманіе и предпочтутъ скорѣе увеличить свои труды, чѣмъ сократить свои расходы. Вмѣсто того, чтобъ сокращать расходы, они все увеличиваютъ ихъ, и слава Богу, если сведутъ концы съ концами. Много трудиться и много расходовать—вотъ правило англичанъ. Младшіе сыновья обыкновенно отлично образованы; кромѣ общаго образованія, они получаютъ еще и спеціальное. Съ дѣтства пріученные разсчитывать на самихъ себя и сохраняя воспоминаніе объ отцовскихъ помѣстьяхъ, они считаютъ унизительнымъ для себя не нажить такого-же состоянія. Ихъ цѣль—сравняться въ немъ съ старшимъ братомъ. Какого-же лучшаго двигателя къ дѣятельности? Младшіе братья ѣдутъ въ Индію, въ Китай, въ Австралію и, нажившись тамъ, возвращаются въ Англію, чтобъ свить въ ней свое гнѣздо. Въ Лондонѣ есть кварталъ, который называется „Австралійскимъ". Онъ населенъ людьми, составившими себѣ богатство въ Викторіи, въ Мельбурнѣ. Слабые погибаютъ при такихъ законахъ; но предпріимчивый умъ, энергія, всѣ силы человѣческой природы получаютъ полное развитіе. Человѣкъ крѣпнетъ въ борьбѣ, лучшіе элементы націи обновляются и золото волнами приливаетъ въ страну.

Рядомъ съ дѣльцемъ, ведущимъ дѣла, стоитъ священникъ, направляющій умы. Мы уже сказали, что Англія—страна религіозная. Въ ней на каждомъ шагу видишь библейскія черты. Такъ напримѣръ, по воскресеньямъ даже слуги увольняются и не прислуживаютъ за столомъ. Всякій прислуживаетъ себѣ самъ, какъ умѣетъ. Духовенство пользуется большимъ уваженіемъ. Всѣ священники считаются джентльменами и дѣйстви-

тельно бываютъ ими, если не по рожденію и состоянію, то по воспитанію. Они большею частью получаютъ образованіе въ оксфордскомъ или кембриджскомъ университетѣ. Молодыя, набожныя дѣвушки хорошихъ фамилій охотно идутъ замужъ за пасторовъ. Я гулялъ съ однимъ священникомъ по деревнѣ; онъ заходилъ въ крестьянскіе дома, ласкалъ дѣтей, освѣдомлялся объ ихъ успѣхахъ, увѣщевалъ лѣнивыхъ, журилъ пьяницъ, говорилъ съ крестьянами объ ихъ дѣлахъ. Это наставникъ ихъ въ полномъ смыслѣ; жена его учитъ бѣдныхъ дѣтей, и къ нему и къ ней ежедневно приходятъ за помощью, или попросить вина, или какого-нибудь лакомства для больнаго.

Возвратившись въ Лондонъ, я тщетно старался собрать точныя свѣдѣнія на счетъ цифры капиталовъ и числа лицъ, составляющихъ аристократію. По словамъ Потера, въ 1841 г. въ Англіи и въ Валисѣ было 123,000 муж. и 322,000 ж., пользовавшихся независимымъ состояніемъ; въ 1861 г. народонаселеніе увеличилось съ 16,000,000 до 20,000,000; богатство также значительно возросло. Главную силу государства составляетъ богатая, могущественная и образованная аристократія; остальныя сословія имѣютъ второстепенное значеніе.

VI.

Французскіе государственные люди не разъ пытались перенести во Францію систему правленія Англіи и Соединенныхъ Штатовъ; иные увѣряли даже, будто потребуется не болѣе двухъ лѣтъ, чтобъ пріучить французскій народъ къ этой системѣ. Но тѣ, кто говорилъ это, забывали, что у каждаго государства, какъ и у каждаго человѣка, есть свой организмъ, который другіе не могутъ усвоить себѣ, а могутъ только подражать его внѣшности. Подъ хартіями, учрежденіями, законами кроются убѣжденія, привычки, характеръ народа, положеніе его различныхъ классовъ, ихъ взаимныя отношенія,—словомъ, глубокіе корни подъ видимыми вѣтвями; эти корни питаютъ и поддерживаютъ дерево. Посадите дерево безъ корней,—оно завянетъ и упадетъ при первой бурѣ. Мы удивляемся прочности англійскаго государственнаго строя, забывая, что онъ держится и распускается отъ множества живыхъ нервовъ, которые пустили корни по всему пространству государства. Предположимъ въ Англіи революцію; предположимъ полное и внезапное уничтоженіе

обѣихъ палатъ и королевской фамиліи: верхушка будетъ снесена, остальное-же останется неприкосновеннымъ. Въ каждой общинѣ есть семьи, около которыхъ группируются другія семьи; есть аристократы, естественные начальники, дающіе направленіе; имъ довѣряютъ, за ними идутъ; люди эти заранѣе намѣчены по своему званію, богатству, заслугамъ, воспитанію и вліянію; рожденные быть генералами, они соединяютъ разбѣжавшихся солдатъ и мгновенно образуютъ арміи, въ противоположность Франціи, гдѣ буржуа и работникъ, дворянинъ и крестьянинъ, въ вѣчной враждѣ между собой, гдѣ фракъ и блуза не довѣряютъ другъ другу, гдѣ начальники—чиновники, орудія чужой воли, непризнанные, временные, которымъ оказываютъ только наружное повиновеніе, но не искреннее довѣріе: ихъ терпятъ, но не признаютъ. Напротивъ того, англійское правительство непоколебимо, потому что имѣетъ законныхъ представителей. Надо хорошо вдуматься въ это, повидимому, простое слово, чтобъ понять его значеніе. Представителю дается власть изображать собой извѣстное лицо или общество т. е. дѣлать это лицо или общество *присутствующимъ* тамъ, гдѣ его нѣтъ; рѣшать, повелѣвать, исполнять его именемъ то, чего оно само, за отсутствіемъ, по недостатку требуемыхъ познаній, по неспособности или другимъ причинамъ, не можетъ исполнить иначе, какъ передавъ свою волю другому человѣку. Въ общественныхъ дѣлахъ, также какъ и въ частныхъ, настоящій представитель есть тотъ, кому добровольно передается голосъ. При общей подачѣ голосовъ, большинство еще не доказываетъ полнаго соглашенія. Невѣжественный избиратель, принужденный выбирать между двумя списками, или двумя именами, о которыхъ онъ не имѣетъ своего личнаго яснаго понятія, не можетъ сдѣлать разумнаго выбора, а масса народа состоитъ почти изъ однихъ невѣждъ. 20,000 крестьянъ, рабочихъ, мелкой буржуазіи, идутъ къ урнамъ, какъ стадо барановъ; они знаютъ кандидатовъ только по слуху,—рѣдко по наружности. Иные вотируютъ на удачу, для нихъ все равно, тотъ-ли, другой-ли. Во всякомъ случаѣ предпочтеніе, которое они оказываютъ кому-нибудь изъ кандидатовъ, очень слабо и шатко; такіе избиратели не защитятъ своего избранника, если кто-нибудь вздумаетъ столкнуть его, и вотъ почему самое государство такъ шатко, у него нѣтъ корней. При первомъ поворотѣ общественнаго мнѣнія, при первомъ уличномъ возмущеніи, избранники падаютъ, уступая мѣсто другимъ, и когда случается подобное со-

бытіе, народъ опять повторяетъ: „Все равно, тотъ-ли, другой-ли". Вотъ почему всѣ французскія учрежденія — республика, имперія, монархія—бываютъ только временныя и напоминаютъ собой декораціи, которыя поперемѣнно украшаютъ пустую сцену и мѣняются, когда представленіе кончилось. Мы равнодушно смотримъ, какъ поднимаются, опускаются и исчезаютъ эти декораціи. Насъ безпокоитъ шумъ, пыль, непріятныя физіономіи хлопальщиковъ; но мы и этому покоряемся, какъ неизбѣжному злу. Каковы бы ни были наши офиціальные представители, хотя бы и выбранные народомъ, но они не служатъ выраженіемъ общественной воли; они не настоящіе представители, общество терпитъ ихъ не потому, что они лучшіе, а изъ боязни замѣнить ихъ еще худшими. Высшій классъ также не можетъ дать намъ представителей, потому что духъ равенства, который такъ сильно развитъ въ насъ, возмущается противъ знатности и богатства. Пройдетъ болѣе ста лѣтъ, прежде, чѣмъ мы будемъ въ состояніи подражать Сѣверной Америкѣ и имѣть настолько образованную демократію, чтобъ каждый рабочій или крестьянинъ обладалъ такимъ же политическимъ смысломъ, какимъ обладаютъ въ настоящее время учитель и деревенскій нотаріусъ. Въ ожиданіи этого времени, не мѣшало бы прибѣгнуть къ двойному голосованію, сначала—въ общинѣ и потомъ—въ главномъ городѣ округа. Въ Англіи, представительная система дѣйствительна и прочна потому, что между избирателями и представителями существуетъ естественная связь. Народъ желаетъ имѣть своими вожаками именно этихъ, а не другихъ людей; онъ не колеблется въ своемъ выборѣ, каждый приходъ или округъ имѣетъ своихъ кандидатовъ, извѣстныхъ каждому рабочему. Даже во времена *гнилыхъ мѣстечекъ* парламентъ служилъ выраженіемъ народной воли. Частыя реформы въ англійской избирательной системѣ совершенствуютъ ее, не измѣняя сущности. На первомъ планѣ все-же остается воля народа. Вотирущій и не вотирующій, рабочій и лавочникъ желаютъ имѣть предводителя изъ высшаго класса. Имѣютъ ли или нѣтъ эти сословія законное средство выразить свое одобреніе и направить его на то или другое лицо,—право одобрять выборъ все же принадлежитъ имъ. Все равно, ими или другими избранъ предводитель, но если они идутъ за нимъ, значитъ одобряютъ его, и такимъ образомъ положеніе избраннаго прочнѣе, чѣмъ во Франціи, гдѣ существуетъ прямая подача голосовъ. Члены парламента большею частью сознаютъ важность лежащихъ на нихъ обязанностей.

Многіе изъ нихъ пользуются своимъ каникулярнымъ временемъ собственно для того, чтобы побывать на континентѣ, во Франціи, Испаніи, Италіи, Германіи, освѣжить, провѣрить свои убѣжденія, и они дѣлаютъ это не одинъ, а пять, десять разъ. Они слѣдятъ за всѣми измѣненіями общественнаго мнѣнія, не отстаютъ отъ своего времени и пріобрѣтаютъ все болѣе и болѣе точнаго опыта. Какая бы черная точка ни показалась на политическомъ горизонтѣ,— въ Даніи, въ Польшѣ, въ Римѣ или въ Соединенныхъ Штатахъ— они уже тамъ и привозятъ оттуда точныя свѣдѣнія. Заграницей они знакомятся съ людьми извѣстными, спеціалистами, приглашаютъ ихъ къ себѣ, разбираютъ ихъ по ниточкѣ, часто записываютъ всѣ подробности своего разговора и, по возвращеніи, отдаютъ эти записки своимъ знакомымъ. Я видѣлъ подобныя рукописи и нахожу ихъ очень поучительными. Одинъ обозрѣваетъ наши фермы, осматриваетъ машины, скотъ, обогащаетъ себя цифрами и потомъ издаетъ или читаетъ цѣлое сочиненіе о состояніи сельскаго хозяйства во Франціи. Другой обозрѣваетъ фабрики въ Парижѣ, а жена его посѣщаетъ ремесленныя школы.

По примѣру государственныхъ людей, почти всѣ достаточные и богатые люди въ Англіи поступаютъ такимъ же образомъ. Я знаю семейства, получающія около 12,000 ф. годоваго дохода, изъ которыхъ они откладываютъ по тысячѣ франковъ на путешествія. Въ Англіи нѣтъ ни одного образованнаго молодаго человѣка, который не былъ бы на континентѣ; безъ путешествія воспитаніе считается неполнымъ. Многіе видятъ только внѣшность, но всѣ привозятъ какія-нибудь новыя идеи, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, отрѣшаются отъ грубыхъ предразсудковъ и ложныхъ понятій. Благодаря всѣмъ этимъ свѣдѣніямъ, общественное мнѣніе въ Англіи болѣе просвѣщенно и разумно, менѣе несостоятельно въ политикѣ и болѣе доступно исправленію, чѣмъ въ другихъ странахъ. Государственные люди ведутъ націю надлежащимъ путемъ и потому ихъ поддерживаютъ и поощряютъ. Англичане справедливо гордятся своимъ *selfgovernement*. „Мы сами устраиваемъ свои дѣла, не дожидаясь вмѣшательства государства“, говорятъ они.

Развитіе частной предпріимчивости въ Англіи по истинѣ изумительно. Напримѣръ, въ 21 годъ, изъ 13,200,000 ф. стер., употребленныхъ на общественное образованіе, государство дало всего 4,200,000 ф. стер., остальное собрано по подпискѣ. Въ Англіи безчисленное множество обществъ, напримѣръ: „общество для спасенія утопающихъ“,

„общество распространенія знаній“, „общество распространенія библіи“, „исправленія порока“, „покровительства животныхъ“, „уничтоженія священнической десятины“, „общество для постройки хорошихъ домовъ“, „общество обращенія рабочихъ въ собственниковъ“, „общество эмиграціи“, „общество для основанія сберегательной кассы“, „общество распространенія экономическихъ и соціальныхъ знаній“, „общество трезвости“, „общество хорошаго употребленія воскресныхъ дней“, „общество для основанія школъ воспитательницъ“. Стоитъ пройтись по улицамъ или заглянуть въ газеты, чтобъ убѣдиться, какъ много такихъ обществъ и какія есть между ними полезныя. Мнѣ говорили, что всѣ они ведутся умно и добросовѣстно. Англичанинъ не можетъ отрѣшиться отъ общественныхъ интересовъ. Онъ принимаетъ въ нихъ дѣятельное участіе, онъ не можетъ жить особнякомъ и считаетъ своею обязанностью приносить пользу человѣчеству.

Я присутствовалъ на митингѣ „общества воспитанія и образованія молодыхъ бродягъ“. Общество это содержитъ около 100 юношей отъ 13 до 20 лѣтъ; между ними есть осужденные и есть такіе, которыхъ бѣдные родители помѣщаютъ въ заведеніе этого общества, чтобъ оградить отъ сближенія съ мошенниками и недопустить сдѣлаться ворами. Мальчикамъ даютъ квартиру, одежду и пищу; ихъ обучаютъ шить башмаки, дѣлать игрушки, дѣтскую мебель, печатать. Дѣтямъ, принадлежащимъ ко второй категоріи, дозволено было образовать изъ себя духовный оркестръ, и они играли на дворѣ передъ началомъ митинга. Я всматривался въ ихъ лица: они мрачны и непріятны; одежда у нихъ особенная,—сѣрая съ голубымъ. Какъ бы ни было хорошо устроено исправительное заведеніе, но оно никогда не бываетъ пріятнымъ мѣстомъ. Содержаніе каждаго мальчика въ заведеніи обходится приблизительно въ 17 ф. стер. въ годъ, между тѣмъ какъ содержаніе преступника, среднимъ счетомъ, въ 75 ф. стер. Лондонскій воръ украдетъ не менѣе какъ на 300 ф. стер. въ годъ; стало быть гораздо выгоднѣе платить за бродягу въ исправительное заведеніе, чѣмъ оставлять его рости на свободѣ. Англійская благотворительность подкрѣпляетъ себя цифрами.

Изъ этого заведенія мы пошли въ воспитательный домъ, который помѣщается въ огромномъ каменномъ зданіи. Комнаты опрятны, съ хорошей вентиляціей. Здѣсь есть школа, отдѣленіе для младенцевъ, времен-

ный пріютъ, мастерскія; въ верхнемъ этажѣ помѣщаются дортуары дѣтей старшаго возраста. Днемъ койки поднимаются къ стѣнамъ. Въ мастерскихъ мальчики плетутъ корзины, дѣлаютъ маленькія модели изъ дерева для рисовальныхъ школъ. При мнѣ заставили воспитанниковъ пѣть и маршировать. Хорошо дѣлаютъ, что постоянно занимаютъ ихъ работами. Дѣти очень похожи на арестантовъ и лица у нихъ какія-то безпокойныя. Несмотря на то, что огромная зала наполнена ребятами, воздухъ въ ней чистъ. Почти всѣ дѣти одѣты довольно опрятно и въ башмакахъ. Маленькія дѣвочки носятъ на рукахъ грудныхъ дѣтей. Самыя послушныя и прилежныя надзираютъ за другими и получаютъ за это по нѣскольку пенсовъ въ недѣлю. Всѣхъ учатъ читать, писать, считать, пѣть и занимаютъ гимнастикой. Дѣвочки учатся шить у надзирательницы, молодой дѣвушки, милой, веселой, ласковой; она получаетъ 12 шиллинговъ въ недѣлю, а смотритель—25 шиллинговъ. Подобныя заведенія, въ бѣдныхъ кварталахъ, избавляютъ отъ страшной заразы. Въ 1856 г. число маленькихъ преступниковъ въ Англіи доходило до 10,194 человѣкъ, а въ 1866 г. оно понизилось до 7,850.

Въ лондонскихъ школахъ насчитываютъ 25,000 учащихся, а во всей Англіи—300,000 человѣкъ. Изъ учебныхъ заведеній, всего три существуютъ на счетъ правительства; всѣ остальныя содержатся частными лицами, которыя понимаютъ, что школа лучше полиціи охраняетъ безопасность жителей.

Въ Лондонѣ частная предпріимчивость ничѣмъ не стѣсняется. Недавно тамъ основано заведеніе, гдѣ женщины, пріѣзжающія въ этотъ городъ по своимъ дѣламъ, имѣющія удостовѣреніе въ хорошей нравственности, могутъ получать квартиру, столъ и даже пользоваться книгами. Другое заведеніе основано съ цѣлью предохранить бѣдныхъ молодыхъ женщинъ отъ искушеній. Имъ даютъ работу и жизнь сообща имъ обходится дешевле; каждая тратитъ не болѣе 10 ф. ст. Мы уже упоминали объ обществѣ распространенія библіи. Замѣтимъ, что это общество не даетъ книгъ даромъ, а продаетъ ихъ, на томъ основаніи, что купленными вещами болѣе дорожатъ. Учредительницы выбираютъ своими коммисіонершами бѣдныхъ женщинъ, потому что онѣ ближе къ народу и пользуются большимъ довѣріемъ; на этихъ женщинахъ лежитъ обязанность сближаться съ женами рабочихъ, собирать ихъ по вечерамъ, обучать шитью, хозяйству и распространять Библію.

Неустанная пропаганда служитъ самымъ дѣйствительнымъ сред-

ствомъ къ направленію общественнаго мнѣнія. Когда зародится у кого нибудь хорошая идея, ее сообщаютъ друзьямъ и тѣ, если одобряютъ ее, даютъ денегъ, пишутъ въ газетахъ, стараются возбудить сочувствіе публики, открываютъ подписку. Идея получаетъ извѣстность; снѣжный шаръ катится, увеличиваясь; подкатывается къ парламентскимъ дверямъ, отворяетъ ихъ и проникаетъ въ парламентъ. Вотъ механизмъ реформъ, вотъ какъ дѣлаются въ Англіи дѣла; снѣжныхъ клубочковъ всегда бываетъ множество; иные разбиваются, но изъ остатковъ образуются новые. Любопытно смотрѣть, какъ человѣческій муравейникъ упорно катитъ эти шары. Мы объясняемъ это рвеніе англійскою потребностью къ дѣятельности, остающимся избыткомъ энергіи отъ личныхъ дѣлъ. У людей богатыхъ и независимыхъ эта потребность находитъ себѣ исходъ въ путешествіяхъ, въ трудныхъ предпріятіяхъ. Миссъ Нантингэль не была заражена ханжествомъ и мистицизмомъ сестеръ милосердія, когда пріѣхала въ Крымъ заводить госпитали; двигателями у нея служили дѣятельный умъ и любовь къ человѣчеству.

Забота англичанъ о будущемъ проявляется совсѣмъ не въ томъ, въ чемъ она проявляется у французовъ. Англичанинъ предпочитаетъ не оставлять дѣтямъ наслѣдства, но дать имъ хорошее образованіе. Онъ скорѣе согласится больше работать, чѣмъ отказаться отъ путешествія; онъ охотно удѣляетъ часть своего времени и денегъ на то, чтобъ скрѣпить и улучшить общество, которое охраняетъ его самого и будетъ охранять его потомство. Человѣкъ, хорошо понимающій интересы, будетъ также заботливо крыть крышу общественнаго зданія, какъ и крышу своего частнаго дома.

Я посѣтилъ больницу св. Варфоломея. Это учрежденіе имѣетъ 40,000 ф. стер. дохода, не считая частныхъ приношеній. Многія больницы носятъ надпись: „Содержатся на частныя пожертвованія“. Совѣтъ собирается разъ въ недѣлю; казначей, которому такъ много дѣла, служитъ однако безплатно. Больныхъ 600 человѣкъ, а помѣщеній имѣется на 800. Зданіе очень обширно и заключаетъ въ себѣ библіотеку, разныя коллекціи и анатомическій музей. Сопровождавшій меня молодой врачь говорилъ мнѣ, что студенты могутъ во всякое время посѣщать больныхъ. Постели широки и стоятъ на большомъ разстояніи одна отъ другой. Чистота вездѣ замѣчательная и повидимому все въ этой больницѣ отлично устроено; кушанье готовится на газѣ; кромѣ палатъ для взрос-

лыхъ, есть особыя палаты и для дѣтей. Докторъ говорилъ мнѣ, что въ Англіи, отъ усиленной работы и джину сильно распространены сумашествіе и идіотизмъ.

Я осмотрѣлъ также и рабочіе дома (workhouses), которые, какъ всѣмъ извѣстно, имѣютъ сходство съ тюрьмой. Эти дома, въ соединеніи съ налогомъ на бѣдныхъ, составляютъ одну изъ характеристическихъ чертъ англійскаго народа, который считаетъ за правило, что несчастные, лишенные свободы, имѣютъ право на общественную помощь. Общество платитъ за нихъ, но запираетъ и эксплуатируетъ ихъ. Условія жизни въ рабочихъ домахъ непріятны для бѣдняковъ и они всѣми силами избѣгаютъ поступать туда. Въ томъ домѣ, который я видѣлъ, находилось около 600 стариковъ, покинутыхъ или безпріютныхъ дѣтей, мужчинъ и женщинъ, неимѣющихъ работы. Послѣднихъ было всего менѣе, не болѣе 40 женщинъ и 12 мужчинъ. Зимою число ихъ значительно увеличивается. Сверхъ того, это заведеніе выдаетъ пособіе и тѣмъ, кто живетъ на квартирахъ; на каждаго человѣка выдается отъ 3 до 4 шиллинговъ въ недѣлю. Мы прошли 60 или 80 большихъ и малыхъ комнатъ, въ которыхъ помѣщались прачешная, пивоваренная, булочная, мастерскія—столярныя, сапожныя, прядильни для льна, дѣтскія для младенцевъ, школа для дѣвочекъ, общія залы для стариковъ и для старухъ, мужская, женская и дѣтская больница, родовспомогательное заведеніе, отдѣленіе для сумасшедшихъ, спальни, столовыя, пріемныя, залы для прогулокъ и проч. Все это чисто и хорошо провѣтривается, но другіе рабочіе дома гораздо лучше видѣннаго мною. Дѣти имѣютъ здоровый видъ; но больные, сумасшедшіе и старики кажутся болѣе изнуренными, чѣмъ въ Италіи или во Франціи. Это приписываютъ климату и джину. Между прочимъ, я видѣлъ Пентонвиль, — тюрьму, гдѣ помѣщаются на испытаніе осужденные преступники. Они остаются здѣсь девять мѣсяцевъ и потомъ ихъ пересылаютъ по назначенію. Смотря по поведенію ихъ въ тюрьмѣ, наказаніе смягчается. Это удивительный—желѣзный—улей, отлично выстроенный и годный на выставку машинъ.

Я получилъ билетъ на смотръ волонтеровъ. Это также частное учрежденіе; англичане, понимая, что нужно имѣть войско на случай войны, идутъ въ волонтеры, экипируются и вооружаются на свой счетъ, безъ всякаго вмѣшательства и помощи центральной власти. Въ шесть мѣсяцевъ, у нихъ образовалось такимъ образомъ 130,000 чел. войска, а въ случаѣ надобности у нихъ найдется

200,000. Волонтеры ежедневно посвящаютъ полтора часа на военныя упражненія, а готовясь къ смотрамъ, употребляютъ на упражненія до 4-хъ часовъ въ сутки. Частныя приношенія на этотъ предметъ постоянно увеличиваются; сильные помогаютъ слабымъ. Одинъ герцогъ принималъ съ экстреннымъ поѣздомъ 2,000 своихъ рудокоповъ. Почти всѣ богатые и достаточные люди записаны въ волонтеры; ихъ клубъ называется: „За родной очагъ" (for hearth and home). Многія дамы покровительствуютъ ему. Смотръ происходилъ въ Гайдъ-Паркѣ. Новая милиція дѣйствовала очень хорошо. Солдаты одѣты просто, но практично; въ костюмахъ ихъ видимо имѣлось въ виду не щегольство, а свобода движеній. Это общество основалось вслѣдствіе необходимости въ усиленіи арміи.

Самоуправленіе, между прочими своими преимуществами, имѣетъ одно очень важное—это то, что оно приводитъ въ дѣятельность всѣ умственныя способности народа. Чѣмъ болѣе я наблюдаю и размышляю, тѣмъ болѣе убѣждаюсь въ томъ, что въ англійской правительственной системѣ служатъ пружинами не тѣ или другія учрежденія, но извѣстныя чувства, сильно укоренившіяся въ массахъ. Правительство это прочно, потому что общество глубоко чтитъ извѣстныя начала; оно дѣятельно и прогрессивно, потому что, за исключеніемъ этихъ началъ, остальное подлежитъ обсужденію, контролю и личной иниціативѣ. Такое прочное зданіе можетъ выдержать всякія нападенія. Никакія рѣчи, митинги, союзы не могутъ пошатнуть его, и по этому критика имѣетъ право быть энергичной, настойчивой, даже рѣзкой. Прочность учрежденія допускаетъ полную свободу контроля, и надо сознаться, что контроль дѣйствуетъ неумолимо, не останавливаясь ни передъ чѣмъ; всякій внѣшній и внутренній вопросъ разбирается со всѣхъ сторонъ до самыхъ мельчайшихъ подробностей. Контроль доходитъ до грубости; онъ выражается надменно, жестко, наставительно, съ вѣчною холодною ироніей, съ обдуманною, сдержанною страстностью. Въ день моего пріѣзда въ Лондонъ я видѣлъ разнощиковъ афишъ, которые были увѣшаны афишами слѣдующаго содержанія: „Страшное нарушеніе народныхъ правъ! Лорды заносятъ въ бюджетъ, не спросясь согласія народа, налогъ въ 450,000 ф. стер. Сограждане! подавайте петицію!"

Я былъ въ Палатѣ Лордовъ. Членовъ присутствовало немного; говорятъ, что бываетъ по 5—6 членовъ, за исключеніемъ важныхъ засѣданій, когда они всѣ собираются. Впрочемъ, пренія совершенно

излишни, потому что мнѣнія каждаго изъ членовъ напередъ извѣстны. Мнѣ назвали главныхъ пэровъ; всѣ они баснословно богаты; у одного 220,000 ф. ст. дохода съ земель; у другаго 300,000 д. земли; третьему принадлежитъ цѣлый кварталъ въ Лондонѣ, и 1,000,000 ф. ст. доходу. Герцогъ Сотерлэндъ владѣетъ въ сѣверной Шотландіи цѣлымъ графствомъ того же имени. Присутствуютъ три епископа, въ бѣлыхъ одеждахъ; но вообще обстановка парламента невнушительна. Одинъ изъ лордовъ — точно старая дипломатическая машина; другой похожъ на стараго библіотекаря; министръ похожъ на умнаго стряпчаго. Въ числѣ молодыхъ пэровъ есть изящные денди, съ проборомъ черезъ всю голову, и есть бородатые, точно странствующіе прикащики. Манеры у нихъ просты, можно подумать, что это простые буржуа собрались въ своемъ клубѣ; они сидятъ въ своихъ цилиндрическихъ шляпахъ, говорятъ съ своихъ мѣстъ, безъ жестовъ, не громко, какъ въ обыкновенномъ разговорѣ.

Въ палатѣ Общинъ засѣдаютъ съ 10-ти часовъ вечера до полуночи. Тамъ безцеремонность идетъ еще далѣе. Зала полна; всѣ въ шляпахъ; у однихъ шляпа на затылкѣ, у другихъ надвинута на лобъ. Нѣкоторые въ пальто; почти всѣ сидятъ, развалившись на скамьяхъ; одинъ почти лежитъ, двое или трое разстегнулись. Они входятъ, выходятъ, разговариваютъ безъ всякаго стѣсненія; еслибъ они держали себя такъ въ какомъ нибудь клубѣ, то клубъ не пользовался бы репутаціей приличнаго. Подлѣ насъ помѣстились многіе лорды изъ Верхней палаты; всѣ они одѣты небрежно; одинъ богатѣйшій лордъ—въ потертомъ сюртукѣ. Въ залѣ водворилась тишина; въ ней такъ тѣсно, что писать на столѣ невозможно, члены пишутъ на колѣнахъ. Некуда даже поставить стаканъ съ водой, члены, вставая, ставятъ его на свою скамью. Каждый говоритъ стоя, около своего мѣста; жестовъ очень мало.

Выборы въ палату происходятъ не совсѣмъ чисто. Кандидатъ нанимаетъ цѣлый домъ, или гостинницу; привозитъ избирателей въ своей каретѣ, угощаетъ ихъ, подряжаетъ крикуновъ и ораторовъ, которые говорятъ за него въ кабакахъ, или подкупаетъ людей съ сильными кулаками, которые забрасываютъ противника яблоками. Подчасъ выходятъ шумныя, буйныя сцены. Выборы обыкновенно обходятся дорого. Парламентъ допускаетъ нѣкоторые расходы, и если сумма не превышаетъ 500 ф. ст., то это даже не считается подкупомъ. Нерѣдко партія дѣлаетъ складчину для этого предмета; бываетъ, что из-

держки доходятъ до 6,000 ф. ст. и болѣе. Для того, чтобы избиратель побезпокоился и пріѣхалъ на выборы, нужно дать ему что-нибудь положительное—мѣсто или обѣщаніе мѣста; нужно кормить его хорошими обѣдами, поить хорошими винами, а иногда предложить и деньги. Случалось такъ, что явныя издержки по выборамъ составляли 460 ф. ст., а тайныя 3,700. Но главная сила кандидата заключается въ его мѣстномъ вліяніи, богатствѣ, древности рода, долгомъ владѣніи землей и въ покровительствѣ, которое его фамилія оказывала жителямъ своей общины. „Въ Англіи—говоритъ одинъ романистъ, хорошій наблюдатель—люди слишкомъ расположены усвоивать себѣ мнѣнія людей высшаго полета, дозволять руководить собою". Во Франціи мы видимъ совершенно противное.

VII.

Въ Лондонѣ умъ и талантъ теряютъ 25 процентовъ. Здѣсь первое мѣсто занимаетъ аристократія родовая или денежная. Артисты, писатели остаются на второмъ планѣ, исключая 5—6 особенно знаменитыхъ; ихъ принимаютъ въ общество, въ видѣ исключенія, какъ львовъ, какъ любопытное явленіе.

Заглянемъ въ «Punch» и сравнимъ его съ французскими каррикатурными листками. Въ Англіи вы не найдете ни одной каррикатуры на лоретокъ; у насъ онѣ безчисленны; мы дурно поступаемъ: лучше не показывать своихъ язвъ. Гаварни говорилъ: „Я ненавижу лоретокъ, потому что люблю женщинъ"; онъ на тысячу ладовъ подсмѣивается надъ кокотками, но онѣ такъ прелестны у него, что нечувствительно оставляютъ вредное впечатлѣніе. Вы не найдете также въ англійскихъ листкахъ ни одной каррикатуры на невѣрность мужа или жены; напротивъ, они изображаютъ только супружескую нѣжность. Вотъ напримѣръ: возвращеніе мужей домой въ субботу вечеромъ. Платформа покрыта женщинами, большею частью молодыми, съ радостными лицами; дѣти танцуютъ отъ удовольствія, какая встрѣча! Посмотрите, для контраста, тотъ же сюжетъ въ рукахъ французскаго художника: поѣздъ мужей, отправляющихся въ Трепоръ или въ Труваль. Вмѣсто незаконной любви, у нихъ любовь дозволенная даетъ цѣлый рядъ сюжетовъ, которыхъ наши живописцы и не касаются никогда. Многіе рисунки изображаютъ маленькія продѣлки молодаго человѣка и молодой

дѣвушки, которые, почти или совсѣмъ, порѣшили вопросъ о свадьбѣ.—На берегу моря, Теодоръ и Емилія сидятъ за выступомъ набережной, воображая, что ихъ никто не видитъ; Теодоръ, стоя на колѣняхъ, цѣлуетъ ручку Емиліи. Они забыли о подвижномъ оптическомъ зеркалѣ, которое уже давно наведено на нихъ, и въ которое смотритъ цѣлое общество. Насмѣшка добродушна; авторъ видимо желалъ бы быть на ихъ мѣстѣ. Онъ старается выставить ихъ въ лучшемъ видѣ, хорошо одѣтыми, хорошо воспитанными; его молодыя дѣвушки прекрасны, „Punch“ въ восхищеніи отъ ихъ распущенныхъ бѣлокурыхъ волосъ. Замѣтьте, что у него все благопристойно: въ кавалькадахъ, на водѣ, въ вѣтреную погоду карандашъ его ничего не открываетъ; если онъ касается платья женщины, то лишь затѣмъ, чтобъ опустить его. По той же причинѣ и волокитство почтительно: обожатель держитъ платокъ, сморкаетъ маленькаго братца; онъ не побѣдитель, онъ скорѣе побѣжденный, дѣвушки бранятъ его и помыкаютъ имъ. Въ перспективѣ непремѣнно свадьба. Но вотъ и супруги; посмотримъ на семейныя картины. Въ нихъ нѣтъ горькой ироніи и отталкивающихъ сценъ; нѣтъ нахмуренныхъ буржуа, капризныхъ деспотовъ — дѣтей. Въ дѣтской шумъ: четыре мальчика и столько же дѣвочекъ играютъ въ солдаты, бѣгаютъ, барабанятъ, но какія розовыя щечки! Какой веселый этотъ народъ! Двѣ маленькія дѣвочки гуляютъ въ саду; онѣ пресерьезно просятъ свою бабушку попрыгать съ ними черезъ веревочку. Дѣвочка отыскала ножницы и преважно стрижетъ своего братишку, которому хочется быть такимъ же плѣшивымъ, какъ дѣдушка. Рожественскій вечеръ: въ большой залѣ, ярко освѣщенной и украшенной хмѣлемъ, дѣдушка танцуетъ визави съ своей шестилѣтней внучкой, которая весело и съ плутовской ужимкой присѣдаетъ передъ нимъ. Во всемъ проглядываютъ прелести семейной жизни. Правда, у отца много хлопотъ: 6—8—10 человѣкъ дѣтей, и ежегодно число ихъ увеличивается; отцу уже 50 лѣтъ, голова у него лысая, животъ изрядный, а дѣтей—какъ муравьевъ. Младшій только-что отнятъ отъ груди, и этотъ быть можетъ еще не послѣдній. Цѣлый полкъ тетушекъ, бабушекъ наполняетъ и безъ того полный домъ. *Pater familias* оттѣсненъ на лѣстницу и обѣдаетъ на ступеняхъ. У француза выступаетъ холодный потъ при одной мысли о подобномъ счастьи. Сколько возни съ такой семьей! Надо везти ее на воды, устроить ее, обо всемъ позаботиться: объ

обѣдѣ, о платьѣ, о воспитаніи, здровьи, объ удовольствіяхъ, а главное, о поддержаніи согласія и дисциплины. Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, подобная семья, съ придачей слугъ и служанокъ, составляетъ цѣлое государство и отецъ—начальникъ ея, судья, повелитель. Я видѣлъ въ деревняхъ семейства изъ тридцати человѣкъ хозяевъ и прислуги; прибавьте 20 крестьянскихъ дворовъ; двѣнадцать лошадей въ конюшнѣ; неподалеку ферму; при такихъ условіяхъ современный джентльменъ не многимъ отличается отъ своего предка — феодальнаго барона; конечно, это довольно рѣдкіе случаи; но и въ горожанинѣ и въ лондонскомъ отцѣ находишь черты той же власти. Онъ твердъ въ своемъ авторитетѣ, онъ на первомъ планѣ, не такъ какъ во Франціи; сознавая свою отвѣтственность, онъ управляетъ добросовѣстно. Вотъ, напримѣръ, онъ рѣшилъ ввести у себя леченіе водой; бѣдныхъ ребятъ облачаютъ въ длинныя рубашки и въ клеенчатые чепцы и ставятъ одного за другимъ, дрожащихъ, испуганныхъ, подъ холодный душъ. Подошла зима; нужно всему семейству крѣпкую экономическую обувь. Пришелъ башмачникъ, и подъ родительскимъ наблюденіемъ, дѣвочки, съ отчаяніемъ въ душѣ, надѣваютъ на свои ножки огромныя ботинки, подбитыя гвоздями. Родителю угодно провести нѣсколько дней на берегу моря, но подчиняться правиламъ гостинницы ему непріятно. Каррикатура изображаетъ его устроившимся на берегу моря; купальныя кареты служатъ спальнями, обѣдъ готовятъ на чистомъ воздухѣ; мамаша, тетушка, дѣти—всѣ принимаютъ участіе въ этомъ дѣлѣ; 20-лѣтній сынъ съ сигарою въ зубахъ чиститъ овощи. Отецъ, съ довольнымъ видомъ и насмѣшливою улыбкой, наблюдаетъ и руководитъ. Глядя на него, убѣждаешься, что онъ не привыкъ встрѣчать противорѣчіе. Его осанка, взглядъ, руки въ карманахъ, его важность, флегматическіе, медленные жесты, рѣдкія слова—все обнаруживаетъ въ немъ полное сознаніе своей законной, неоспоримой власти. Я согласенъ, что это фантазія, утрировка, каррикатура—все что угодно, но тѣмъ не менѣе, она поучительна; всматриваясь въ эти сцены, мы понимаемъ англійскую жизнь, понимаемъ, почему англичане, имѣя по полдюжинѣ дѣтей, умѣютъ такъ хорошо управлять ими. Вотъ еще своеобразные типы — англійскіе слуги. Классъ этотъ очень многочисленъ въ Англіи и въ каждомъ зажиточномъ семействѣ бываетъ много слугъ; поэтому художникъ часто выводитъ ихъ на сцену. Онъ рисуетъ непріятности ихъ положенія. Важная, гордая старуха съ

собачкой гуляетъ по парку, за ней идетъ лакей. „Джонъ!“—„Милэди?“—„Возьмите Бьюти—бѣдняжка устала“. Та же сцена между молоденькой дѣвушкой и ея горничной. У послѣдней уже двѣ собаки на рукахъ, а барышня говоритъ: „Паркеръ, надо-бы взять и Пуннети, онъ замочилъ ноги!“ Идетъ проливной дождь; скупой лордъ спокойно сидитъ въ своей каретѣ и спрашиваетъ своихъ лакеевъ, съ которыхъ вода льетъ ручьями: „Есть у васъ зонтики?“—„Нѣтъ, милордъ.“—„Ну, такъ снимите ваши шляпы и подайте ихъ мнѣ въ карету“. На основаніи нѣкоторыхъ фактовъ, я думаю, что во Франціи со слугами обращаются гуманнѣе, хотя и не окружаютъ ихъ такимъ комфортомъ, какъ въ Англіи; въ нихъ болѣе уважаютъ человѣческое достоинство, и ливрея не такъ унижаетъ ихъ. Во всемъ можно подмѣтить разницу между страной іерархической и страной равенства. Но художникъ изображаетъ и смѣшныя стороны лакеевъ. При господствѣ аристократическаго начала, каждое сословіе имѣетъ подъ собой сословіе болѣе низкое и гордится передъ нимъ, боится, чтобы его не смѣшали съ нимъ. Теккерей прекрасно изображаетъ эти черты. Въ Англіи онѣ такъ же развиты между прислугой, какъ и между господами, и нѣтъ ничего глупѣе лакейской гордости. Слуга объявляетъ лорду, что не хочетъ болѣе служить ему, потому что лордъ ѣхалъ на имперіалѣ омнибуса. Слуга изъявляетъ свое согласіе носить угли въ дѣтскую: „Если милэди проситъ меня сдѣлать въ видѣ одолженія, то я буду носить; но надѣюсь, что милэди не приметъ меня за служанку“. Лакеи считаютъ себя джентльменами, потому что они хорошо одѣты, красивы, откормлены и пользуются комфортомъ. Они деликатны, берегутъ себя и желаютъ имѣть хорошія манеры. Вотъ лакей въ коляскѣ, просматривающій свою книжку съ замѣтками о пари. Другаго зовутъ ѣхать за каретой, но онъ отвѣчаетъ, небрежно развалившись: „Если милэди находитъ, что ѣхать не жарко, то пускай ѣдетъ, а я не поѣду, потому что мнѣ жарко!“ „Джэнъ“, говоритъ молодая женщина своей горничной, меня удивляетъ, что никто не всталъ, когда я вошла въ кухню“. Камеристка, поднявъ голову, надменно отвѣчаетъ: „Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, милэди? Мы тоже были удивлены, что вы пришли въ кухню въ то время, когда мы завтракали“. Но чтобъ судить, нужно видѣть эти фигуры, эти жесты, эту брюзгливую физіономію старой служанки, которую за безобразіе никто не взялъ замужъ, эту важность, самодоволь-

ство, величіе и вмѣстѣ раболѣпіе лакея, который знаетъ, что онъ красивъ.

Удовольствія англичанъ бываютъ преимущественно атлетическія; стоитъ взглянуть въ альбомы, чтобъ убѣдиться, что страсть къ лошадямъ и опаснымъ охотамъ есть нѣчто національное. Надъ робкими и неловкими мужчинами смѣются такъ же, какъ и надъ знатными иностранцами, которые не находятъ удовольствія въ томъ, чтобы ломать себѣ шею. Англичанамъ съ дѣтства говорятъ: „ты долженъ быть мужчиной"; съ дѣтства вкореняютъ въ него убѣжденіе, что онъ не долженъ выказывать ни малѣйшей слабости; отъ него требуютъ смѣлости, предпріимчивости, его учатъ быть покровителемъ слабыхъ женщинъ. Крошечный мальчуганъ говоритъ толстой лэди, испугавшейся стада быковъ: „Не бойтесь, спрячьтесь за меня". Другой, 6-лѣтній, гарцуетъ на своемъ пони и кричитъ своимъ взрослымъ сестрамъ, которыя стоятъ на балконѣ: „эй вы, дѣвочки: если хотите покататься по морскому берегу, то я васъ провожу.» Старый деревенскій джентльменъ имѣетъ видъ откормленнаго борова, напоминающаго своего дѣдушку кабана. Надутый англійскій присяжный отправляется на засѣданіе; онъ видимо объѣлся, какъ животное, а жена суетъ ему въ карманъ еще разныя закуски. Какъ извѣстно, присяжныхъ не выпускаютъ, пока не кончится судъ и они не вынесутъ единогласнаго приговора; голодъ дѣлаетъ ихъ сговорчивѣе, потому что для англійскихъ желудковъ нѣтъ ничего ужаснѣе голода.

Вотъ въ главныхъ чертахъ портретъ англичанина: ребенкомъ онъ похожъ на толстыхъ мальчишекъ Рубенса, или скорѣе Іордана, вдобавокъ съ сердитой физіономіей бульдога; возмужавши, онъ дѣлается похожъ на мясника. Подъ 50 лѣтъ англичане сильно толстѣютъ, пріобрѣтаютъ большіе животы, короткія шеи, висячій подбородокъ, крѣпкія челюсти, словомъ у нихъ всѣ признаки сильно развитаго пищеварительнаго снаряда. Веселый или нахмуренный взглядъ изъ-подъ нависшихъ бровей и общее выраженіе лица обличаютъ сильную натуру и холерическій темпераментъ; при этомъ здравый смыслъ, благородство, стойкость, прилежаніе, словомъ всѣ качества характера, благодаря которымъ англичанинъ благоденствуетъ въ жизни и дѣлается если не пріятнымъ, то во всякомъ случаѣ полезнымъ.

Совершенно противоположенъ этому типъ англійскаго артиста. Извѣстно, насколько у французовъ артистъ стоитъ выше бур-

жуа; въ Англіи напротивъ: музыканты цѣнятся наравнѣ съ учеными обезьянами. Артисту-музыканту платятъ за то, „что онъ побрянчалъ въ гостиной“. Художники—народъ бородатый, непричесанный, дурно одѣтый, дурно воспитанный, ктому же съ претензіями. Еще не такъ давно англичанамъ нужно было доказывать, что ремесло артиста, художника, точно такъ же благородно, какъ ремесло адвоката. Это послѣднее дается въ Англіи безъ большаго труда; человѣку, никогда не изучавшему юридическихъ наукъ, довольно одного года практики у laweyr, чтобъ получить право заниматься адвокатурой. Въ Англіи всего шесть юридическихъ профессоровъ и выходные экзамены не обязательны. Спеціальной политехнической школы здѣсь тоже нѣтъ: кто желаетъ сдѣлаться инженеромъ, тотъ поступаетъ къ инженеру и учится, практикуясь, какъ маляръ у живописца. Отсутствіе предварительнаго теоретическаго изученія и высшаго систематическаго образованія составляетъ чисто національную черту англичанъ, для которыхъ главное—опытность и практика. Впрочемъ, прослѣдить цѣлый курсъ юридическаго права было бы очень трудно здѣсь. Въ Англіи нѣтъ собственно кодекса, а есть просто собраніе уставовъ и постановленій, вошедшихъ въ силу, часто противорѣчащихъ одно другому, такъ что юристъ долженъ примѣнять ихъ по своему усмотрѣнію. Нѣкоторые изъ законовѣдовъ—адвокаты, прокуроры, атторнеи,—получаютъ отъ 20,000 до 35,000 ф. ст. годоваго дохода. Какъ уголовные, такъ и гражданскіе процессы, рѣшаются съ участіемъ присяжныхъ; но они разсматриваютъ дѣло только съ фактической стороны, не касаясь юридической. Въ гражданскихъ дѣлахъ они участвуютъ по просьбѣ тяжущихся и получаютъ за это извѣстное вознагражденіе.

Я присутствовалъ при трехъ процессахъ въ вестминстерскомъ судѣ. Первое дѣло было о разводѣ, по просьбѣ жены; дѣла подобнаго рода перестали уже быть достояніемъ однихъ аристократовъ; теперь издержки по разводу не превышаютъ 25 или 30 ф. ст. Отчеты о разводахъ наполняютъ газеты и открываютъ интересныя стороны англійскихъ нравовъ; они приподнимаютъ завѣсу надъ деспотизмомъ и грубостью мужей, составляющими несчастіе англійскихъ браковъ. Здѣшніе адвокаты исполняютъ вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ и обязанности судебныхъ слѣдователей. Во время засѣданія, они ходатайствуютъ, защищаютъ и въ тоже время допрашиваютъ и передопрашиваютъ каждаго свидѣтеля. Свидѣтеля допрашиваютъ защитники обѣихъ

сторонъ, стараясь сбить, спутать его, поймать на какомъ-нибудь противорѣчіи. Нѣтъ ничего непріятнѣе, какъ попасть въ свидѣтели предъ англійскимъ судомъ. Такимъ образомъ вся тягость процесса падаетъ на адвоката; судья только руководитъ допросомъ, контролируетъ и служитъ примирителемъ, какъ королева—примирительницей партій въ парламентѣ. Подсудимая сидѣла особо за рѣшеткою; она была изъ простаго класса и отвѣчала на всѣ вопросы твердо и обдуманно, но выражаясь по простонародному. Она видимо удерживалась, чтобъ не разрыдаться. Ей предложили вопросъ, не била-ли она мужа щипцами, не затѣвала-ли она сама ссоры съ мужемъ. Она наклонила голову, подумала съ минуту и потомъ съ увѣренностью отвѣтила: *нѣтъ, никогда*. Надо почитать отчеты уголовныхъ засѣданій, чтобы понять, какая высокая обязанность лежитъ на судьѣ и какъ свято она выполняется. Въ англійскихъ судьяхъ вовсе не проявляется желанія подставить ногу подсудимому, отмстить за общество; они не обнаруживаютъ инстинктовъ охотника, стерегущаго дичь. Англійскій законъ предписываетъ считать человѣка невиновнымъ, пока преступность его не доказана положительно. Согласно духу закона, судья произноситъ приговоръ съ убѣжденіемъ и безпристрастіемъ. Онъ не преувеличиваетъ значенія уликъ, не скрываетъ, что онѣ слабы. Выраженія его обдуманны и умѣренны. Но всякая хорошая вещь имѣетъ свою дурную сторону; въ силу англійскаго законодательства, виновный пользуется покровительствомъ, въ ущербъ обществу. Здѣсь очень трудно представить законныя доказательства виновности, и преступники часто остаются не наказанными.

Въ Англіи лучшее общество не посѣщаетъ театровъ, за исключеніемъ двухъ оперъ, гдѣ цѣны безумно высоки. Въ оперу ѣздятъ не иначе, какъ въ бальныхъ костюмахъ. Остальные театры посѣщаются простымъ народомъ и низшей буржуазіей. Оригинальныхъ пьесъ теперь въ Англіи не даютъ, а даются только переведенныя, или передѣланныя съ французскаго. Это удивляетъ меня; англичане—мастера подмѣчать и изображать характеры, которые такъ своеобразны у нихъ и стоютъ того, чтобъ ихъ выводили на сцену. Въ веселости и юморѣ у нихъ также нѣтъ недостатка.

Жизнь въ Англіи вообще не дорога, если умѣешь довольствоваться необходимымъ. Одинъ мой знакомый тратитъ всего 10 фр. въ день; его обѣдъ, состоящій изъ пива, ростбифа, картофеля, спаржи, пирога

и сыра, стоитъ два шиллинга; квартира состоитъ изъ двухъ комнатъ, очень чистыхъ и приличныхъ. Другой мой знакомый платитъ за хорошую комнату съ прислугой и завтракомъ по одной гинеѣ въ недѣлю. Подлѣ Реджентсъ-Парка можно нанять цѣлый домъ за 100 ф. въ годъ. Но для тѣхъ, кто желаетъ жить роскошнѣе, цѣны выростаютъ до громадныхъ размѣровъ. Всѣ предметы роскоши: опера, охота, изящная обстановка доступны только богатымъ людямъ, что служитъ новымъ разграниченіемъ между богатымъ и бѣднымъ. Пьянство страшно развито среди народа: на тротуарахъ часто валяются пьяные. Мнѣ говорилъ одинъ пасторъ, что изъ 10 рабочихъ—8 пьяницъ. Въ Лондонѣ они зарабатываютъ до 2-хъ ф. ст. въ недѣлю и, получивъ заработокъ, пьянствуютъ по 3—4 дня. Пьянство доводитъ ихъ до меланхоліи, до сумасшествія: понятно, что въ Англіи очень много обществъ трезвости и воздержанія.

Ихъ энергическая пропаганда приноситъ огромную пользу. Во многихъ улицахъ я видѣлъ картины, которыя издаются этими обществами; вотъ сюжетъ этихъ картинъ: Пьяница, искаженный и потерявшій человѣческій образъ, окруженъ чертенятами, которые по клочкамъ рвутъ его сердце и мозгъ; главный чортъ показываетъ ему бутылку джину, на которой написано: „My best spirit“.

VIII.

Чтобъ получить надлежащее понятіе объ англійской дѣятельности, нужно побывать въ главныхъ промышленныхъ городахъ; съ этою цѣлью я отправился въ Манчестеръ. Подъѣзжая къ нему, я увидѣлъ какое-то тяжелое, странной формы облако, стоявшее надъ городомъ. Подъ этимъ сводомъ поднимались, точно обелиски, высокія трубы и тянулась нескончаемая темная масса строеній. Это былъ настоящій кирпичный Вавилонъ. Вблизи Манчестеръ показался еще мрачнѣе; земля и воздухъ пропитаны туманомъ и копотью. Фабрики тянутся одна за другой; всѣ онѣ построены изъ темнаго кирпича, съ окнами безъ ставень, и похожи на огромныя тюрьмы. Глядя на нихъ, вспоминаешь о казармахъ, о рабочихъ домахъ на 400,000 чел., о тюрьмахъ для каторжниковъ. Одно изъ нихъ шестиэтажное, а въ этажѣ по 40 оконъ. Въ этомъ зданіи, при оглушительномъ шумѣ станковъ, при свѣтѣ газа, цѣлый день

стоитъ милліонъ людей, безмолвно двигающихъ машины; можетъ-ли быть что нибудь болѣе ужасное, болѣе противное человѣческой природѣ? Къ 6-ти часамъ вечера, изъ мастерскихъ выходитъ шумная толпа; мужчины, женщины, дѣти запружаютъ улицы. Всѣ они грязны, многія дѣти босикомъ; у всѣхъ изнуренныя, мрачныя фигуры. Одни останавливаются подлѣ винныхъ погребовъ, другіе расползаются по своимъ норамъ. Около предмѣстья настроены однимъ обществомъ маленькіе домики. Темная улица вымощена желѣзными опилками, дома низки, но по крайней мѣрѣ каждая семья у себя дома; туманъ въ предмѣстьи не такъ густъ, дома не скучены такъ, какъ въ городѣ. Здѣсь живутъ любимцы судьбы, счастливчики.

Я былъ въ Манчестерѣ лѣтомъ, въ лучшее время года; какова же должна быть жизнь тамъ зимой, когда густой туманъ душитъ, поглощаетъ всю природу, когда чувствуешь, какъ тяготѣетъ надъ человѣкомъ этотъ безжалостный климатъ и это ярмо— промышленность!

Жизнь владѣльцевъ фабрикъ или торговыхъ домовъ можно сравнить съ жизнью какого-нибудь владѣтельнаго принца. Дѣйствительно, въ ихъ рукахъ такіе капиталы, такія большія предпріятія, на нихъ лежитъ такая отвѣтственность, что они не уступаютъ владѣтельнымъ принцамъ ни въ значеніи, ни въ гордости. Они имѣютъ во всѣхъ частяхъ свѣта своихъ уполномоченныхъ и представителей, обязанныхъ слѣдить день за днемъ за состояніемъ и финансами всѣхъ близкихъ и дальнихъ странъ. Фабриканты содержатъ толпы рабочихъ и могли бы быть благодѣтелями милліоновъ людей. Они распоряжаются народнымъ трудомъ. „*Милліонъ*“, „*пол-милліона*“ — вотъ самыя употребительныя слова въ ихъ разговорахъ. Они снаряжаютъ экспедиціи, чтобъ осмотрѣть какую-нибудь часть свѣта, отправляютъ товары въ Японію, въ Китай, въ Австралію, въ Египетъ, въ Ново-Зеландію; предпринимаютъ разведеніе овецъ, акклиматизацію чайнаго дерева, разведеніе хлопка въ какой-нибудь новой странѣ. Ихъ склады тканей можно сравнить съ вавилонскими монументами; одинъ такой складъ имѣетъ 102 метра длины; тюки поднимаются паровой машиной. На иной бумагопрядильной фабрикѣ 300,000 станковъ. По точнымъ свѣдѣніямъ о привозѣ сырья и о вывозѣ бумажныхъ издѣлій, манчестерскій округъ получалъ, впродолженіи двухъ лѣтъ, по 500,000,000

фр. въ мѣсяцъ чистаго дохода, и до сихъ поръ еще получаетъ по 250,000,000 фр. Капиталы здѣсь громадны, а во всемірной промышленной борьбѣ побѣда всегда остается за крупными капиталами.

Организація фабрикъ превосходна; рабочіе прилежны и повинуются заведенному порядку; управляющій исправенъ; въ назначенный часъ онъ уже на своемъ мѣстѣ; машины превосходны; можно безошибочно вычислить сумму ихъ производительности. Рабочіе, управляющій, машины, коммиссіонеры — всѣ дѣйствуютъ правильно, непрерывно, какъ будто хорошо заведенныя и подмазанныя колеса. Хозяинъ ежедневно проводитъ часа 4 въ мастерскихъ и въ своей кассѣ, — и этого вполнѣ достаточно. Дисциплина и исправность подчиненныхъ довершаютъ остальное. Но нищета бѣдныхъ классовъ въ этихъ промышленныхъ городахъ еще ужаснѣе, чѣмъ въ Лондонѣ; апогею нищеты представляетъ Бельфастъ въ Ирландіи, гдѣ вечеромъ, по выходѣ изъ фабрикъ, дѣвушки босикомъ, безъ рубашекъ, въ однихъ сѣрыхъ рабочихъ блузахъ, стоятъ на тротуарахъ, въ надеждѣ прибавить развратомъ хотя нѣсколько пенсовъ къ своему дневному заработку.

Вотъ два выдающіеся типа рабочихъ: одинъ—атлетъ, откормленный не въ мѣру, плечистый, мускулистый, неповоротливый. Говорятъ, это портеръ такъ сильно развиваетъ мускулы. Нельзя не удивляться, глядя на эти широкія спины, выпуклыя груди, мясистыя плечи. Иные буквально гиганты, пудовъ шести и болѣе; подобные типы чаще всего встрѣчаются на чугунныхъ заводахъ. Второй типъ—флегматикъ; онъ встрѣчается повсюду, но особенно на бумаго-прядильныхъ фабрикахъ. Блѣдное лице, глаза тусклые, взглядъ неподвижный, холодный, движенія плавныя, медленныя, разсчитанныя. Люди этого темперамента не дѣлаютъ большихъ усилій, и потому слывутъ лучшими работниками; это машины, двигающія машинами. Французскій рабочій работаетъ первый часъ отлично, второй хуже, третій еще хуже, а послѣдній уже не дѣлаетъ ничего путнаго. Его мускульная сила ослабѣваетъ и въ особенности его вниманіе утомляется. Здѣсь же, напротивъ, рабочій работаетъ одинаково во всѣ часы, при томъ же робочій день состоитъ изъ 10, а не 12 часовъ, какъ у насъ. Въ Англіи потребно вдвое меньше рабочихъ, чѣмъ во Франціи, для производства одинаковаго количества работы. Но зато во Франціи рабочіе гораздо искуснѣе во многихъ ремеслахъ и обладаютъ болѣе тонкимъ и изящнымъ вкусомъ.

Не смотря на прочность англійскихъ произведеній, французы неохотно покупаютъ ихъ, единственно потому, что онѣ не изящны на видъ. Тонкость чувства и живость воображенія мѣшаютъ французу быть усидчивымъ, если работа монотонна; онъ не можетъ дѣйствовать какъ рабочая лошадь; онъ спѣшитъ, останавливается и увлекается фантазіей. На чугунныхъ заводахъ лучшіе рабочіе получаютъ отъ 33 до 35 шиллинговъ въ недѣлю; остальные отъ 15 до 20 шил. На бумагопрядильныхъ фабрикахъ мужчина заработываетъ отъ 16 до 28 шил. въ недѣлю, а женщины и дѣти—отъ 7 до 12 шил. Средній заработокъ взрослаго человѣка въ Ланкаширѣ состоитъ изъ 20 шил.; одинокій рабочій можетъ прожить на 10 шил. въ недѣлю; но если у него жена и 4 дѣтей, то онъ проживетъ не менѣе 30 шил.; доходъ не превышаетъ расхода и семья рабочаго едва сводитъ концы съ концами; въ случаѣ же какого-нибудь несчастія — болѣзни, потери мѣста—семья подвергается страшной нищетѣ. Только лучшіе и искуснѣйшіе изъ рабочихъ могутъ существовать безбѣдно. Положеніе рабочихъ классовъ особенно затрудняется слѣдующими причинами: дурнымъ климатомъ, вызывающимъ необходимость много тратить на топливо, освѣщеніе, мясо и спиртные напитки; огромной конкуренціей, принуждающей работать до истощенія силъ, чтобъ удержаться на своемъ мѣстѣ. При такихъ условіяхъ, надо много усилій, чтобъ удержаться на поверхности; при малѣйшей оплошности идешь ко дну, а дно здѣсь ужасно. Еще одна причина нищеты рабочихъ: ихъ плодовитость. У нихъ родится, среднимъ числомъ, отъ 4 до 6 дѣтей; есть семьи, въ которыхъ по 15 и даже по 18 дѣтей. До 10 лѣтъ ребенокъ только потребляетъ и ничего не производитъ. Если положить только по 4 ребенка на семью, оставшихся въ живыхъ, то нужно, чтобъ развитіе торговли удвоивалось черезъ каждыя 30 лѣтъ, или чтобъ половина народонаселенія эмигрировала. Затѣмъ остается еще рискъ потерять мѣсто,—рискъ, неизбѣжный въ ремесленномъ мірѣ. То какая-нибудь отрасль мануфактуры, на которую разсчитывали, падаетъ вслѣдствіе усовершенствованія ея въ сосѣдней странѣ, то фабрики закрываются по случаю голода, войны или перемѣны моды; то затѣвается стачка и сотни тысячъ рабочихъ остаются между небомъ и землей, безъ работы и безъ хлѣба; но самое ужасное несчастіе, какое можетъ постигнуть рабочаго — это страсть къ водкѣ, чему не мало способ-

ствуетъ и самый климатъ. Въ такомъ климатѣ человѣку необходимо согрѣться, оживиться, хотя на минуту забыть свою грустную, тяжелую жизнь. Всѣ эти причины, вмѣстѣ взятыя, лишаютъ рабочаго всякой возможности достигнуть благосостоянія, сдѣлаться самому купцемъ или капиталистомъ. Мнѣ говорилъ человѣкъ, вращающійся между рабочими болѣе 26 лѣтъ, что такихъ счастливцевъ приходится всего 5%; остальные умираютъ въ больницахъ, въ рабочихъ домахъ, или на попеченіи своихъ дѣтей. Вообще фабричная производительность истощаетъ народонаселеніе; такъ, напримѣръ, въ Манчестерѣ народъ гораздо слабѣе, чѣмъ въ новомъ городѣ Ольдгэмѣ. Большая часть англійскихъ рабочихъ работаетъ на фабрикахъ; къ земледѣлію также примѣнена фабричная система. Чтобъ сравнить положеніе англійскаго рабочаго съ положеніемъ французскаго крестьянина, нужно обратить вниманіе на ихъ нравы. Французскій крестьянинъ, воздержный, замкнутый въ своей узкой сферѣ, придерживающійся рутины, почти всегда владѣетъ клочкомъ земли, т. е. видимымъ капиталомъ, источникомъ жизни, обезпечивающимъ его спокойствіе. Къ тому же, сельскія занятія и вольное хлѣбопашество дѣлаютъ жизнь гораздо естественнѣе и непринужденнѣе. Но зато англійскій рабочій, особенно городской, гораздо развитѣе, онъ имѣетъ гораздо болѣе соціальныхъ, политическихъ, религіозныхъ свѣдѣній; его кругозоръ шире; онъ любознателенъ, слушаетъ разсужденія о серьезныхъ вопросахъ. Недавно какой-то путешествующій біографъ прочиталъ двѣ лекціи о Маколеѣ; цѣна за входъ была полтора шиллинга—и все же зала была полна рабочими. Въ Лондонѣ читались рабочимъ безплатныя лекціи о пользѣ геологіи. Умственному развитію рабочихъ способствуетъ еще и то, что они, попавъ въ этотъ громадный организмъ, чувствуютъ свою зависимость отъ другихъ и, вслѣдствіе этого, сближаясь съ своими товарищами, выходятъ изъ своей замкнутой жизни.

Мнѣ разсказывали, что нѣсколько лѣтъ назадъ 25 рабочихъ, имѣвшихъ каждый по 30 шилинг. сбереженій, вступили въ ассоціацію, чтобъ дѣлать машины. Сначала у нихъ не было никакихъ заказовъ, они условились тратить не болѣе 3 шиллинг. въ недѣлю, т. е. голодать съ семьей, но не покидать своего дѣла. Наконецъ, явился покупатель и заинтересовался предпріятіемъ, убѣдившись, что машина хороша. Это привлекло къ ассоціаціи публику и подняло ея кредитъ. Теперь она процвѣтаетъ. Двѣнадцать менѣе искус-

ныхъ членовъ отдѣлились отъ нея и основали отдѣльное общество, по своему собственному плану. Сначала они управляли своимъ заводомъ по очереди, теперь же избираютъ себѣ въ начальники одного изъ самыхъ искусныхъ рабочихъ, который ежегодно раздаетъ членамъ по нѣскольку фунтовъ стерл. дивиденду. Но большая часть барышей откладывается на расширеніе предпріятія, которое уже цѣнится теперь въ 5—6,000 фунт. стерлинг. Управляющій не получаетъ никакого вознагражденія, всѣ члены работаютъ или надзираютъ за работами въ мастерскихъ, ни одинъ не вышелъ изъ общества и не желаетъ сдѣлаться празднымъ буржуа. Въ тотъ день, когда я былъ въ Ольдгэмѣ, тамъ праздновалось основаніе ассоціаціи. Члены устроили процессію съ флагами и на одномъ изъ флаговъ были изображены портреты основателей, а по срединѣ всевидящее око, окруженное девизами, гласившими, что члены ассоціаціи не требуютъ ничего, кромѣ справедливости. Улицы были полны народа; дѣти и женщины бѣжали по сторонамъ и замыкали шествіе. Женщины здѣсь полныя и свѣжія; у нихъ прекрасныя, обнаженныя руки, широкія плечи, полная грудь, не красивое, но крѣпкое тѣлосложеніе, которымъ отличаются даже худощавыя. Онѣ стояли группами у дверей, въ то время, какъ мужья ихъ пировали.

Здѣсь, какъ и во всякомъ фабричномъ городѣ, цѣль всякой ассоціаціи — возвысить рабочую силу. Всѣ онѣ имѣютъ сношенія между собой и центральною конторою въ Лондонѣ. Если какая нибудь ассоціація вступаетъ въ стачку, то мѣстная касса помогаетъ членамъ ея, и сверхъ того ихъ поддерживаетъ также центральная касса, если коммисія находитъ причины стачки уважительными. Каждый рабочій обязанъ вносить еженедѣльно въ кассу по одному шиллингу и, кромѣ того, не имѣетъ права работать дешевле установленной платы. Зато въ случаѣ потери работы или болѣзни, рабочіе получаютъ помощь изъ общественныхъ суммъ. Каждую недѣлю собираются засѣданія, но пренія ихъ и постановленія сохраняются въ тайнѣ. Президенты, казначеи и другія должностныя лица баллотируются и не получаютъ никакого вознагражденія; каждый членъ въ свою очередь исполняетъ какую нибудь должность. Эти общества основаны на очень прочныхъ началахъ; капиталъ центральной кассы простирается до нѣсколькихъ милліоновъ, и ассоціація можетъ поддерживать рабочихъ, неимѣющихъ

работы, въ теченіи полугода и даже цѣлаго года. Рабочаго, который выйдетъ изъ общества или откажется вступить въ него, считаютъ измѣнникомъ; съ нимъ обращаются какъ съ зачумленнымъ; съ нимъ никто не говоритъ, ему не отвѣчаютъ; онъ осужденъ на нравственное одиночество.

Замѣчательно, что эти общества никогда не уклоняются отъ своей цѣли; цѣль же у нихъ одна: увеличеніе заработка. Они не касаются правительства, что непремѣнно случилось бы во Франціи. Это общества не политическія и даже не соціальныя; англійскіе рабочіе не утописты, они не мечтаютъ о пересозданіи общества, объ уничтоженіи процентнаго роста, объ отмѣнѣ закона о наслѣдствѣ, о равномъ распредѣленіи заработка, о принадлежности земли къ государству*). „У насъ этого ничего не бываетъ"—говорили мнѣ англійскіе фабриканты.—«Наши рабочіе не соціялисты; они понимаютъ политическую экономію, и главное—у нихъ слишкомъ много здраваго смысла, чтобъ гоняться за химерами: мы боимся стачекъ, а не соціальнаго переворота".

Рабочіе въ Англіи находятся въ постоянной борьбѣ съ хозяевами; но борьба эта ограничивается спросомъ и предложеніемъ труда. На этомъ полѣ сраженія у каждаго есть свое оружіе—отказъ въ трудѣ; отказъ этотъ гибеленъ для обѣихъ сторонъ. Фабрикантъ раззоряется, рабочій голодаетъ; но тѣмъ не менѣе, обѣ стороны твердо отказываются, одна — принимать, другая — предлагать трудъ: эта борьба допускается закономъ, потому что въ ней исключается насиліе. Общественное мнѣніе остается при этомъ нейтральнымъ и рабочій долженъ расположить его въ свою пользу своимъ терпѣніемъ и благоразуміемъ. Но, разумѣется, не смотря на все это, отношенія между рабочими и капиталистами остаются ненормальными и рабочіе смотрятъ на хозяина какъ на своего естественнаго врага. Фабриканты, понимая, какъ эта непріязнь опасна для ихъ интересовъ, стараются смягчить ее, устроиваютъ сберегательныя кассы, въ которыя рабочіе могутъ помѣщать свои крошечныя сбереженія; строятъ или нанимаютъ дома, переходящіе, по системѣ погашенія, черезъ нѣсколько лѣтъ въ собственность рабочихъ; заводятъ воспитательные дома и ремесленныя школы для ихъ дѣтей. Фабриканты обязаны давать ежедневно мальчикамъ, работающимъ на ихъ фабрикахъ, два часа свободы для

*) Это писано нѣсколько лѣтъ тому назадъ.

занятій въ школѣ. Всѣ эти филантропическія стремленія вытекаютъ изъ желанія уменьшить послѣдствія непредусмотрительности, которая—по словамъ фабрикантовъ—составляетъ главный порокъ англійскихъ рабочихъ. Животные инстинкты въ нихъ слишкомъ сильны; умъ пробуждается и пріобрѣтаетъ власть надъ этими инстинктами не такъ быстро, какъ у жителей юга. Нужно помогать ему пробуждаться, давать ему толчки для того, чтобъ онъ пробилъ покрывающую его кору; но, однажды пробудившись, англійскій умъ достигаетъ изумительнаго развитія и силы. Въ этой странѣ цивилизація болѣе необходима, чѣмъ во всякой другой.

Въ Манчестерѣ я нашелъ, между прочимъ, много любопытнаго въ Пильсъ-Паркѣ, большомъ, прекрасномъ паркѣ, устроенномъ въ центрѣ города, по частной иниціативѣ. Въ этомъ паркѣ помѣщаются библіотека и музей, въ которомъ, кромѣ очень порядочной картинной галлереи и коллекціи бабочекъ, змѣй, птицъ и пр., находятся залы съ различными иностранными и старинными матеріями, съ промышленными продуктами, хлопкомъ, пенькою, мареною, словомъ, съ цѣлымъ собраніемъ полезныхъ и любопытныхъ предметовъ. Сопровождавшій насъ богатый негоціантъ говорилъ намъ, что разнообразіе этихъ предметовъ, занимая зрѣніе рабочихъ, развиваетъ въ нихъ мысль; имъ необходимо разсѣяніе, и каждый часъ, который они проводятъ здѣсь, есть часъ, отнятый отъ кабака. Въ залахъ нѣтъ сторожей; ихъ охраняетъ общественная честность; никогда ни одна вещь не была украдена или испорчена, а посѣтителей бываетъ до 2,250 чел. въ день. Библіотека также основана на пожертвованія частныхъ лицъ и предназначена исключительно для рабочихъ. Въ ней 25,000 томовъ и сверхъ того получаются газеты; посѣтителей бываетъ до 10,000 въ мѣсяцъ. Подписчиковъ около 1,400; тѣ изъ нихъ, которые представляютъ двухъ извѣстныхъ поручителей, могутъ брать книги на домъ. Рабочіе преимущественно читаютъ біографіи Нельсона и Веллингтона и книги духовнаго содержанія. Нашъ провожатый говорилъ намъ, что среди рабочихъ есть много весьма образованныхъ; они собираютъ коллекціи и особенно любятъ заниматься естественными науками; въ нихъ замѣчается наклонность къ позитивизму. Они охотно читаютъ также политико-экономическія обозрѣнія и газеты. Надо отдать справедливость англійскимъ газетамъ: даже самые дешевые листки представляютъ много дѣльнаго. Еслибъ здѣшній рабочій не пьянствовалъ и занимался

чтеніемъ хотя по одному часу въ день, то онъ имѣлъ бы возможность достаточно образоваться.

Замѣчательны еще ремесленныя школы, которыя также основаны и содержатся на общественный счетъ. Въ нихъ воспитывается до 600 мальчиковъ и дѣвочекъ, старше 10 лѣтъ. Школа раздѣляется на два отдѣленія: въ одномъ учатся большею частью дѣти лавочниковъ, пріобрѣтающіе, за небольшую плату, познанія во французскомъ и нѣмецкомъ языкахъ, въ математикѣ, рисованіи и музыкѣ. Другое отдѣленіе безплатное. Въ немъ учатъ читать, писать, ариѳметикѣ и начальнымъ правиламъ рисованія; сюда ходитъ множество мальчиковъ и дѣвочекъ, одѣтыхъ въ лохмотья; ихъ посылаютъ фабриканты. Особенное вниманіе обращено здѣсь на черченіе и на элементарную математику. Въ высшемъ классѣ дѣтямъ отъ 13 до 16 лѣтъ объясняютъ шестую книгу Евклида; отъ нихъ требуется, чтобъ они понимали конструкцію машинъ. При школѣ имѣется обширная библіотека для учениковъ. Въ настоящее время во всѣхъ городахъ устроены такія школы, оказывающія, какъ говорятъ, очень благотворное вліяніе. Англичане пришли къ убѣжденію, что народъ нужно учить и что иначе съ нимъ трудно справляться. Религія помогаетъ имъ въ дѣлѣ образованія. Нельзя не удивляться разумному направленію этихъ заведеній и живой иниціативѣ частныхъ лицъ, которыя добровольно улучшаютъ положеніе государства, не прибѣгая къ нему за помощью. Англичане жертвуютъ много и съ пользой; не колеблясь принимаютъ на себя починъ въ хорошемъ дѣлѣ, не скупятся на деньги, не ждутъ, когда дѣло принесетъ плоды, а идутъ все дальше и дальше. Многое, чему мы подчиняемся, показалось бы имъ невыносимымъ; они ненавидятъ все, что напоминаетъ военную дисциплину и казармы. Такъ, напримѣръ, у нихъ на желѣзныхъ дорогахъ пассажировъ не запираютъ на станціяхъ, какъ стадо барановъ; они дожидаются поѣзда на тротуарѣ, подлѣ рельсовъ. Билетовъ на багажъ не существуетъ; всякій кладетъ свои вещи куда хочетъ и отыскиваетъ ихъ гдѣ можетъ. По просьбѣ кого-нибудь изъ пассажировъ и съ согласія остальныхъ, омнибусъ измѣняетъ свой обычный путь и идетъ по другой улицѣ.

Случается, что какой-нибудь фанатикъ принимается проповѣдывать на улицѣ; кричитъ, кривляется и собираетъ вокругъ себя толпу. Мальчишки смѣются надъ нимъ, передразниваютъ его, но никакая власть не вмѣшивается и 5—6 человѣкъ внимательно слу-

шаютъ проповѣдника. Англійскія власти считаютъ несправедливымъ останавливать человѣка, который никого не обижаетъ, а только пользуется правомъ высказывать свою мысль. *Self-help*—вотъ великое слово, понятное только въ Англіи; изъ этого слова проистекаютъ всѣ ассоціаціи, всякая свобода, между прочимъ и общинная. Манчестеръ управляется самъ собою и самъ избираетъ и содержитъ свою полицію; центральное правительство почти не вмѣшивается. И такъ повсюду въ Англіи. Общественное зданіе стоитъ на многихъ столбахъ, а не на одномъ, и потому внезапные перевороты, въ родѣ нашихъ революцій 1830, 1848 и 1852, въ Англіи не мыслимы.

Негоціантъ повелъ насъ въ большой загородный рабочій домъ. Зданіе это очень обширно и чисто содержится. Изъ оконъ видъ на поля, сады и рощи. Внутри огромныя залы, вышиною въ 20 футовъ. Повидимому, строители изъ тщеславія соорудили такое великолѣпное зданіе. Постели почти совсѣмъ чисты и накрыты одѣялами; старухи и увѣчныя одѣты въ бѣлые чепцы и новыя платья. Все предусмотрѣно. Повсюду чистый воздухъ и нигдѣ ни малѣйшаго зловонія. Въ этомъ домѣ есть отдѣленіе для умалишенныхъ и для идіотовъ; ихъ по нѣскольку часовъ занимаютъ работами, шитьемъ и проч., а въ свободное время они танцуютъ подъ звуки скрипки. Видъ у этихъ несчастныхъ вообще здоровый и веселый. Въ одномъ отдѣленіи помѣщается школа, въ которой старшіе ученики надзираютъ за младшими. Заведеніе это — настоящій дворецъ въ сравненіи съ жилищами бѣдныхъ. Манчестерскій или ливерпульскій рабочій, работая по 10 часовъ въ день, едва имѣетъ возможность ѣсть мясо одинъ разъ въ недѣлю; здѣсь же здоровый человѣкъ работаетъ всего 6 часовъ, и ѣстъ мясо 4 раза въ недѣлю; можетъ читать газеты, Библію, книги; дышетъ хорошимъ воздухомъ, любуется зеленью. Между тѣмъ, не смотря на всѣ эти удобства, въ минуту нашего посѣщенія, въ заведеніи не было ни одного здороваго человѣка; они прибываютъ только зимой. Когда рабочіе обращаются къ мѣстнымъ властямъ за помощью, имъ отвѣчаютъ: „Докажите, что вы можете работать,—ступайте въ рабочій домъ“. Девять десятыхъ отказываются. Отчего же происходитъ это? Сегодня, я видѣлъ старуху, которая вытаскивала изъ навозной кучи выброшенныя овощи; эта старуха, конечно, не согласится идти въ рабочій домъ, чтобъ не лишиться возможности напиваться. Ну, а другія? Мнѣ говорили, что

рабочіе всѣми силами стараются сохранить свой home и свою свободу, что они не выносятъ заточенія и подчиненія дисциплинѣ. Отецъ предпочитаетъ зрѣлище своихъ блѣдныхъ, бѣлобрысыхъ дѣтей подлѣ больной матери разлукѣ съ семьей и одиночному заключенію; ему кажется, что, переставъ быть главой семейства, онъ перестаетъ быть человѣкомъ. На рабочій домъ смотрятъ какъ на тюрьму и бѣдняки считаютъ за стыдъ попасть туда. Не слишкомъ ли деспотична и требовательна администрація въ этихъ заведеніяхъ? Конечно, ея вина, если человѣка считаютъ за машину, если его оскорбляютъ и унижаютъ, не сознавая того. Диккенсъ беретъ сторону бѣдныхъ и представляетъ жизнь въ рабочихъ домахъ съ ужасной стороны.

Съ 10 до 12 часовъ, мы, въ сопровожденіи двухъ знакомыхъ полисменовъ, путешествовали по кварталамъ, пользующимся дурною репутаціей. Въ Манчестерѣ считается 600 полисменовъ и каждый получаетъ около одного фунта стер. въ недѣлю. Наши провожатые называются *dedective* (сыщиками), на нихъ лежитъ обязанность отыскивать воровъ. Одинъ изъ нихъ служитъ въ Манчестерѣ 26 лѣтъ, другой служилъ уже во многихъ большихъ городахъ. Оба они люди серьезные, разсудительные. Они не представляются всевѣдущими, говорятъ мало и отвѣчаютъ точно. Ихъ неподвижныя, исполненныя достоинства фигуры и умное выраженіе лица внушаютъ довѣріе. Они подтвердили намъ объ отвращеніи бѣдныхъ къ рабочимъ домамъ, прибавивъ, что заведенія эти никуда не годны и только поощряютъ лѣность. Семейство рабочаго заработываетъ до 30 шил., а этого достаточно для прокормленія семьи съ тремя дѣтьми. Но большею частью рабочіе женятся рано, лѣтъ 18, и къ 30 годамъ имѣютъ уже съ полдюжины дѣтей; ктому-же они не бережливы и пьянствуютъ; жена—хорошая работница, но плохая хозяйка; когда рабочій умираетъ, его, обыкновенно, не на что похоронить. Мы осмотрѣли, между прочимъ, и ночлеги. Въ низкой, душной комнатѣ помѣщалось 4 или 5 занятыхъ кроватей. Цѣлая постель стоитъ 5 пенсовъ, а половина—$2^1/_2$ пенса. На одной кровати спалъ мужчина съ своей женой; мужчина былъ худъ и блѣденъ; женщина, изнуренная болѣзнью и желтая, походила на старую восковую маску. Въ одной кофейнѣ я видѣлъ человѣкъ 500 бѣдняковъ, скученныхъ на грязныхъ скамьяхъ, передъ эстрадой, на которой танцовали двѣ тощія дѣвушки, одѣтыя въ розовыя газовыя платья. Цѣна за входъ

2 пенса; посѣтители пьютъ джинъ и курятъ; воздухъ, пропитанный человѣческими испареніями, невыносимъ. Затѣмъ мы пошли въ публичный домъ. Полисменъ говорилъ мнѣ, что населеніе этихъ домовъ обыкновенно поставляется фабриками. Женщины сидѣли въ низкой комнатѣ и были одѣты въ платья съ закрытыми лифами. Многія изъ нихъ были очень худы и съ какими-то одичалыми лицами. Подлѣ лоснящейся мулатки сидѣла молодая, хорошенькая дѣвушка съ умнымъ и задумчивымъ лицомъ. Не смотря па іюль, на дворѣ было холодно, и въ комнатѣ топилась печь. Мы побывали въ 20 или 30 кабакахъ. Посѣтители ихъ курили и играли въ домино, почти не обращая на насъ вниманія, и едва поднимали глаза, когда мы проходили мимо нихъ. Лица ихъ, при газовомъ освѣщеніи, были ужасны.

IX.

Мнѣ кажется, я начинаю понимать свойство англійскаго ума, такъ мало похожаго на французскій умъ. По крайней мѣрѣ, когда я провѣрялъ свои заключенія, сообщая ихъ моимъ друзьямъ англичанамъ, то они находили ихъ вѣрными. Внутренность англійской головы можно сравнить съ „Гидомъ Муррея“, въ которомъ бездна фактовъ и мало мыслей, множество точныхъ и полезныхъ свѣденій; небольшія статистическія таблицы, большое количество цифръ; подробныя и вѣрныя географическія карты; краткія, сухія, историческія замѣтки, а вмѣсто предисловія нравственные и полезные совѣты, но никакого общаго вывода и отсутствіе всякой поэзіи; словомъ, складъ вѣрныхъ, точныхъ документовъ и очень полезная памятная книжка для путешественника. Французъ требуетъ, чтобъ всякая вещь, всякая книга имѣла пріятную форму; англичанинъ довольствуется только полезнымъ. Французъ любитъ идею для идеи, англичанинъ беретъ ее какъ орудіе мышленія и предвидѣнія. Вообще французъ мыслитъ дедуктивно, на основаніи классификацій, англичанинъ же мыслитъ индуктивно, на основаніи памяти, наблюденій, большого количества фактовъ и подлинныхъ документовъ.

Англійское образованіе направлено собственно на то, чтобъ укрѣплять, а не развивать умъ; это своего рода умственная гимнастика. Что касается понятія о человѣческихъ отношеніяхъ, то у нихъ

есть для этого готовая рамка; молодой человѣкъ безъ труда усвоиваетъ ее. Во Франціи нѣтъ такой рамки для мысли. Правительство мѣнялось разъ десять и потому не пользуется авторитетомъ; религія осталась такою же, какою была въ средніе вѣка; ея старыя формы утратили свое значеніе, а новыя еще не выработались. Съ 16-ти лѣтъ, юношу охватываетъ сомнѣніе; онъ мечется во всѣ стороны; если у него есть хотя немного ума, онъ чувствуетъ настоятельную потребность составить себѣ какія нибудь убѣжденія, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, усвоить себѣ какія-нибудь мнѣнія. Въ Англіи же рамка готова, религія почти разумна; система правленія почти превосходна; пробуждающійся умъ находитъ предначертанными свои будущія убѣжденія; ему не нужно созидать цѣлаго зданія, а нужно развѣ только расширить какое-нибудь готическое окно, вычистить подвалъ, или поправить лѣстницу. Умъ не подвергается такимъ потрясеніямъ, такому возбужденію, какъ во Франціи; онъ менѣе работаетъ, потому что у него нѣтъ двигателя—скептицизма.

Въ англійскомъ воспитаніи все стремится къ тому, чтобъ обогатить молодой умъ фактами, а не теоріями. Практическія занятія, свѣдѣнія, почерпаемыя изъ отчетовъ митинговъ, цифры, документы, статистика,—вотъ умственныя упражненія англичанъ; цѣль ихъ—полезная и успѣшная дѣятельность въ сферѣ частныхъ или общественныхъ интересовъ. У англичанъ есть прирожденная склонность къ фактическому, къ точному; они уважаютъ опытъ и требуютъ точныхъ свѣдѣній. Кто изучалъ англійскую литературу отъ Шекспира и Бэкона до нашихъ временъ, тотъ знаетъ, что склонность эта наслѣдственна, и что она проистекаетъ изъ особеннаго склада ихъ ума и ихъ понятій объ истинѣ. По ихъ мнѣнію, знаніе нужно не для знанія, а для дѣйствія; наука важна только по ея провѣреннымъ выводамъ и по ея приложенію къ дѣлу. Мнѣ доводилось встрѣчать въ Англіи людей съ очень разностороннимъ и основательнымъ образованіемъ, но безъ всякихъ идей; они остановились на полдорогѣ и даже не чувствуютъ потребности привесть въ систему свои познанія; у нихъ какія-то отрывочныя мысли и они не чувствуютъ ни охоты, ни способности связать ихъ въ какую-нибудь систему. Лучшимъ доказательствомъ этого служитъ ихъ языкъ, на который очень трудно переводить мало-мальски отвлеченныя разсужденія.

Этотъ недостатокъ отзывается и на ихъ законахъ. У англичанъ нѣтъ кодекса, въ собственномъ смыслѣ, а есть просто собраніе уза-

коненій; вмѣсто юридической школы, тамъ есть рутина. Англичане жалуются на этотъ пробѣлъ. Законы у нихъ дотого запутанны, что для того, чтобъ купить имѣніе, нужно взять одного или двухъ свѣдущихъ юристовъ, которые цѣлый мѣсяцъ разбираютъ права покупателя и продавца и провѣряютъ, не будетъ ли эта покупка поводомъ къ тяжбѣ. Я слышалъ, что положеніе многихъ административныхъ учрежденій и особенно адмиралтейства запутанно до смѣшнаго; безпорядокъ, расходы, несообразные съ приносимой пользой, затяжки, медленность въ отправленіи дѣлъ,—словомъ самый плохой механизмъ, потому что онъ устроенъ безъ всякаго плана. Англичане подвигаются впередъ и исправляютъ свои недостатки ощупью, и только послѣ долгой практики научаются вести дѣла. Отрывочныя свѣдѣнія о Соединенныхъ - Штатахъ, объ Индіи, Китаѣ, объ общей подачѣ голосовъ, о свободной торговлѣ указываютъ англичанину путь къ разумной политикѣ, а свободное выраженіе общественнаго мнѣнія довершаетъ въ немъ образованіе здравыхъ понятій. При такихъ свѣдѣніяхъ, онъ могъ предпринять экспедицію въ Абиссинію, но никогда не допустилъ бы совершить экспедицію въ Мексику; онъ можетъ желать расширенія избирательнаго права; но не желаетъ, чтобы оно было разомъ распространено на всѣхъ. Такимъ образомъ англичанинъ огражденъ отъ всякихъ теорій и всякихъ переворотовъ. Нужно замѣтить, что англичане искусные наблюдатели не однихъ только фактовъ, но также и нравственныхъ проявленій. Чтобъ убѣдиться въ томъ, довольно почитать современные англійскіе романы; въ нихъ вполнѣ обнаруживается англійская наблюдательность. Они представляютъ бездну мелкихъ фактовъ и нравственныхъ проявленій, иногда прекрасно изображенныхъ. Ни одна литература не анализируетъ чувства такъ вѣрно и подробно, не слѣдитъ такъ за внутренней борьбой, которая образуетъ характеръ, за медленнымъ развитіемъ страстей, порока или добродѣтели, за тѣмъ, какъ постепенно и незамѣтно принимаетъ умъ извѣстное направленіе. Одни англичане изучили ребенка и знаютъ, какъ формируется изъ него человѣкъ. Насколько мнѣ извѣстно, англичане не любятъ шутить словами; они или молчатъ или ведутъ поучительную бесѣду; отсюда много непріятнаго, между прочимъ — скука. Умъ требуетъ разнообразія. Въ Италіи есть опера и любовь; въ Германіи философія и музыка; во Франціи фейерверкъ остроумія. Въ Англіи же нѣтъ ничего, кромѣ добросовѣстнаго труда, полезныхъ

произведеній, обезпеченности и комфорта. Зато англичане далеко превзошли насъ въ умѣньи говорить спичи. Спичами наполняются ихъ газеты, спичи говорятся у нихъ за всѣми обѣдами—политическими, географическими, экономическими, учеными, или въ честь какихъ-нибудь знаменитостей. За обѣдомъ, на которомъ мнѣ случилось присутствовать, президентъ предложилъ тостъ за здоровье королевы и потомъ по очереди за здоровье всѣхъ присутствовавшихъ гостей; при каждомъ тостѣ президентъ произносилъ: „Имѣю честь предложить тостъ за здоровье нашего знаменитаго гостя такого-то," и прибавлялъ нѣсколько лестныхъ словъ; все это говорилось серьезно—дружески и съ легкимъ оттѣнкомъ юмора: я удивлялся его умѣнью говорить и еще болѣе удивлялся тому, что это ему не наскучало. Каждый гость, въ честь котораго провозглашался тостъ, вставалъ и отвѣчалъ: „Благодарю всѣхъ находящихся здѣсь джентельменовъ и нашего почтеннаго президента за ихъ лестное вниманіе." Каждый, смотря по способности или знанію, говорилъ о будущности народа, о развитіи науки. Присутствующіе рукоплескали, стучали ножами и кричали: „*Hear! hear!*" Нѣкоторые взлѣзали на стулья и съ бокаломъ въ рукѣ привѣтствовали оратора; веселое настроеніе охватило все общество и всѣ закричали: „Ура!" Одна газета замѣтила, что по-французски нельзя говорить и не лгать въ то же время. Французъ говоритъ: „Тысячу благодарностей! Я въ восхищеніи! Прелестный человѣкъ!"—и слушатель знаетъ, насколько ему можно вѣрить. Конечно, мы на это могли бы отвѣтить англичанамъ, что зато они не умѣютъ спорить безъ бокса. Полемика у нихъ чрезвычайно жестка; у насъ подобная полемика вызвала бы ежедневныя дуэли. Къ счастію, въ Англіи царствуетъ убѣжденіе, что дуэль—нелѣпа, и что изъ-за оскорбительной статьи не стоитъ браться за оружіе. Самыя пренія англичанъ похожи на пріемы бокса; они изобьютъ, изуродуютъ другъ друга и потомъ подаютъ другъ другу руку, безъ всякаго неудовольствія. Черезъ нѣсколько мѣсяцевъ къ этому привыкаешь и начинаешь находить, что грубость выраженій выкупается вполнѣ откровенностью, силой убѣжденій, разсудительностью, искренностью негодованія, мужественнымъ и сдержаннымъ краснорѣчіемъ. Нельзя сказать, чтобы англичане были не остроумны, правда, у нихъ свое особенное остроуміе; оно не привлекательно, но оригинально, сильно, ѣдко и отзывается горечью, какъ и ихъ національные напитки. Ихъ *humour* состоитъ

въ томъ, чтобъ сохранять серьезный видъ, разсказывая смѣшныя вещи. Этотъ юморъ сильно проглядываетъ въ произведеніяхъ лучшихъ англійскихъ писателей. Онъ проявляется то въ смѣшной каррикатурѣ, то въ глубокомъ сарказмѣ; онъ дѣйствуетъ на нервы и глубоко западаетъ въ память. Юморъ этотъ есть порожденіе сдержаннаго негодованія и веселаго воображенія. Онъ любитъ контрасты, неожиданныя превращенія, онъ наряжаетъ глупость въ одежду разума и наоборотъ. Гейне, Аристофанъ, Рабелэ и, повременамъ, Монтескье болѣе всѣхъ одарены этимъ англійскимъ юморомъ, но съ придачей веселости, живости и увлеченія, свойственныхъ только теплымъ странамъ. Англійскій же юморъ всегда оставляетъ вкусъ уксуса. Насмѣшка англичанъ рѣдко бываетъ добродушна; они слишкомъ глубоко чувствуютъ и осуждаютъ человѣческія нелѣпости, чтобъ забавляться ими: они возмущаются и страдаютъ.

Очеркъ нашъ былъ бы не полонъ, если бы мы не поговорили и объ англійскомъ искуствѣ. Обозрѣвая англійскія галлереи, я убѣдился, что школа ихъ составляетъ отрасль фламандской школы, но отрасль, носящую особенный, англійскій отпечатокъ. Живопись перестаетъ изображать одно тѣло, а изображаетъ вмѣстѣ съ нимъ душу, характеръ, иногда отпечатокъ грусти, или задумчивости, или аристократической спѣси. Гейнольдсъ—потомокъ Ванъ-Дика, но потомокъ далекій. Его Три Граціи лишены наивности и первобытной простоты; несмотря на ихъ англійскій костюмъ, вамъ сдается, что это лэди, имѣющія карету, мажордома и дюжину лакеевъ, въ желтыхъ штиблетахъ. Этотъ психологическій характеръ все болѣе и болѣе усвоивается англійскою живописью. Краски, гармонія, красота линій въ ней — аксессуары; холстъ — завѣса, подъ которой скрываются идеи, цѣли, уроки, этюды характеровъ и нравовъ. Для подобныхъ стремленій лучшее выраженіе—поэзія; и дѣйствительно, на сколько посредственны англичане въ другихъ искуствахъ, на столько высоки они въ поэзіи. По моему мнѣнію, въ ней они не имѣютъ соперниковъ. Я не знаю другой поэзіи, которая бы такъ живо говорила душѣ, такъ умѣла затронуть ея сокровеннѣйшія фибры, въ которой слова передавали бы лучше всѣ оттѣнки чувствъ и всѣ порывы души. Въ сущности, англійская поэзія имѣетъ тотъ же характеръ, какъ и живопись,—характеръ чисто психологическій; она по преимуществу изображаетъ внутреннюю жизнь человѣка. Поэтъ, какъ и художникъ, не думаетъ о формѣ, не подбираетъ словъ;

слова приходятъ сами собой, мысль выражается внезапно, во всей своей животрепещущей правдѣ, со всѣми своими причудливыми скачками, отъ фамильярности и сарказма къ благоговѣнію и восторгу. Чѣмъ болѣе я всматриваюсь въ эту потребность углубляться въ самое себя, въ это преобладаніе духовной стороны, тѣмъ лучше понимаю, въ чемъ коренится у этой націи религіозное чувство.

Какъ извѣстно, въ Англіи много сектъ; главныя изъ нихъ: квакерская, пресвитеріянская, уэслейская, унитаріянская и англиканская. Послѣдняя — самая значительная. Англиканская церковь опирается на свою древность, на свой союзъ съ государствомъ, на свои привилегіи, богатства, на присутствіе своихъ епископовъ въ палатѣ лордовъ, а главное—на свое среднее положеніе между пуританами и католиками. Она имѣетъ связи въ аристократіи, служитъ однимъ изъ главныхъ органовъ конституціи, нравится государственнымъ людямъ, потому что консервативна, отличается строгой простотой обрядовъ и нѣкоторой терпимостью. Въ этой оффиціальной церкви нужно отличать три партіи: High church, аристократическую, болѣе приверженную къ обрядамъ, Low church, болѣе популярную, болѣе духовную, и Broad church, къ которой принадлежатъ лучшіе умы въ Англіи. Эта послѣдняя выдѣляется изо всѣхъ своимъ примирительнымъ направленіемъ. Чтобъ объяснить религіозность англичанъ, нужно знать одну особенность ихъ ума: они склонны вѣрить, что существуетъ *нѣчто* внѣ человѣческихъ понятій. Въ этомъ отношеніи, у нихъ даже самые крайніе сторонники чистаго опыта согласны съ вѣрующими. Гербертъ Спенсеръ также допускаетъ нѣчто недоступное уму, *непознаваемое*. Даже Стюартъ Милль не рѣшается отрицать это. Подобное настроеніе ума располагаетъ къ серьёзности. Человѣкъ сознаетъ передъ собой что-то несоразмѣрное съ его силами, что-то подавляющее: онъ благоговѣетъ и задумывается. Такимъ образомъ, почва къ воспринятію религіи готова. Таинственное *нѣчто* находитъ себѣ выраженіе въ понятіи о провидѣніи и евангельскіе тексты передаютъ смутныя движенія души. Такова тайная внутренняя работа, которая естественно приводитъ англичанъ къ религіозности. Въ нихъ она перестаетъ быть офиціальной формулой и становится живымъ чувствомъ.

СТРАННАЯ СЕКТА

(Этнографическій очеркъ).

Каждый годъ акуратно нѣсколько „экспертовъ отъ наукъ“ открываютъ у насъ на Руси всевозможныя безобразія; каждый годъ новыя чудеса познаются нашею читающей публикой, которая отъ избытка вновь открываемыхъ чудесъ и безобразій дотого привыкла къ нимъ, что если въ одинъ прекрасный день какой либо экспертъ откроетъ въ нашемъ благословенномъ отечествѣ древняго Юпитера, скрывающагося отъ взоровъ любопытныхъ, то навѣрно никто не удивится и скажетъ только: „чего, дескать, на святой Руси не бываетъ“. Разнаго рода сепаратизмы, обрусѣнія, обнѣмеченія и т. п. чудеса уже не смущаютъ никого, и тщетно вопіютъ противъ этихъ чудесъ разные досужіе люди; но если бы только знали защитники обрусѣнія и противники обнѣмеченія, офранцуживанія и т. п. золъ, что изъ русскаго человѣка можетъ сдѣлаться, при извѣстныхъ обстоятельствахъ, нѣчто въ родѣ еврея, то конечно они совсѣмъ бы растерялись. Дѣйствительно, для простого русскаго человѣка, который въ большинствѣ случаевъ считаетъ жида чѣмъ-то поганымъ, который не утерпитъ, чтобы не надѣть крестъ на зазѣвавшагося еврея, чтобы не замѣтить ему о его христопродавничествѣ,—принять еврейскій догматъ, еврейскій обычай, еврейское имя и еврейскую одежду съ перваго взгляда кажется рѣшительно невозможнымъ. Между тѣмъ фактъ перехода въ гебраизмъ существуетъ и притомъ стремленіе от-

стать отъ былаго дотого сильно, что какой нибудь Кузька и по внѣшнему виду и даже по способу мышленія дѣлается рѣшительно точно какой раби изъ Могилева. Фактъ дѣйствительно страненъ, чтобы не сказать безобразенъ, но удивляться рѣшительно нечему, такъ какъ переходъ въ гебраизмъ незначительной части нашего народа имѣетъ основаніе и въ самомъ характерѣ русскаго простого человѣка, и въ исторіи его религіознаго протеста.

Всю жизнь свою прожилъ русскій человѣкъ на готовенькомъ; и онъ дотого привыкъ къ готовому, дотого еще слабъ въ умственномъ отношеніи, что самъ создать для себя что-либо подходящее, по крайней мѣрѣ въ настоящій моментъ, рѣшительно не въ силахъ. Слѣдуетъ отдать полную справедливость русскому человѣку въ томъ, что перенимать чужое онъ мастеръ и подчасъ даже съобезьянничаетъ въ томъ, что́ совершенно не подходитъ ни къ окружающимъ его обстоятельствамъ, ни къ личному его характеру — и вотъ однимъ изъ такихъ обезьянствъ представляется фактъ существованія кое-гдѣ на Руси такъ называемаго субботничества.

Съ другой стороны, если мы вглядимся въ исторію нашего религіознаго протеста, то увидимъ слѣдующее: православіе, въ томъ видѣ, какъ оно живетъ въ народѣ, рѣшительно его не удовлетворяетъ, и слѣдствіемъ этой неудовлетворительности является начавшееся съ стародавнихъ временъ алчное исканіе истины. По самому характеру человѣческой природы, путей при такомъ исканіи представляется три: люди чистаго разума должны дать полный просторъ разуму и пойдутъ къ истинѣ путемъ раціонализма — таковы наши молокане; люди чувства, перваго впечатлѣнія, станутъ пытаться достичь истины путемъ возбужденія чувственнаго, путемъ энтузіазма,—таковы наши энтузіасты: христовщинцы, скопцы и др., которые разуму не вѣрятъ, а ждутъ всего отъ прямого откровенія; наконецъ, третій разрядъ людей, стремящихся познать истину, разсуждаетъ такъ: у насъ истины нѣтъ—надо во что бы то ни стало сыскать ее; если мы станемъ доходить своимъ умомъ, то до истины не доберемся, такъ какъ человѣческій разумъ конеченъ и безконечнаго понять не можетъ; чувства тоже ежеминутно обманываютъ человѣка и довѣряться имъ невозможно; слѣдуетъ значитъ дознаться, не было ли такой вѣры, объ истинности которой бывали указанія свыше? Есть такая вѣра, говорятъ субботники, и сами православные признаютъ ее за божественную, а народъ, который ея держался, за

народъ благословенный Богомъ,—отсюда переходъ въ гебраизмъ и затѣмъ цѣлый рядъ безобразій, въ родѣ отпусканія пейсовъ, ношенія ермолки, закона о продолженіи сѣмени и т. п.

Нѣкоторые изслѣдователи (по большей части впрочемъ тѣ, которые на дѣлѣ сектантовъ не видали, а изучали наше разновѣріе по книжкамъ и по оффиціальнымъ документамъ), воображаютъ почему-то, что субботничество не есть явленіе новое, и находятъ зачатки его въ жидовствующихъ Пскова, Новгорода и Москвы.

Но если мы вглядимся повнимательнѣе въ догматику жидовствующихъ и нынѣшнихъ субботниковъ, то замѣтимъ огромную между ними разницу, которая не допускаетъ даже и малѣйшихъ сближеній между этими двумя сектами. Скудость свѣдѣній о сектѣ жидовствующихъ, явныя недомолвки въ имѣющихся на лицо матеріалахъ,—все это даетъ возможность изслѣдователямъ сплетать на эту тему самыя разнообразныя исторіи и дѣлать какіе угодно выводы. На самомъ дѣлѣ, на основаніи имѣющихся у насъ подъ рукой данныхъ, мы рѣшительно не можемъ утверждать, что жидовствующіе были дѣйствительно схожи съ нашими субботниками; Схарія и его послѣдователи не признавали божественнаго Христа, и этого обстоятельства было достаточно, чтобы этихъ сектантовъ приравняли къ исповѣдующимъ гебраизмъ. Жидовствующіе никогда такъ строго не держались Моисеева закона и скорѣе наравнѣ со стригольниками и башкинцами могутъ быть причислены къ раціоналистическому направленію нашего религіознаго протеста. Положимъ, что и этотъ выводъ можно вполнѣ назвать не строго научнымъ выводомъ, а плодомъ личныхъ убѣжденій или, вѣрнѣе, вѣрованій, но тѣмъ не менѣе онъ имѣетъ столько же за, какъ и противъ себя. Настоящіе субботники строго придерживаются гебраизма, съ обрѣзаніемъ, отвращеніемъ отъ пищи, приготовленной православными, запретомъ свинаго мяса, закономъ перехода братней жены и т. п. Сами евреи не очень строго придерживаются Моисеева закона и допускаютъ позднѣйшія толкованія пятикнижія и мудрствованія Талмуда; наши же субботники никакихъ толкованій не признаютъ, такъ какъ самый переходъ ихъ въ гебраизмъ произошелъ вслѣдствіе постановки вопроса объ ошибочности выводовъ человѣческаго разума; вся внѣшность, которая блюдется евреями какъ святыня, завѣщанная Моисеемъ, также исключена субботниками, такъ какъ они не

признаютъ возможности приближенія къ божеству при посредствѣ чувственнаго возбужденія.

У субботниковъ нѣтъ свободнаго хода разуму, какъ у нашихъ раціоналистовъ, и нѣтъ чувственнаго возбужденія, какъ у энтузіастовъ; только то и вѣрно, что самъ „Егова" передалъ „Мысею"; чего нѣтъ въ пятикнижіи—то ложь, а что есть въ пятикнижіи—то слѣдуетъ понимать такъ, какъ оно тамъ написано. Это отрицаніе возможности изслѣдованія и есть причина неподвижности секты; субботничество въ самомъ основаніи своемъ скрываетъ причину будущаго скораго своего паденія и представляется какъ бы переходною ступенью къ раціонализму. Уже теперь замѣтно у субботниковъ, что лучшіе умы между ними начинаютъ допускать въ дѣло религіи разумъ и незавѣдомые переходы въ молоканство встрѣчаются уже въ тѣхъ мѣстахъ, гдѣ живутъ эти русскіе евреи.

Намъ удалось совершенно случайно наткнуться на небольшую колонію субботниковъ и довольно близко ознакомиться какъ съ догматикою, такъ и съ особенностями ихъ житья-бытья.

Едва только началось гоненіе на скопчество (которое по счету послѣдователей Селиванова уже десятое, и слѣдовательно послѣднее) какъ всякіе оффиціальные ревнители православія, въ родѣ исправниковъ, становыхъ и другихъ чиновниковъ обратителей на путь истины, стали съ своей стороны помаленьку нажимать сектантовъ, чтобы выказать начальству свое рвеніе къ службѣ и требованіямъ церкви. Тутъ уже не было разбора, кто во что вѣритъ: чуть къ православной церкви душою не лежитъ (по оффиціальному: къ посѣщенію храма нерадивъ и противенъ)—тотчасъ раскольникъ; чуть раскольникъ — тотчасъ скопецъ. Мѣстный исправникъ тоже не захотѣлъ оставаться безъ дѣла, и въ силу этого донесъ, что есть, дескать, и у него скопцы, которые собираются въ избѣ на молитву по субботамъ, и сталъ ждать награды за это открытіе; но, къ великому его сожалѣнію, никакой награды онъ не получилъ, такъ какъ начальство случилось либеральное, да ктому-же еще и знало, что по субботамъ на моленье скопцы никогда не собираются, а если кѣмъ суббота и уважается, то это нѣкоторыми лишь молоканскими подтолками, да субботниками. Узнавши о донесеніи исправника, я при случаѣ завернулъ въ упомянутое имъ селеніе и нашелъ дѣйствительно 15 семействъ субботниковъ или, какъ они сами себя называютъ, „херовъ". Какъ я ни бился, откуда добыли они себѣ

это прозвище—ни до чего путнаго не добился. „И Мысей-пророкъ херомъ былъ, и Самуилъ, первый священникъ, тоже херъ; малымъ чѣмъ Господь хера отъ ангеловъ умалилъ; херъ все одно, что праведникъ; вотъ есть нашего закона, да читаютъ и пишутъ книжки разныя: талмудъ книгу къ примѣру—тѣ не херы; кто по нашей, по Мысеевой вѣрѣ пошелъ, тотъ и херъ передъ Богомъ". С. В. Максимовъ тоже упоминаетъ въ своей статьѣ: „За Кавказомъ" о томъ, что тамошніе субботники сами себя называютъ герами, но что они понимаютъ подъ этимъ словомъ—не объяснено *).

Живутъ субботники тихо, смирно и зажиточно, какъ всѣ религіозные сектанты на Руси; подчасъ даже и въ православную церковь заглядываютъ, по всѣмъ вѣроятіямъ въ силу того же, почему наши самые завзятые энтузіасты корчатъ изъ себя рьяныхъ православныхъ, т. е. страха ради іудейска. Съ начальствомъ живутъ субботники въ ладахъ, вѣрнѣе всего потому, что начальство отъ нихъ довольно далеко; живутъ они въ лѣсу, на полянкѣ, и начальство въ этотъ лѣсъ не особенно охотно заглядываетъ. Интереснѣе всего однако ихъ отношеніе къ православнымъ односельчанамъ и обратно. Дѣло въ томъ, что селеніе, гдѣ они проживаютъ, обладаетъ весьма смѣшаннымъ населеніемъ; тутъ есть и хохлы, есть и великоруссы, есть даже нѣсколько семействъ приписныхъ цыганъ; часть великоруссовъ слѣдуетъ старинному благочестію, а потому сторонится отъ прочихъ и немного таки кичится какъ своею начитанностью, такъ и своимъ достаткомъ; православные не долюбливаютъ „старцевъ" и смотрятъ на нихъ лишь какъ на туго набитые кошельки; отсюда почтительно-дерзкая насмѣшечка, желаніе побольше содрать, подчасъ даже радость при божескомъ посѣщеніи, напр. при пожарѣ, морѣ и т. п. Субботникъ—душа-человѣкъ, если бы только не несчастное желаніе всѣхъ поучать; эта страсть отыскивать прозелитовъ страшно надоѣдаетъ всѣмъ, испытавшимъ ее; субботникъ богатѣй-мужикъ, но людскому горю всегда пособникъ: „къ херамъ къ этимъ, что въ свою мошну полѣзай"; пробовали иногда наши русачки, по привычкѣ своей, позабавиться: крестъ на шею субботникамъ накидывали, да и свиное ухо изъ кожуха сочиняли—только не беретъ,

*) Нашъ почтенный профессоръ Хвольсонъ, которому мы не можемъ не выразить нашей искреннѣйшей признательности за нѣкоторыя весьма интересныя указанія, толкуетъ слово «герръ»—чужакъ, принявшій Моисеевъ законъ.

не обозлится субботникъ нисколько, а еще шапку сниметъ, да низкопренизко поклонится; пошутили такъ, да и бросили. Любитъ субботникъ, когда къ нему православный въ гости придетъ; угощаетъ и такъ и этакъ, а самъ все толкуетъ, все разсказываетъ изъ „божественнаго"; ясно, что иногда слушатель развѣшиваетъ уши и, глядишь, черезъ нѣсколько времени прячетъ отъ васъ ермолку свою, которую сладилъ ему въ городѣ портной изъ евреевъ. Православные смотрятъ на нихъ какъ на людей угождающихъ Богу и почтенныхъ, а потому, глядишь, и „помочь" субботнику справятъ, да и вообще охотно къ нему работать идутъ. Субботники раскольниками не помѣчены и только одна семья какими-то судьбами попала у попа въ разрядъ старообрядцевъ; вслѣдствіе того, что ихъ не считаютъ раскольниками, они не лишены права избранія на общественныя должности, а пользуясь всеобщимъ уваженіемъ на селѣ, они то и дѣло попадаютъ въ кандидаты; но ни разу еще не было примѣра, чтобы хоть одинъ субботникъ исправлялъ какую-нибудь общественную должность; вслѣдствіе того, что субботники не хотятъ земнаго возвеличенія и почета, и вслѣдствіе иныхъ причинъ, они всегда отказываются отъ чести, предложенной имъ ихъ односельчанами, къ немалому огорченію послѣднихъ. Чрезвычайно строгая нравственность, безукоризненная честность и крайняя обходительность субботниковъ заставляютъ предполагать въ нихъ хорошихъ „начальниковъ", но они непоколебимы и приходится выбирать изъ своихъ, православныхъ, которые вышеупомянутыми качествами обладаютъ къ сожалѣнію весьма рѣдко.

Субботникъ никогда не пьетъ ничего, кромѣ такъ называемаго „виссаита" или церковнаго вина, которое всегда чисто виноградное, безъ примѣси спирта, сандала и т. п. Но и этого вина дозволяется выпить только стаканчикъ, да и то не иначе, какъ въ праздникъ; кто замѣченъ обществомъ въ излишнемъ употребленіи вина, тотъ подвергается на первый разъ штрафу (смотря по достатку) въ общественную кассу, а на второй — даже исключенію изъ общества впредь до доказаннаго исправленія.

Въ семейномъ быту субботники придерживаются указаній библіи; отецъ—глава семьи, и не повиноваться ему—значитъ идти противъ Бога; по смерти отца старшій сынъ становится хозяиномъ и всѣ остальные члены обязаны почитать его за отца; единственно кому даетъ онъ нѣкоторый (въ хозяйственномъ отношеніи) отчетъ въ

своихъ дѣйствіяхъ—это мать, которой, впрочемъ, иногда, по смерти мужа предоставляется право выдѣлить изъ семейнаго имущества свою часть и оставить семью; это допускается лишь въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда всѣ дѣти вдовы уже совершеннолѣтни и старѣйшины признаютъ невозможнымъ для нихъ совмѣстное жительство. Ослушаніе отцу, неуваженіе къ нему или къ матери, въ случаѣ же смерти отца ослушаніе старшому — наказывается отдачею въ работу на болѣе или менѣе долгій срокъ и даже изгнаніемъ изъ общества. На семейной молитвѣ глава семьи читаетъ ветхій завѣтъ (большею частію у субботниковъ намъ случалось находить писанный ветхій завѣтъ, что ихъ весьма затрудняетъ; у одного изъ нихъ мы видѣли даже „священную исторію ветхаго завѣта“ Рудакова, по которой читали на молитвенныхъ собраніяхъ; понятно, что всѣ пророчества и прообразованія къ рожденію Мессіи были тщательно перехерены, такъ что и разобрать невозможно было, что тамъ напечатано), безъ комментарій, чтобы не дать поблажки разуму.

Женщина у субботниковъ пользуется достаточною (сравнительно съ православными) свободою, хотя напримѣръ и не имѣетъ собственности, какъ это случается встрѣчать въ нѣкоторыхъ молоканскихъ толкахъ; развода нѣтъ, и только старѣйшины могутъ дозволить новый бракъ, въ случаѣ если бы о мужѣ или женѣ не имѣлось никакихъ свѣдѣній впродолженіе десяти лѣтъ. Женщина дарована Богомъ человѣку главнымъ образомъ для поддержанія потомства, для нарожденія вѣрныхъ рабовъ Божіихъ; если женщина долгое время послѣ вступленія въ бракъ остается безплодною, то это явный признакъ гнѣва Божія; слѣдуетъ умилостивить божество помощью ближнимъ и молитвою. Въ этомъ случаѣ чета уже не осмѣливается отказывать никому изъ просящихъ помощи и конечно не безъ того, чтобы окружные православные не попользовались такимъ благопріятнымъ случаемъ поживиться чѣмъ ни на есть; всѣ грѣхи того, кому отказано въ помощи, ложатся на душу отказавшаго и безплодіе продолжается вслѣдствіе новаго прогнѣвленія божества. Разницы тутъ уже не дѣлается никакой; раздаютъ что только могутъ всѣмъ, кто ни попроситъ. Разъ случился такой казусъ: одна дѣвушка, вышедши замужъ, не любила мужа и Богъ наказалъ ее; восемь лѣтъ жила она съ мужемъ, а дѣтей у нихъ все не было. Мужъ не жалѣлъ денегъ и раздавалъ милостыню въ избыткѣ, жена успѣла уже полюбить мужа и молилась безъ устали,

но видно гнѣвъ Божій продолжался и потомство на свѣтъ не являлось. Наконецъ прослышалъ мужъ, что въ ближнемъ городѣ живетъ угодившій Богу рэби, который можетъ помолиться и такимъ образомъ какъ бы отчитать безплодную смоковницу; не долго раздумывая, мужъ беретъ съ собой жену, ѣдетъ къ почтенному рэби, долго упрашиваетъ его помолиться за нихъ грѣшныхъ и наконецъ, успокоенный согласіемъ праведника, уѣзжаетъ домой одинъ, такъ какъ женѣ его надо попоститься и помолиться вмѣстѣ съ рэби. Проходитъ недѣли двѣ времени и жена возвращается домой, помолившись и напостившись вдоволь. Ровно черезъ девять мѣсяцевъ она родила счастливому мужу сына, а счастливый мужъ, увѣренный вполнѣ, что гнѣвъ Божій преложенъ на милость, далъ новорожденному имя Мануйло, т. е. съ нами Богъ. Были скептики, которые рисковали кое-что говорить о рэби, но общее мнѣніе все-таки было таково, что онъ святой человѣкъ и только его молитвамъ обязана прежде безплодная женщина рожденіемъ ребенка.

Мы разсказали здѣсь этотъ фактъ не какъ простую сплетню, а именно для того, чтобы показать, до какой степени сильна въ русскомъ человѣкѣ любовь къ отчиткамъ всякаго рода; православіе оставлено, но отчитка вошла въ плоть и кровь, и еврейскій рэби замѣнилъ только обманщика знахаря, бродячаго отставного солдата и т. п.; видимый обманъ не бросается въ глаза, и достаточно, чтобы обманщикъ, кто бы онъ ни былъ, произнесъ отчитку, чтобы не было сомнѣнія и чтобы довѣрчивый русскій человѣкъ призналъ въ немъ не простаго смертнаго, а вѣщаго мужа и угодника. Видно, какъ ни мѣняй костюма, имени и другихъ внѣшностей, суть-то все-таки останется таже и все объіудеяніе состоитъ на самомъ дѣлѣ лишь въ ермолкѣ, въ прибавленіи къ своему имени иного, заимствованнаго изъ ветхаго завѣта, и въ другихъ видимостяхъ, которыя характеристичныхъ основъ вовсе не измѣняютъ, а сами измѣняются то и дѣло, смотря по времени, мѣсту и обстоятельствамъ.

Бракъ совершается у субботниковъ весьма просто: достаточно одного благословенія со стороны главы семейства и бракъ считается совершоннымъ. Иногда, опять таки „страха ради іудейска“, бракосочетавшіеся отправляются и въ православную церковь и тамъ брачуются по православному обряду; но есть очень много четъ, обошедшихся и безъ этой формальности. Настоящее поколѣніе субботниковъ почти все сполна уже отправляется „уцерквиться“, желая

конечно узаконить своихъ дѣтей, но еще очень недавно строго было запрещено „уцерковлять“ браки, и тотъ, кто осмѣливался дѣлать это, не смотря на существовавшее запрещеніе, подвергался изгнанію изъ общества. Дѣвушка до брака своей воли не имѣетъ (точно также, какъ и у окружныхъ православныхъ), и только по благословеніи на бракъ она выходитъ изъ крѣпостного у отца состоянія. Кромѣ того, что на ней лежитъ обязанность прясть и ткать на домашнихъ, она должна до свадьбы похоронить нѣсколькихъ (чѣмъ больше, тѣмъ лучше и притомъ все равно субботниковъ или православныхъ) человѣкъ, т. е. изготовить на нихъ полотна; для православнаго достаточно бываетъ и десяти аршинъ, а для каждаго субботника требуется 49 аршинъ, какъ я объясню ниже. Отношенія мужа къ женѣ чрезвычайно гуманны (конечно сравнительно), не смотря на взглядъ на женщину лишь какъ на продолжительницу потомства; дѣти есть, значитъ Богъ благословилъ мужа черезъ жену, а отсюда и благодарность ей за это, почтеніе, любовь. Желаніе имѣть потомство такъ сильно у субботниковъ (къ нему между прочимъ побуждаетъ ихъ и то обстоятельство, что въ обитаемой ими мѣстности земли гибель, а народонаселеніе чрезвычайно рѣдко), что по смерти мужа неженатый братъ его обязанъ жениться на вдовѣ и продолжить его сѣмя, по ветхозавѣтному изрѣченію. Есть уже одинъ примѣръ протеста противъ такого рода насилія, но несогласившійся продолжать братнино сѣмя изгнанъ изъ общества. Странность эта до-нельзя возмущаетъ ближнихъ священниковъ, народъ же относится къ ней совершенно равнодушно. Мнѣ случилось видѣть такую чету и любоваться на совѣтъ и любовь, существующіе между супругами; но, къ сожалѣнію, они пребывали въ сожительствѣ уже три года, а дѣтей у нихъ не было, что конечно не мало ихъ смущало. Браки, подобно окружнымъ православнымъ, заключаются у субботниковъ весьма рано. Часто такъ называемое „обручеціе“, которое и замѣняетъ у нихъ бракъ, совершается тогда, когда жениху едва минетъ 16 лѣтъ, а невѣстѣ 14. Есть даже одна чета, которая не можетъ и жить вмѣстѣ; мужу всего 13 лѣтъ, а женѣ— 11. Хлопоты по отысканію невѣсты лежатъ по закону цѣликомъ на матери жениха; послѣ отысканія подходящей невѣстки и получивши согласіе родителей ея, мать приводитъ избранницу къ сыну, который волей-неволей ведетъ ее къ своему отцу; отецъ принимаетъ сына и будущую сноху непремѣнно лежа, вѣроятно желая

изобразить собою ветхозавѣтнаго патріарха; сынъ подводитъ свою невѣсту къ лавкѣ, на которой лежитъ отецъ, и проситъ его благословить бракъ ихъ; отецъ поднимается немного съ своего ложа, кладетъ руки на головы жениха и невѣсты и говоритъ: „Именемъ Бога Авраама, Исака и Якова и всего Израиля благословляю сожительство ваше и словами его освящаю союзъ вашъ: плодитесь, умножайтесь и населяйте землю". Этого благословенія считается совершенно достаточно для брачущихся и съ этой поры они считаются мужемъ и женою. Дня черезъ три или четыре по обрученіи бываетъ брачный пиръ, на которомъ прочитываются двѣ главы изъ ветхаго завѣта: отецъ мужа читаетъ разсказъ о женитьбѣ Іакова, а отецъ жены читаетъ разсказъ о бракѣ Товита. Въ послѣднее время матери конечно чаще стали прислушиваться къ желаніямъ сыновей и дочерей своихъ и подневольные браки встрѣчаются уже какъ исключенія. Бракъ у субботниковъ не дозволенъ только между лицами, находящимися между собою во второй степени родства; браки въ четвертой степени уже конечно не уцерковляются. Часты также браки съ православными дѣвушками, такъ какъ субботники охотно принимаютъ къ себѣ въ домъ православную невѣстку, конечно не безъ намѣренія увеличить стадо Бога Израиля; православные родители охотно отдаютъ своихъ дочерей въ субботническія семьи, такъ какъ ихъ ожидаетъ тамъ довольство, да и роднымъ кое-что перепадетъ отъ зятниной семьи. Вслѣдствіе раннихъ браковъ, разврата вовсе не существуетъ въ средѣ субботниковъ, и въ то время, когда окрестныя села славятся легкостью поведенія женщинъ, ни одну еще субботницу не было возможности упрекнуть тѣмъ же. Сифилисъ царствуетъ кругомъ, а у субботниковъ о немъ понятія не имѣютъ. Если бракъ заключенъ по субботническому обряду еще тогда, когда молодые люди не достигли еще возраста, требуемаго православною церковью, то чета сожительствуетъ нѣкоторое время безъ уцерковленія, а затѣмъ, уже по достиженіи дозволенныхъ лѣтъ, отправляется въ православную церковь и узаконяетъ свой союзъ обрядомъ вѣнчанія.

На восьмой день по рожденіи ребенка, отецъ его совершаетъ надъ нимъ обрядъ обрѣзанія; прежде обрядъ этотъ совершался чрезвычайно неумѣло и притомъ овчарными ножницами, но съ тѣхъ поръ, какъ одинъ проѣзжій торговецъ-еврей подѣлился съ субботниками своими познаніями по этой части, послѣдніе стали употреб-

лять для этой операціи болѣе усовершенствованное орудіе—дамскія рабочія ножницы и дѣло пошло спорѣе. Если ребенокъ въ утробѣ или при рожденіи своемъ обреченъ однимъ изъ родителей на служеніе Богу (обреченные должны $^1/_{10}$ часть прибылей отдавать неимущимъ, ходить за больными и вообще всю жизнь свою посвятить на добрыя дѣла), то обрѣзаніе надъ нимъ совершаетъ не отецъ его, а собраніе всѣхъ старѣйшинъ, причемъ манипулируетъ конечно одинъ изъ нихъ, но по избранію всего общества. По случаю обрѣзанія не обошлось безъ раскола; одни стали обрѣзать цѣликомъ, другіе же только часть препуціи; почти каждый день идутъ объ этомъ толки, спорятъ, горячатся, но ни къ какому соглашенію до сихъ поръ еще не пришли.

Что касается до похоронъ, то они совершаются субботниками по обычаю православныхъ, хотя и тутъ они ухитряются немного уклониться отъ общаго порядка: уклоненіе это состоитъ именно въ томъ, что покойникъ по еврейскому обряднику долженъ быть спеленутъ и субботники обматываютъ подъ платьемъ (чтобы не замѣтилъ священникъ) своихъ отошедшихъ единовѣрцевъ семью семиками холста; богатые пеленаютъ въ свой холстъ, бѣдныхъ же пеленаетъ или община или доброхотные датели на свой счетъ. Спеленать въ свой холстъ покойника и на свой счетъ сдѣлать похоронный обѣдъ считается великимъ добрымъ дѣломъ.

Собственно богослуженія у субббтниковъ нѣтъ и всякій молится въ своей семьѣ у себя на дому. Общія сходки назначаются только въ весьма важныхъ случаяхъ, какъ-то: при морѣ, пожарѣ, неурожаѣ. Впрочемъ иногда случается, что вся община собирается у какого нибудь всѣми уважаемаго члена общины и этотъ послѣдній читаетъ ветхій завѣтъ. Всякое молитвенное собраніе, будетъ ли оно домашнее или общественное, начинается и оканчивается слѣдующими словами, произносимыми наистарѣйшимъ изъ молящихся: „О Боже предвѣчный, Ты Богъ Авраама, Исакія и Якова и всего своего Израиля, осѣни насъ своею милостью, какъ осѣнилъ народъ свой въ пустынѣ; защити насъ, какъ защитилъ народъ свой отъ злыхъ египтянъ; спаси насъ и помилуй, какъ спасъ и помиловалъ патріарховъ и пророковъ“. Другихъ молитвъ нѣтъ рѣшительно никакихъ; но отсутствіе разъ установленныхъ обращеній къ Богу вовсе не значитъ, что субботники никогда не обращаются къ Богу съ молитвою о помощи; случится больной въ домѣ, и старѣйшина обра-

щается къ „Еговѣ“ съ слѣдующими словами: „Боже Авраама, Исакія и Якова и всего своего Израиля, какъ древле изцѣлилъ Ты отца Товита, такъ и нынѣ изцѣли болящаго (—ящую) сего“. Падетъ лошадь въ домѣ, и хозяинъ говоритъ: „Боже Авраама...., какъ древле отнялъ ты скотъ и богатство у страдательнаго Іова, такъ и нынѣ лишилъ ты грѣшныхъ рабовъ своихъ потребнаго; но какъ древле источилъ ты милость свою на страдательнаго Іова и наградилъ его сторицею, такъ и нынѣ...“ Вся суть дѣла вообще въ томъ, чтобы въ молитвенномъ прошеніи былъ высказанъ весь титулъ Іеговы и употреблено непремѣнно сравненіе даннаго случая съ подобнымъ фактомъ изъ ветхозавѣтной исторіи. Иногда при такого рода молитвенныхъ обращеніяхъ употребляются символы, нѣчто въ родѣ заклинаній. Такъ напр., намъ удалось присутствовать при освященіи вновь выкопаннаго колодца; одинъ изъ старѣйшинъ, подойдя къ срубу, трижды ударилъ кіемъ по немъ въ прообразованіе ударовъ Моисея въ скалу при изведеніи изъ камня воды въ пустынѣ, и тогда уже проговорилъ по разъ принятой формулѣ слѣдующую молитву: „Боже Авраама, Исакія и Якова и всего своего Израиля, какъ напоилъ ты божественною водою народъ свой израильскій древле, такъ и нынѣ сотвори кладезь сей во здравіе сему новому Израилю“. Тѣмъ впрочемъ освященіе и кончилось, конечно съ прочтеніемъ той главы изъ ветхаго завѣта, гдѣ разсказывается упомянутый выше случай съ Моисеемъ. Интересно, что во всѣхъ молитвахъ своихъ говорятъ непремѣнно: „Богъ всего своего Израиля“ — этимъ они хотятъ указать именно на два народа израильскихъ, древній и новый, іудеевъ и субботниковъ.

Особыхъ наставниковъ у субботниковъ нѣтъ, по той простой причинѣ, что наставлять ихъ не въ чемъ; всякій членъ общины грамотенъ и можетъ читать самъ, а разъясненія не допускаются, такъ какъ разумъ человѣческій считается не безгрѣшнымъ. Въ послѣднее время однако въ субботничествѣ, которое случилось намъ наблюдать, совершается переворотъ, который можетъ повести за собой почти огульный переходъ всей общины въ раціонализмъ; благодаря чрезвычайно честной и добродѣтельной жизни, одинъ изъ старѣйшинъ (домохозяевъ) получаетъ все болѣе и болѣе вліянія и рискуетъ уже иногда вставлять между чтеніемъ ветхаго завѣта коекакія свои поясненія; сначала, не смотря на все уваженіе къ нему, на него напустились и стали укорять въ любомудріи; но умный

старѣйшина вывернулся изъ бѣды и теперь уже проповѣдуетъ вскользь о томъ, что человѣку данъ разумъ для познанія божества въ мірѣ, что хотя разумъ этотъ далеко не безошибоченъ, все-таки надо и его допускать въ дѣло религіи, что еслибы Богу не была угодна пытливость разума, онъ не даровалъ бы его человѣку и т. п. Ясно, что разъ дорога разуму открыта — тѣмъ самымъ положенъ конецъ допотопному субботничеству; мѣстные молокане очень хорошо поняли, къ чему клонится дѣло и вполнѣ увѣрены, что не сегодня-завтра субботники открыто перейдутъ къ раціонализму. Конечно, быть можетъ, нѣкоторая часть субботниковъ и не захочетъ разстаться съ преждеизлюбленной вѣрой, какъ съ единственно понятной для нихъ формулой богопочитанія, но часть эта такъ незначительна и притомъ такъ скоро можетъ, при постоянныхъ сношеніяхъ съ своими бывшими собратами, доразвиться до нихъ, что можно ожидать весьма скораго уничтоженія субботничества въ томъ селѣ, гдѣ намъ удалось наблюдать ихъ.

Какъ я сказалъ уже, всѣ субботники грамотны, такъ какъ всякій старѣйшина обязанъ выучить грамотѣ всѣхъ дѣтей, принадлежащихъ къ его семьѣ; ученье идетъ по давнишнему дѣдовскому порядку, т. е. по азамъ, съ подзатыльниками и другими „улещаніями“; дѣло идетъ однако по-маленьку, и намъ случалось видѣть у субботникевъ 9-ти-лѣтнихъ дѣтей, плетущихся по ветхому завѣту—съ прихрамываніемъ, но все-таки плетущихся. Только нѣкоторые умѣютъ писать—это искусство считается роскошью, хотя и очень уважается. Дѣвочки тоже всѣ умѣютъ читать, такъ какъ и онѣ зачитываются всласть взятіями Іерихоновъ и мѣдными трубами Гедеона (Идивонъ).

Всѣ еврейскіе праздники свято чтятся субботниками; кущи справляютъ они „страха ради іудейска“ у себя же во дворѣ подъ навѣсомъ; на пасху пекутъ опрѣсноки и жарятъ цѣликомъ съ костями ягненка, кровью котораго пачкаютъ двери своихъ избъ и притомъ, конечно незавѣдомо, пачкотню эту выводятъ въ видѣ креста; стучатъ въ стѣны въ день усмиренія гнѣва царя Артаксеркса и даже вѣшаютъ петлю подъ навѣсомъ, вѣроятно для Амана. Вечеромъ въ пятницу наступаетъ у субботниковъ шабашъ и длится до „заката субботняго солнышка“. Никакими средствами нельзя заставить субботника сдѣлать что-нибудь во время шабаша; еврея можно смутить деньгами, субботникъ же не пойдетъ ни на какой

компромиссъ. Въ шабашъ субботники даже не ѣдятъ ничего и не пьютъ, чтобы не думать о земномъ въ тотъ день, который долженъ быть весь посвященъ Богу; они весьма порицаютъ евреевъ, которые сдѣлали уступку человѣческой натурѣ и только не готовятъ ничего въ шабашное время, а ѣдятъ заготовленное въ пятницу. Весь шабашъ употребляется на безмолвное сидѣніе и „воздыханіе", которое такъ облюблено русскимъ человѣкомъ православнымъ, молоканиномъ, скопцомъ, хлыстомъ, поповцемъ, безпоповцемъ и субботникомъ; даже читать ветхій завѣтъ запрещается въ шабашъ, такъ какъ читающій можетъ развлечься сторонними фактами, сообщаемыми въ немъ и отклониться мыслію отъ главнаго—величія Еговы. Только старѣйшина, т. е. человѣкъ совершенно сложившійся, можетъ читать писаніе, да и то съ разборомъ.

Не обошлось впрочемъ у субботниковъ и безъ такъ-называемыхъ „видимостей," противъ которыхъ ведутъ такую ожесточенную войну наши раціоналистическія секты; такъ напр., при чтеніи, старѣйшина надѣваетъ на себя суконный домотканный плащъ, сшитый изъ синихъ и бѣлыхъ полосъ, на груди у него виситъ до колѣнъ нѣчто въ родѣ эпитрахили, тоже сшитой изъ бѣлаго и синяго сукна, на лбу привѣшены „законники." Законниками у субботниковъ называется бѣлый холщевый мѣшочекъ, въ которомъ зашиты, писанныя на толстой картонной бумагѣ, 10 заповѣдей; отъ мѣшочка идутъ двѣ ленточки, которыя и обвязываются вокругъ головы такъ, чтобы законники приходились какъ разъ посреди лба; голова старѣйшины покрыта при этомъ ермолкой изъ синяго и бѣлаго сукна или бархата, смотря по достатку; изъ-подъ ермолки непремѣнно торчатъ по вискамъ изъ рукъ вонъ не ладящіе съ русской физіономіей—пейсы. „Да какъ у васъ ангеловъ-то пишутъ?" объяснилъ мнѣ одинъ изъ старѣйшинъ, о которомъ я упоминалъ уже выше,—„вѣдь власы въ низъ нисходящи и кудряваты — такъ-то и мы дѣлаемъ; надѣнешь шапочку-то, волосъ и не видать, а надыть, чтобы напоминать семейскимъ о небесныхъ благовѣстникахъ—вотъ и выпускаемъ грѣшные власы свои во ихъ власъ прообразованіе." Терпѣть не можетъ субботникъ, если его шапочку назвать ермолкой, а его кудри ангельскіе—пейсами: „это у жидовъ пейсы да ермолки, а у насъ ихъ нѣтъ; у Мысея не показано такъ называть—это ихніе лжемессіи придумали." Вообще слова: жидъ, жидовство представляются для субботниковъ, которыхъ намъ удалось наблюдать, чѣмъ-то въ

родѣ брани; жидъ—талмудистъ, слѣдовательно еретически толкующій законъ Моисея; чѣмъ были слова: якобинецъ и волтеріанецъ для людей начала нынѣшняго столѣтія, тѣмъ же самымъ представляются субботнику изъ описываемой мною общины слова: жидъ, еврей, іудей. „Знаемъ мы этихъ умниковъ-то, что поумнѣе Мысея быть захотѣли, знаемъ, и такъ-то о гибели ихней жалкуемъ, что и на-поди. Говорили мнѣ ихніе разные прокураты, какъ ихняя вѣра толкуетъ, только ничего въ ихъ вѣрѣ хорошаго не нашелъ я. Вотъ тоже и наши есть,—свихнулись; на Кавказѣ живетъ много нашего брата субботника, только тоже въ уклонѣ отъ вѣры живутъ; талмудъ читаютъ, книжки разныя жидовскія,—ну и нѣсть имъ спасенія. То ли дѣло хурувимы—это вотъ вѣрніе и отъ нихъ намъ многому поучиться слѣдуетъ; эти Мысеева закона, настоящій Израиль.“ „Виданое-ли дѣло, чтобы чистое, богоданное животное не ѣсть и за нечисть почитать? а евреи такъ дѣлаютъ, задины ни за что сѣть не станутъ—трейфъ; и не вѣсть что затрейфили, хоть съ голоду помирай! а все талмудъ ихъ проклятый, да мессіи ихніе лживые. У Мысея ничего этого нѣтъ, значитъ и не надо, а свое прибавлять грѣхъ. Ишь вотъ Фараонъ вавилонскій придумывалъ, придумывалъ все по своему, да и замычалъ по волчиному—не возносись въ гордынѣ твоей. И наши туда же съ дуру полѣзли, слышно, дѣтей по еврейскому обучаютъ, чтобы этотъ талмудъ читали.“ Изъ всего только-что сказаннаго явствуетъ, что субботничество въ подражаніи своемъ гебраизму дошло дотого, что дало даже мѣсто въ средѣ своей обоимъ значительнѣйшимъ сектаторскимъ направленіямъ, выяснившимся въ Моисеевой религіи; караимы и талмудисты евреевъ вполнѣ соотвѣтствуютъ описываемымъ геррамъ и закавказскимъ субботникамъ; субботники, которыхъ мы наблюдали, считали себя правовѣрными, а закавказскихъ собратій своихъ—новаторами и еретиками, также точно и караимы себя признаютъ исповѣдующими истинную Моисееву религію, а талмудистовъ — новаторами и еретиками.

Когда я первый разъ пришелъ къ упомянутому выше старѣйшинѣ-новатору, онъ принялъ меня сурово и неохотно отвѣчалъ мнѣ на кое-какіе вопросы объ урожаяхъ, заработкахъ и т. п.; надо было какъ-нибудь разувѣрить его, что я не подосланъ. Обыкновенныя средства не дѣйствовали въ этомъ случаѣ, потому что никого еще изъ другихъ субботниковъ я не зналъ и не могъ передать

ему ни поклона, ни рекомендаціи. Я сталъ дѣйствовать на проломъ и прямо объявилъ, что хочу узнать ихъ вѣрованіе съ чисто научною цѣлью; сначала старикъ сталъ увѣрять меня, что ихъ вѣра православная, что они въ церковь ходятъ усердно, подати платятъ аккуратно, съ начальствомъ живутъ мирно, супротивностей никакихъ не чинили, но мало-по-малу онъ наконецъ удостовѣрился, что я не отъ губернатора и сдѣлался разговорчивѣе; я разсказывалъ ему о разныхъ вѣрахъ, на Руси существующихъ; смышленый старикъ съ жадностью ловилъ мои слова и на слѣдующій день мы сидѣли уже за неизмѣннымъ спутникомъ всякихъ изслѣдованій—ведернымъ самоваромъ, да бутылочкой настоящей мадеры, которую гдѣ-то въ Осташковѣ изготовляютъ про всю Русь православную, и болтали о субботническихъ догматахъ и даже о возможности дальнѣйшаго существованія той субботнической общины, гдѣ жилъ мой собесѣдникъ. Я постараюсь передать здѣсь самую суть нашего разговора словами самого старѣйшины, такъ какъ передавать весь разговоръ считаю излишнимъ.

„Много врутъ про насъ вздору—глотки-то не заткнешь, языка не привяжешь, говорилъ старѣйшина. Быдто мы ребятъ малыхъ въ жертву Богу приносимъ — врутъ, никогда такого у насъ не было. Посвящать мы ихъ Богу посвящаемъ, а только ничего надъ ними мы не дѣламъ. Да я вотъ такой-то точно; меня мать въ утробѣ Богу посвятила; и ничего во мнѣ нѣтъ особаго, и женатъ я, и дѣти есть, и не въ попахъ я хожу, а такъ только говорится „посвященный“ — на нищую братію долженъ я десятину отъ трудовъ своихъ выдавать, окромя той десятины, что на народъ сходитъ. Ужъ и скопителями-то насъ величаютъ, а у насъ этого опять нѣтъ; Богъ далъ уды—Богъ и отнять властенъ, а человѣкъ не властенъ; сказано: плодитесь и населяйте землю — мы законъ и исполняемъ, а оскопившись, не исполнишь. Говорятъ, они и въ Бога не вѣрятъ—опять врутъ. Богъ-то былъ, есть и будетъ; и язычникъ и тотъ въ Бога вѣритъ, только зря про него думаетъ. А вотъ они то, что другихъ учить падки, такъ сами не больно-то учены; въ писаніи сказано: „сый“, а они толкуютъ: „сынъ“. Духъ иное дѣло—онъ есть и въ писаніи—объ немъ и спорить нельзя, ну а объ сынѣ нѣтъ. Сами говорите: Мысей великъ пророкъ, по указанію Божію писалъ, а того не разберете, что онъ въ писаніи сына не прописывалъ. Что-же онъ не зналъ объ немъ, что-ли? Не помудрѣе-ли

Мысея вы быть хотите? Такъ вамъ-то Богъ не подсказывалъ, а онъ-то со словъ божескихъ писалъ.

— Да кто же „сынъ“ то былъ? чѣмъ вы его считаете?

— Сына нѣтъ, а Христосъ былъ. Великъ онъ пророкъ передъ Богомъ и херомъ онъ былъ съ двѣнадцати лѣтъ—это и въ евангеліи есть. Хороша эта книжка, кабы да вы изъ нея выписочку сдѣлали! куда какъ хороша бы книжка была! Есей пророкъ — знаешь? Опять Илья пророкъ, Езекій пророкъ, Давыдъ царь пророкъ, Иванъ Богусловъ пророкъ; такъ-то вотъ и Христосъ въ пророкахъ ходилъ. Онъ самъ васъ въ дѣло носомъ тычетъ, да вы отъ слѣпоты сами отстать не хотите.

— Значитъ у васъ признаются только два лица? спросилъ я, желая уяснить себѣ отношеніе субботниковъ къ ученію объ ѵпостасяхъ.

— Да вѣдь Богъ-то духъ, отвѣчалъ мой собесѣдникъ. Знаешь ли ты, что эта самая „упустась“ означаетъ? То-то вотъ вы дѣла-то ни разбираете. Это тоже наше же, еврейское слово—значитъ „явленіе“, а вы толкуете: лицо.

Откуда почерпнулъ это свѣдѣніе старикъ—рѣшительно не знаю, но наши сектанты дотого убѣждены въ истинности своихъ вѣрованій, что сами создаютъ доказательства, часто приводятъ въ свидѣтельство ими же самими придуманные факты и притомъ находятся въ полномъ убѣжденіи, что они говорятъ правду, что обо всемъ этомъ они гдѣ-то читали, или отъ кого-то слышали.

— Сказано: Богъ, Елой, Егова, Творецъ, Вседержитель, а ты понимай: Сила, Любовь, Духъ, Творецъ, Вседержитель. Какъ ни называй—все одно выходитъ. Ты теперь такъ понимай: солнышко одно на небѣ, а и теплитъ, и свѣтитъ, и произрастаетъ.

Такимъ образомъ, благодаря сравненію, употребленному моимъ собесѣдникомъ, мнѣ стало ясно, что субботники признаютъ одну лишь ѵпостась, причемъ Духа святаго признаютъ лишь за особое проявленіе божеской дѣятельности, Сына же не признаютъ вовсе и считаютъ его за пророка наравнѣ съ другими ветхозавѣтными пророками; одно лишь смущало меня и я постарался разъяснить себѣ непонятное для меня обстоятельство.

— Ну, а Іоаннъ-то креститель, тоже пророкъ?

— Иванъ Богусловъ? а то какже?

— Такъ вѣдь онъ пророчествовалъ о Христѣ и даже призналъ его?

— Вотъ это-то и пустое. Гдѣ-жъ онъ призналъ? Онъ вобче говорилъ, а вы о Христѣ понимаете. „Грядетъ по мнѣ“—такъ вѣдь и я по немъ гряду, такъ можетъ и я Мессія. Ужъ если хочешь знать, такъ не таковъ Мессія будетъ, каковъ былъ Христосъ Назарейскій. У Мысея что сказано? Придетъ во славѣ и въ гласѣ трубнемъ; оно такъ и есть. Какъ ему придти-то, поднимутся по всѣмъ землямъ войны и братъ на брата встанетъ бранію. Тогда-то явится онъ, батюшка, и подниметъ кличъ по землѣ: народъ мой любезный, граждане Сіонскіе, пріидете ко мнѣ! И соберутся къ нему всѣ, кто ему вѣрнымъ остался и станутъ въ полкъ его и отнимутъ св. грады у поганыхъ, а ненавидящіе насъ устыдятся. Онъ же воцарится во св. градѣ навѣки съ потомствомъ своимъ и всѣ вѣрніи его тутъ съ нимъ будутъ. Читалъ небось тоже, что Мессія будетъ царемъ іудейскимъ, а развѣ тотъ-то царь былъ? Сколько разъ принимались отнимать св. градъ у поганыхъ, однако что-то не дюже подается—видно не время. А тогда сами поганые отстанутъ отъ града, увидѣвъ силу и могущество его. Небось и вы Мессію также по-нашенски ожидаете въ славѣ, да въ почести, аки судію великаго, только вотъ уступить-то не хочется—все свое, да свое. Апокалипсисъ-книгу читалъ-ли? Тамъ что сказано? Даромъ что-ли вы ее за вдухновенную признали? Небось не даромъ. А тамъ что сказано? Пріидетъ, а не пришолъ. Тамъ Мессія-то прямо таки по-нашенски ожидается. Опять Хабалъ-книга Мысея пророка? Тамъ что сказано? А вы ее за бредни почитаете. А почему? Да потому, что подъ вашу статью не подходитъ.

— Какая же это Хабалъ-книга? Вѣдь Моисею приписываютъ только пять книгъ?

— Ну хоть не пять, а и побольше; да эту-то книгу оно и правда, что не самъ онъ написалъ, только съ его словъ писана она Арономъ косноязычнымъ. Велика сія книга передъ Богомъ! страсть велика! Теперь эту книгу и достать трудно—рѣдка стала, а прежде-то вотъ, помню, что видывалъ и я ее грѣшный у отца; какъ ему читать ее—надѣнетъ питрафиль бѣлонебесную, а законники на чело препояшетъ, а мы-то сидимъ, не шелохнемся — на руку старикъ строгъ былъ дюже. И чего только нѣтъ въ этой книгѣ: и леченья разныя, и науки, и какъ золотые камни дѣлать, и все-то тамъ прописано. Извѣстно, кабы теперь на нее натѣнуться—почиталъ бы съ почтеніемъ, а тогда-то, бывало, побаловать съ ребятенками хочется, сидишь, да глазами хлопаешь.

Какъ ни бился я, дальнѣйшихъ поясненій о томъ, что это за книга, я не получилъ. Старикъ перепуталъ въ конецъ свои воспоминанія, сталъ говорить мнѣ стихи изъ голубиной книги, потомъ свернулъ на какое-то московское подкаретное изданіе Мартына Задеки, наконецъ сталъ втупикъ и отрубилъ опять свое: „велика сія книга передъ Богомъ! Егова всю ее на небесахъ написалъ и показалъ Мысею, а тотъ уже говорилъ Арону косноязычному. Кабы да эту книгу, да на умнаго человѣка — не разстался бы съ нею!“

Оказалось такимъ образомъ, что русскій человѣкъ не могъ не дать своего чисто мѣстнаго колорита пересаженной къ нему іудейщинѣ. Странное дѣло, но ни одна изъ нашихъ сектъ не обходится безъ какой-нибудь книги божественнаго происхожденія; скопческія „страды“ падаютъ съ неба, хлыстовская „молитва пресладкая Христа сына божія къ своему на землѣ подобію“—тоже; такого же происхожденія (т. е. нашептана Богомъ Матвѣю Семеновичу) молоканская книга: „благодарное раздумье“, которое намъ случалось видѣть только одинъ разъ; ясно, слѣдовательно, что мотивъ вездѣ одинъ и тотъ же, и остается предположить, что необходимость имѣть богоданный кодексъ вытекаетъ изъ источника древняго; и въ самомъ дѣлѣ, субботническая хабалъ-книга чрезвычайно напоминаетъ, извѣстную съ одного конца Россіи до другаго, голубиную книгу, которая тоже „выпадаетъ“ съ неба.

Русскаго человѣка часто укоряютъ въ томъ, что онъ обезличивается весьма скоро при встрѣчѣ съ чуждою національностью и принимаетъ и языкъ, и обычаи инородческіе; въ примѣръ такого обезличенія, намъ приводятся великороссійскія поселенія среди зырянъ, нѣсколько омордвинившихся селъ въ волжскомъ бассейнѣ, уступчивость великорусской національности малорусской въ воронежской губерніи; но еслибы только потрудились хорошенько изслѣдовать это мнимое обезличеніе, то увидѣли бы, что мнѣніе это совершенно ошибочно. Что̀ именно перенимаетъ русскій человѣкъ? Только внѣшность, да и къ той онъ съумѣетъ прибавить своего, чисто русскаго, иногда весьма гнуснаго. Услыхалъ пограничный съ Китаемъ поселенецъ слово: «фу» — онъ его перенялъ и къ русской рѣчи своей то и дѣло прибавляетъ облюбленное: «фу»; онѣмечился русскій вовсе, а ужъ съ своею чистокровно-русскою неумытостью и съ знаменитою шириною натуры никогда не разстанется; казакъ сибирскій обратчился и по разговору и по обычаю сдѣлался рѣшительно брат-

скимъ (бурятъ), но ужъ отъ вороватости своей ни за что не откажется и передалъ даже это неказистое качество окружнымъ инородцамъ; русскій мужикъ объіудеялся вовсе, пейсы носить сталъ, ермолку, и даже увѣряетъ, что онъ не Кузька, а Ааронъ; но и тутъ не обошлось безъ русскаго духа — явилась Хабалъ-книга, іудейству пришлось мириться съ апокалипсисомъ, который облюбила склонная къ мистицизму натура русская.

Но не въ одномъ этомъ проявились характеристическія черты русскаго типа; въ русскій гебраизмъ втерлось много такого, что идетъ совершенно въ разрѣзъ съ требованіями Моисеева закона. Надо отдать полную справедливость субботникамъ, что особеннаго развитія въ нихъ замѣтить рѣшительно невозможно; уже самое принятіе ими религіи готовой, еврейской религіи, есть признакъ отсутствія самодѣятельности разума, а потому и понятно, что чисто духовное богопочитаніе гебраизма не могло быть для нихъ вполнѣ понятнымъ, какъ людямъ совершенно еще не подготовленнымъ къ духовному поклоненію божеству. Намъ случалось видѣть даже у самыхъ рьяныхъ противниковъ всякихъ видимостей—молоканъ, почти совершенно такое же, какъ и у православныхъ, иконопочитаніе, т. е. прикладываніе къ портрету Уклеина и другихъ; у христовщинцевъ потребность поклоняться видимому божеству высказывается еще рѣзче и вслѣдствіе этого являются на радѣніяхъ портреты христовщинскихъ дѣятелей и даже самолично Богъ и Богородица, которымъ поклоняются корабельщики. Совершенно тоже самое замѣчаемъ мы и у субботниковъ; законъ Моисея строго воспрещаетъ поклоняться изображеніямъ божества, но Моисей не могъ предвидѣть только одного обстоятельства—желанія поклоняться ему самому, какъ создателю религіи. Почти въ каждомъ субботническомъ домѣ встрѣчались намъ изображенія Моисея въ разные моменты его жизни, чаще же всего попадались намъ картинки изъ изданія: „Священная исторія въ картинахъ“ и одна только лондонская гравюра, изображающая Моисея при горькихъ источникахъ Мерры съ „трисіяніемъ“. Когда я спрашивалъ у хозяевъ, зачѣмъ повѣсили они эти изображенія въ красномъ углу, то они отвѣчали, что дѣлаютъ это изъ уваженія къ Моисею, который настолько угодилъ Богу, что сдѣлался посредникомъ въ отношеніяхъ его къ людямъ и сподобился передать начертаніе божественной религіи народу Божію. Когда, по моей просьбѣ, они снимали со стѣнъ эти картинки, то

тщательно обтирали ихъ, цѣловали и относились къ нимъ вообще такъ, какъ относится любой православный къ иконамъ; старообрядческаго иконолюбія впрочемъ я не замѣтилъ. Передъ семейнымъ чтеніемъ ветхаго завѣта, читающій всегда отправляется прежде поцѣловать икону Моисея, по окончаніи чтенія опять идетъ прикладываніе, въ которомъ принимаютъ участіе уже всѣ члены семьи.

По убѣжденію субботниковъ, благость божія не въ силахъ долѣе сносить людскаго беззаконія и не сегодня—завтра зазвучитъ призывная труба Еговы; телеграфы, желѣзныя дороги и реформы, потребовавшія непомѣрнаго увеличенія податей, совершенно сбили ихъ съ толку и они твердятъ то и дѣло о наступившихъ уже послѣднихъ временахъ. „Поднимутся брани многія и великія, братъ на брата мечомъ препояшется и настанетъ тма и мерзь великая (?); разступится земля, изольется на нее для омовенія отъ грѣховъ мореокіянъ и выйдетъ изъ него древній Фараонъ въ багряницѣ и въ трисіяніи, дабы затмить свѣтомъ грядущаго Мессію; какъ древле вселился сатана въ него же для погубленія народа Божія, такъ и нынѣ вселится въ него сатана для новой попытки къ погубленію всего Израиля чрезъ убійство грядущаго Мессіи. И разверзнутся небеса и обуяетъ свѣтъ правды Фараона и нарекутъ ему съ неба имя—антихристъ, за противность его Мессіи. Съ востока же покажется Мессія въ блескѣ славы и величія; свѣтъ правды озаритъ Фараона и устыдится онъ своего трисіянія и угаснетъ свѣтъ сіянія его; тутъ приступитъ къ нему Мессія и поразитъ его копьемъ истины и снова разверзнется земля и поглотитъ проклятое тѣло его, душу и море. Тогда-то въ ликованіи побѣды воскликнетъ Мессія къ вѣрнымъ сынамъ своимъ, которые выйдутъ изъ-подъ воды морской убѣленны отъ грѣховъ и неправды, соберетъ ихъ со всѣхъ концовъ земли, воцарится съ ними въ градѣ святомъ и царствію его не будетъ конца. Да не мы одни такъ-то думаемъ; много нашихъ на Кавказъ ушло Мессію встрѣчать и столкнулись тамъ съ нѣмцами—тоже Мессію встрѣчать пришли. Вотъ бабочки есть, старушки богомольщицы, такъ говорятъ, даже колыбельку Мессіину на горѣ Араратѣ видать изъ подъ земли“.

Вотъ какую картину создалъ гебраизмъ при помощи совершенно чуждой ему подкладки религіознаго дуализма. То же стремленіе, которое сдѣлало у христовщинцевъ Христа чѣмъ-то въ родѣ дуалистическаго юнаго бога, сражающагося съ темнымъ божествомъ, ко-

торое внесло въ христіанство присущій древнерусскому язычеству миѳъ о борьбѣ свѣтлаго и темнаго начала,—то-же стремленіе вторглось и въ замкнутое субботничество, столь строго относящееся ко всякимъ нововведеніямъ, и упочвило то, что было посажено чуждаго и не мирящагося съ перваго взгляда со складомъ ума, характеромъ и всѣмъ строемъ жизни русскаго человѣка. Когда я сталъ доискиваться, откуда почерпнулъ мой собесѣдникъ вышепереданную мною картину, выхваченную изъ ученія Зердуистры, если не прямикомъ, то по крайней мѣрѣ при посредствѣ своихъ собственныхъ дуалистическихъ языческихъ основъ и значительнаго общенія съ болгарскими богомилами,—то онъ снова заговорилъ о Хабалъ-книгѣ, которая, по его словамъ, добавляетъ еще много подробностей, испарившихся изъ его памяти. Слѣдуетъ предполагать однако, что на самомъ дѣлѣ никакой Хабалъ-книги и не существуетъ, такъ какъ (по крайней мѣрѣ подвергшіеся моему наблюденію) субботники ее никогда сами не читали, а или полагаютъ, что видѣли у отцовъ, или же слышали о ней отъ стариковъ. Намъ кажется, что Хабалъ-книга служитъ только въ рукахъ болѣе смѣлыхъ старѣйшинъ ловкимъ отводомъ для слишкомъ строгихъ гебраистовъ, когда первые хотятъ ввести что-нибудь новенькое, своего собственнаго измышленія. Собственныхъ соображеній не допускается, разсужденіе изгнано изъ субботничества и вотъ на сцену является мнимая Хабалъ-книга, написанная на небесахъ самимъ Богомъ для Моисея, а противъ такого авторитета уже конечно никто спорить не станетъ.

Что касается будущности субботничества, то намъ кажется рѣшительно невозможнымъ дальнѣйшее его существованіе тамъ, гдѣ мы его наблюдали. Уже самая потребность появленія Хабалъ-книги показываетъ, что строгій ветхозавѣтный гебраизмъ перестаетъ удовлетворять лучшіе умы общины, а разговоры о томъ, что Егова не далъ бы разума человѣку, еслибы онъ не былъ потребенъ, прямо предвѣщаютъ имѣющій случиться переворотъ. Понятно, что не вся еще община подготовлена къ тому, чтобы окончательно сбросить съ себя ярмо гебраизма, но большая часть, намъ кажется, ждетъ только удобнаго случая. Въ то время, когда такимъ образомъ мѣстное субботничество стоитъ на перепутьѣ, не дремлютъ тѣ, къ кому видимо тянутъ наиболѣе развившіеся гебраисты; на основаніи рѣшенія собора 1866 года, молокане то и дѣло посылаютъ своихъ наставниковъ въ ближнія къ субботникамъ селенія, а наставники за

самоварчикомъ раздуваютъ искорку, вспыхнувшую въ субботническомъ застоѣ. Но кромѣ возможности перехода нѣкоторой, лучшей части субботнической общины, въ молоканство (что, конечно, не можетъ однако совершиться въ одинъ годъ), есть еще одинъ путь, по которому и пойдетъ вѣроятно та часть общины, которая недоразвилась еще до пониманія поклоненія божеству въ духѣ и которой не слишкомъ еще пріѣлась религія патріарховъ. Путь этотъ— талмудизмъ. Уже теперь приходится слышать иногда жалобы, въ родѣ: „наукамъ-то вотъ мы не выучены, а то начитаться бы талмуда еврейскаго — можетъ и въ немъ тоже есть что отъ Бога?“ Два семейства, переселившіяся не особенно давно на Кавказъ, прямикомъ таки съютились съ тамошними субботниками и переняли отъ нихъ талмудистскую премудрость *), которою и угощаютъ изрѣдка въ письмахъ своихъ бывшихъ односельцевъ. Вопросъ состоитъ только въ томъ: явится-ли для проповѣди талмуда какой-нибудь рискунъ-еврей, или же рискнетъ на эту новинку доморощенный проповѣдникъ. Что и тотъ и другой успѣютъ въ своемъ дѣлѣ—это вѣрно.

— Откуда же ваша вѣра? спросили мы разъ того же старѣйшину. Кто изъ русскихъ людей первый пошелъ по ней?

— Митрополитъ Лука,—отрубилъ онъ—новгородскій епископъ.

И такъ, вотъ кому взвалили на плечи сами субботники обузпривитія гебраизма къ русскому люду—Лукѣ Жидятѣ, который ни душой, ни тѣломъ въ этомъ не виноватъ; довольно было услыхать субботнику прозвище Луки, чтобы въ умѣ его родилась мысль о томъ, что Жидята былъ первымъ, принявшимъ Моисеевъ законъ на Руси.

На вопросъ: почему явилась возможность перехода кучки русскихъ людей въ гебраизмъ? полагаю излишне даже и отвѣчать, такъ какъ что́ только невозможно при томъ состояніи народнаго образованія, которое мы видимъ въ настоящее время въ нашемъ необъятномъ по части пространства и всякаго рода непочатыхъ угловъ отечествѣ. Къ сожалѣнію, много еще времени пройдетъ и много воды утечетъ, когда станутъ невозможны метаморфозы, подобныя той, которая приключилась съ Кузькой, сдѣлавшимся вдругъ Аарономъ.

В. Майновъ.

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*) Они, между прочимъ, до того въѣлись въ талмудистскую кашу, что, основываясь на книгѣ «Ниддъ», не только отстраняются отъ женщинъ во время менструаціи, но и отказываются вообще отъ всякаго съ нею сообщенія. Новая черта чисто русскаго духовнаго и плотскаго самоотверженія.

ОРГАНИЗАЦІЯ ЛИТЕРАТУРНАГО ТРУДА.

Среди безконечнаго разнообразія вопросовъ, которые подлежатъ ex officio вѣдѣнію литературы, есть одинъ, который постоянно и едва ли не намѣренно обходится деликатнымъ молчаніемъ—это вопросъ объ условіяхъ, какъ матеріальныхъ, такъ и нравственныхъ, какъ внутреннихъ, такъ и внѣшнихъ, среди которыхъ производится вся масса умственнаго труда, результатъ котораго именуется печатнымъ словомъ. То немногое, что высказывается по этому поводу, высказывается какъ-бы случайно, вскользь и едва задѣваетъ окраину вопроса, оставляя средину нетронутою. Что побуждаетъ литературу къ этому деликатному умалчиванію? Скромная ли неувѣренность въ своемъ правѣ отвлекать вниманіе общества отъ болѣе близкихъ ему интересовъ вещами, которыя ни до кого, кромѣ самихъ господъ литераторовъ, повидимому, не касаются, и возводить въ дѣло общественной важности интересы ничтожной горсти людей, какихъ нибудь двухъ-трехъ сотъ человѣкъ? Боязнь ли раздразнить гусей,—или же, наконецъ, та изстари укоренившаяся замашка, которая всякое „высшее служеніе“ превращаетъ въ элевзинское таинство и, ревниво оберегая авторитетъ его жрецовъ, опускаетъ между ними и непосвященною толпою завѣсу непроницаемой тайны?—Каковы бы ни были причины этого явленія, результаты его едва-ли выгодны для кого бы то ни было. Отношенія, существующія у насъ между литературою и публикою, далеко не могутъ считаться нормальными, или, выражаясь точнѣе, эти отношенія могутъ считаться почти вовсе

не существующими. Та живая связь между пишущими и читающими, которая составляетъ душу живу всякой литературы и источникъ ея силы, ослабляется все болѣе и болѣе. То общеніе мыслей и чувствъ, та чуткость взаимнаго пониманія на полсловѣ, которыя еще на нашей памяти такъ облегчали задачу прежнихъ литературныхъ дѣятелей, все болѣе и болѣе уступаютъ мѣсто со стороны публики какому-то объективному равнодушію, какому-то безстрастію усталости и скуки. Въ общей сложности печатается и читается не меньше прежняго и даже больше,—но читается иначе, чѣмъ прежде: нѣтъ тѣхъ рѣзко очерченныхъ симпатій и антипатій, нѣтъ той серьезности увлеченія; въ книги и журналы заглядываютъ какъ въ справочную книгу, или пробѣгаютъ ихъ на досугѣ, отъ нечего дѣлать, одобряютъ или порицаютъ, и затѣмъ откладываютъ въ сторону, чтобы вернуться къ реальнымъ, дѣловымъ интересамъ жизни. Рядомъ съ этимъ индифферентизмомъ идетъ полнѣйшее незнаніе тѣхъ условій, среди которыхъ литературѣ приходится дѣйствовать. Не говоря уже о внутренней, такъ-сказать закулисной сторонѣ дѣла, которую и узнать публикѣ неоткуда, даже такіе доступные для общаго свѣдѣнія факты, какъ напримѣръ, положеніе, создаваемое литературѣ законами о печати, извѣстны большинству публикѣ лишь въ крайне-смутномъ видѣ и нерѣдко приходится слышать по этому поводу сужденія и вопросы, изобличающіе полнѣйшее незнаніе самыхъ основныхъ положеній закона 6-го апрѣля. Такое незнаніе имѣетъ въ результатѣ своемъ цѣлый рядъ недоразумѣній, еще болѣе расширяющихъ ту пропасть, которая отдѣляетъ литературу отъ общества.

Нелѣпо было бы взваливать цѣликомъ на литературу и ея дѣятелей отвѣтственность за такое ненормальное положеніе вещей. Литература есть не болѣе какъ барометръ, повышеніемъ и пониженіемъ котораго выражается общее состояніе соціальной атмосферы. Никому не приходитъ въ голову претендовать на барометръ, когда онъ опускается на „дождь“ и всякій понимаетъ, что для того, чтобы заставить его подняться до „ясно“, нужны такія условія, вызвать которыя барометръ безсиленъ. Но, если всякая человѣческая дѣятельность наравнѣ съ безсознательными стихіями, управляется совокупностью вліяній, лежащихъ внѣ ея самой и противъ круговой поруки которыхъ въ большинствѣ случаевъ она реагировать безсильна, то не надо забывать, что она и съ своей стороны, именно потому, что она сознательна, и по сколько она сознательна,—т. е. по сколько

стремится выяснить себѣ связь причинности въ окружающихъ явленіяхъ, — есть, съ своей стороны, дѣятельный факторъ. Если для всякой человѣческой дѣятельности выясненіе тѣхъ условій, среди которыхъ она происходитъ, составляетъ первый и весьма существенный шагъ на пути къ предположенной цѣли, то для литературы и подавно. Прямая и откровенная постановка вопроса, уже тѣмъ однимъ, что она устраняетъ всѣ иллюзіи, недоразумѣнія и разочарованія, сокращаетъ путь, и отрицательные выводы, къ которымъ она большею частію приводитъ, если и не даютъ еще сами по себѣ ключа къ рѣшенію задачи, то во всякомъ случаѣ, сокращая число ошибочныхъ рѣшеній, подыскиваемыхъ ощупью и на-угадъ, увеличиваетъ вѣроятіе пріискать наконецъ вѣрное рѣшеніе. Съ этой точки зрѣнія, выясненіе тѣхъ внутреннихъ и внѣшнихъ условій, которыми обставленъ литературный трудъ, выясненіе самаго процесса этого труда важно не для однихъ людей литературной профессіи; общество настолько же заинтересовано въ ознакомленіи съ этимъ процессомъ, насколько оно заинтересовано и въ его результатахъ. Другими словами, если для общества важно, чтобы у него была литература, вполнѣ достойная этого имени, то для него также важно знать, что мѣшаетъ осуществленію этого идеала.

И это еще не все. Литература, независимо отъ ея спеціальнаго назначенія, есть такая же отрасль труда, какъ и всякая другая. Тѣ блаженныя времена, когда журналы пробавлялись даровыми приношеніями диллетантовъ, удѣлявшихъ писательству свои „досуги“, и когда писатели скрывали передъ своими великосвѣтскими знакомыми то, что должно было составить славу ихъ въ потомствѣ, краснѣя за каждое пятнышко въ своемъ кабинетѣ, канули въ вѣчность. Споръ о томъ, насколько писатель въ правѣ торговать своей музой или, по просту говоря, брать гонорарій за свои произведенія, относится къ области давно минувшихъ и позабытыхъ курьезовъ. Въ настоящее время литературная работа совмѣщаетъ въ себѣ всѣ признаки и аттрибуты обыкновеннаго труда и наравнѣ съ послѣднимъ состоитъ въ тѣсной связи съ экономическими и соціальными условіями окружающей среды. Для всякаго, интересующагося изслѣдованіемъ этихъ условій, она представляетъ чрезвычайно благодарное поле для наблюденій; самая ограниченность этого поля, т. е. сравнительная малочисленность литературныхъ тружениковъ, облегчаетъ наблюденіе, давая возможность тѣснѣе группи-

ровать явленія и уловлять связь между законами и ихъ дѣйствіемъ. Такимъ образомъ литературная дѣятельность примыкаетъ внутреннею, такъ сказать, субъективною своею стороною къ той обширной области соціально-экономическихъ изслѣдованій, къ которой въ концѣ концовъ сводятся и въ которой ждутъ своего рѣшенія всѣ великіе вопросы науки и жизни. Уже этого одного достаточно, чтобы обезпечить и за этой внутренной, субъективной стороною долю общаго интереса по крайней мѣрѣ равную той, которая всѣми признается за объективными ея результатами.

I.

Если вліяніе и почетъ, которыми литература когда-то пользовалась въ массѣ общества, въ значительной степени ослабѣли въ настоящее время, то литераторство по прежнему стоитъ въ глазахъ большинства какъ-то особнякомъ отъ всѣхъ остальныхъ профессій и облечено ореоломъ, затмѣвающимъ блескъ всѣхъ прочихъ отличій. Быть знакомымъ съ литераторомъ считается уже не малымъ отличіемъ; иная провинціальная, а то пожалуй и столичная m-me Декамье, одержимая духомъ того, что англичане называютъ (cilibrity hunting (гоньба за знаменитостями), только и спитъ и видитъ, какъ бы залучить къ себѣ литератора, хотя бы изъ плохенькихъ, посуливъ своимъ знакомымъ угощеніе этого рода; она сознаетъ, что выросла во мнѣніи окружающихъ цѣлою головой и уже не жалѣетъ о трудахъ и неудачахъ, понесенныхъ ею, прежде чѣмъ осуществилась эта завѣтная мечта. Видѣть себя въ печати, хотя бы въ одномъ изъ тѣхъ заштатныхъ изданьицъ, которыя и съ литературою то имѣютъ весьма мало общаго, — равняется для инаго, даже солиднаго человѣка, повышенію въ чинѣ. Съ умиленіемъ читаетъ и перечитываетъ онъ свое собственное произведеніе, перешедшее сквозь горнило редакціи и побывавшее подъ типографскимъ станкомъ. Собственныя слова его, воспроизведенныя въ печатныхъ буквахъ, глядятъ на него какъ-то чудно и необыкновенно авторитетно: онъ открываетъ въ нихъ такую глубину мысли и богатство содержанія, какихъ и самъ прежде не подозрѣвалъ. Мы знали одного педагога, который имѣлъ много задатковъ, чтобы быть полезнымъ и почтеннымъ дѣятелемъ въ своей сферѣ: дѣло свое онъ зналъ хо-

рошо, ученики его любили, — но на бѣду нашъ педагогъ, въ качествѣ человѣка, стоящаго выше уровня толпы, считалъ себя призваннымъ домогаться той печати высшаго помазанія, которая налагается званіемъ литератора. Къ вящей еще бѣдѣ, это ему чуть-чуть не удалось; какое-то сочиненіе его на тему, соприкасающуюся съ его спеціальностью, было напечатано въ одномъ малоизвѣстномъ сборникѣ; но затѣмъ счастье, которое было такъ близко, такъ возможно, куда-то предательски скрылось, оставивъ ему по себѣ лишь нѣчто въ родѣ писательскаго запоя. Повѣсти, драмы и романы рѣкою текли изъ-подъ пера его и.... оставались въ портфелѣ. Экземпляръ злополучнаго сборника, въ которомъ красовалось единственное напечатанное произведеніе его, онъ хранилъ какъ палладіумъ, какъ обѣтованіе лучшихъ дней, какъ наглядное доказательство того, что если дни эти еще не настали, то виною тому лишь людская злоба и несправедливость. Къ профессіи своей онъ относился съ тѣмъ тоскливымъ раздраженіемъ, съ какимъ люди живутъ на бивуакахъ, ожидая со дня на день благопріятнаго поворота дѣлъ, который позволитъ имъ устроить свою обстановку болѣе прочно и по своему вкусу. Чувство обиды все росло и росло, питаясь собственною горечью, и горечь эта нисколько не умалялась оттого, что не было субъекта, на котораго можно бы было ее излить и въ которомъ воплотилась бы очевидная несправедливость судьбы, приковавшей литературнаго Прометея къ такому низменному дѣлу, какъ преподаваніе грамматики ребятишкамъ. Нечего и говорить, что спряженіе глаголовъ при этихъ условіяхъ шло спустя рукава; вообще говоря, не было человѣка несчастнѣе этого непризнаннаго литератора.... кромѣ развѣ тѣхъ знакомыхъ, которымъ онъ неотвязно читалъ свои объемистыя рукописи. Впрочемъ развязка этой буржуазной драмы вышла благополучнѣе, чѣмъ можно было ожидать. Истощивъ всѣ усилія, чтобы проторить своимъ произведеніямъ дорожку въ какую нибудь либеральную редакцію, нашъ педагогъ махнулъ на либерализмъ рукою и успѣлъ прикомандироваться на скромныхъ правахъ „посторонняго сотрудника“ къ одному изданію, пользовавшемуся самою незавидною репутаціею. Послѣ этого онъ окончательно успокоился. Внутренній разладъ и брюзгливое раздраженіе уступили мѣсто олимпійскому самодовольству человѣка, который сознаетъ, что исполнилъ свое призваніе: онъ попалъ, какъ выражался Бѣлинскій, на свою полочку.

Мы думаемъ, что исторія нашего педагога-литератора есть исторія весьма многихъ и многихъ честолюбцевъ, которые, наоборотъ античному правилу, гласящему, что лучше „быть первымъ въ селеніи, чѣмъ вторымъ въ государствѣ“, полагаютъ больше чести въ томъ, чтобы примазаться хоть какъ нибудь сбоку къ république des lettres, чѣмъ въ добросовѣстномъ и полезномъ служеніи такому дѣлу, въ которомъ природныя способности, спеціальная подготовка и пріобрѣтенный опытъ, казалось бы, позволяли имъ чувствовать себя хозяевами и мастерами дѣла. Исторія эта поучительна въ томъ смыслѣ, что она показываетъ, изъ какихъ элементовъ отчасти слагается тотъ почетъ, которымъ литераторство пользуется въ обществѣ, и объясняетъ странное противорѣчіе между этимъ внѣшнимъ почетомъ и тѣмъ, въ сущности безправнымъ и одинокимъ положеніемъ, въ которомъ литературные работники стоятъ среди окружающаго ихъ общества. Почетъ этотъ сродни тому завистливому благоговѣнію, съ которымъ прапорщикъ смотритъ на толстыя штабъ-офицерскія эполеты, провинціальная щеголиха перенимаетъ фасоны у заѣзжей столичной модницы, или коллежскій регистраторъ перебираетъ всѣ ступени табели о рангахъ, отдѣляющія его отъ „особъ“. Понятно, что на такой подкладкѣ суеты и тщеславія не можетъ быть и мѣста серьезному пониманію задачъ литературной дѣятельности и правильной оцѣнкѣ ея общественнаго значенія.

Но есть еще другой разрядъ почитателей литературной профессіи, для которыхъ табель о рангахъ отступаетъ на второй планъ и основнымъ мотивомъ служитъ сердечность и лиризмъ благихъ стремленій, подчасъ наивныхъ, но всегда безкорыстныхъ и искреннихъ. Въ глазахъ молодежи, кое-чему учившейся, кое о чемъ думавшей и, главное, много перечувствовавшей, литература представляется какимъ-то фокусомъ, изъ котораго во всѣ стороны исходятъ лучи добра и разума. Любимые писатели представляются такому юношѣ не иначе, какъ въ сіяніи этихъ лучей; онъ не знаетъ о нихъ ничего, кромѣ тѣхъ статей, подъ которыми подписано ихъ имя, да и зачѣмъ ему знать больше? Развѣ они не всѣ въ этихъ статьяхъ? И онъ переноситъ на неизвѣстныя ему личности то горячее сочувствіе, съ которымъ онъ пробѣгалъ ихъ произведенія, еще ярче оттѣняемыя невзрачностью окружающей сѣренькой жизни. Вотъ бы стать въ кругу этихъ людей,—думаетъ юноша,—пожить бы ихъ жизнью, сказать бы вслѣдъ за ними и свое слово.... А этихъ своихъ словъ

у него много и кажется ему, что никто еще кромѣ него до нихъ не додумался и не дочувствовался. Что ему въ кружкѣ этихъ избранныхъ людей будутъ рады, какъ давно ожиданному гостю, что слово, выношенное и выстраданное въ горячкѣ юношескихъ восторговъ, отзовется громко и далеко,—въ этомъ онъ не сомнѣвается. Впрочемъ въ послѣднее время этотъ благодушный взглядъ на литературу и ея дѣятелей сталъ уступать мѣсто болѣе критическому отношенію. Въ той самой средѣ, въ которой до сихъ поръ литература находила самыхъ искреннихъ и горячихъ своихъ почитателей, все чаще и чаще приходится слышать сужденіе, что литература говоритъ не то, что слѣдуетъ, не такъ какъ слѣдуетъ. Но идеалъ литературной дѣятельности продолжаетъ стоять въ этой средѣ такъ же высоко, какъ когда либо, и если практика по какимъ либо случайнымъ обстоятельствамъ уклоняется отъ этого идеала, то тѣмъ болѣе причинъ для тѣхъ, которые, глядя со стороны, замѣтили эти отклоненія, приложить руку къ дѣлу и направить его куда слѣдуетъ. Къ тому же и выходы, открываемые другими сферами дѣятельности для тѣхъ изъ молодыхъ силъ такъ называемой интеллигенціи, которымъ отъ колыбели не поворожила бабушка,—не настолько многочисленны и заманчивы, чтобы относительно ихъ могло существовать затрудненіе въ выборѣ и чтобы юноша, видящій въ выборѣ профессіи нѣчто большее, чѣмъ простой вопросъ о карьерѣ или о кускѣ насущнаго хлѣба, не стремился къ профессіи, которая, вмѣстѣ съ изряднымъ, повидимому, матеріальнымъ обезпеченіемъ, сулитъ ему и возможность «плодотворнаго труда».

Но и на литературномъ поприщѣ, какъ и вездѣ, много званныхъ, но мало избранныхъ. Нумера забракованныхъ рукописей, которымъ въ каждой редакціи отведенъ свой уголокъ для мирнаго успокоенія „до востребованія“, могли бы представить свою долю интереса для любителей статистическихъ цифръ; видъ этихъ бумажныхъ кладбищъ для человѣка съ живымъ воображеніемъ могъ бы воспроизвести цѣлую повѣсть безсонныхъ ночей, восторговъ, тревогъ, надеждъ и разочарованій, которая прошла между первымъ моментомъ творчества и тѣмъ моментомъ, когда рукопись возвращается автору съ роковою, лаконическою припискою: „неудобна для напечатанія“. Но, какъ ни печальна и ни поучительна эта повѣсть, есть другая, еще болѣе поучительная и, зачастую, не менѣе печальная, это—повѣсть тѣхъ избранныхъ, передъ которыми от-

крываются двери заповѣднаго святилища. Ее-то мы и намѣрены прослѣдить.

Первыя неизбѣжныя мытарства пройдены благополучно; дѣвственная статья, хотя и съ значительными помарками и передѣлками, красуется въ только-что вышедшей книжкѣ журнала въ обществѣ такихъ именитыхъ подругъ, что скромная дебютантка навѣрное сконфузилась бы, если бы только бумага, на которой она отпечатана, умѣла конфузиться. Гонорарій, аккуратно расчитанный по числу листовъ и страницъ, выданъ сполна, — правда по уменьшенной противъ нормальной таксѣ, — благо новичекъ не знаетъ этой послѣдней, да если бы и зналъ, то на радостяхъ и по робости, свойственной новичкамъ, не сталъ бы протестовать. *) За первой статьей слѣдуетъ вторая, — въ кружкахъ свѣдущихъ людей начинаютъ поговаривать о новомъ питателѣ, какъ о подающемъ надежды. Обращеніе редактора утрачиваетъ свою олимпійскую недоступность, онъ улыбается и удостоиваетъ приглашенія на редакціонный вечеръ. И вотъ дебютантъ стоитъ въ кругу олимпійцевъ; онъ видитъ своими глазами и осязаетъ своими руками то, что пред-

*) Этотъ обычай расчитываться съ начинающими писателями по уменьшенной таксѣ если и не можетъ, къ чести нашей литературы, считаться правиломъ, общимъ для всѣхъ редакцій, за то въ нѣкоторыхъ принятъ за общее правило, которое и соблюдается въ предѣлахъ возможности; а какъ широки эти предѣлы, можно судить изъ того, что тамъ, напримѣръ, гдѣ обычная полистная плата считается въ пятьдесятъ рублей, начинающимъ платится только тридцать. Въ оправданіе этой кулаческой продѣлки (а въ оправданіи она нуждается тѣмъ болѣе, что къ ней не брезгаютъ прибѣгать иные редакторы, подъ фирмою которыхъ кулачество клеймится во всѣхъ его видахъ)—можно привести, и дѣйствительно приводятъ, доводъ, поражающій съ перваго взгляда своей основательностью: статья начинающаго писателя требуетъ въ большинствѣ случаевъ значительной обработки со стороны редакціи, а потому несправедливо было бы уравнивать такую статью въ отношеніи гонорарія съ произведеніемъ писателя опытнаго, рукопись котораго прямо отсылается въ типографію. Но доводъ этотъ не выдерживаетъ критики по двумъ причинамъ: во первыхъ, и между «опытными» писателями попадаются такіе, рукописи которыхъ задаютъ ничуть не меньше, а подъ часъ и больше работы редакціи, чѣмъ произведеніе какого нибудь новичка, между тѣхъ гонорарій этихъ господъ стоитъ, выражаясь биржевымъ языкомъ, al pari, или даже выше пари, во вторыхъ, даже въ томъ случаѣ, если весь трудъ редакціи относительно статьи новичка писателя ограничился отсылкой ея въ типографію, да обычнымъ просмотромъ корректуры, то дѣло отъ этого нисколько не измѣняется: онъ получаетъ свою уменьшенную чуть не на половину плату—не стоитъ молъ баловать тебя молокососа,—остальное наверстывается любезностями, если молокососъ оказывается изъ обѣщающихъ.

ставлялось изъ его прекраснаго провинціальнаго далека какою-то сіяющею отвлеченностью. Мало по малу онъ становится между этими людьми своимъ человѣкомъ, узнаетъ всю ту подноготную литературнаго мірка, которая, ничѣмъ не отличаясь отъ подноготныхъ прочихъ мірковъ, все-таки почему-то считается наряду деликатесъ, приберегаемыхъ для знатоковъ. Прежніе знакомые начинаютъ взирать на него съ благоговѣніемъ: они жадно ловятъ тѣ крохи литературнаго small talk и новостей дня, которыя перепадаютъ на ихъ долю изъ его разговоровъ; съ нимъ ни о чемъ другомъ не заговариваютъ, какъ о тѣхъ статьяхъ, которыя онъ написалъ, или думаетъ написать. Наивные Маниловы пророчатъ ему, что изъ него непремѣнно выйдетъ второй Добролюбовъ или Писаревъ, или новая звѣзда беллетристики, которая окончательно затмитъ собою сіяніе меркнущихъ звѣздъ „сороковыхъ годовъ". Онъ, конечно, не вѣритъ этимъ пророчествамъ; но отъ нихъ въ душѣ все-таки остается осадокъ, которому онъ немножко вѣритъ. Между тѣмъ, литературная карьера его въ сущности подвигается не такъ быстро, какъ то кажется со стороны благодушнымъ Маниловымъ. Вслѣдъ за первымъ удачнымъ произведеніемъ слѣдуютъ другія менѣе удачныя, за поощреніями кружка слѣдуютъ „придирчивыя" критики, или, что еще обиднѣе, гробовое молчаніе обозрѣвателей. Все, что о немъ печатается, до послѣдней бѣглой замѣтки въ какомъ-нибудь листкѣ, о существованіи котораго онъ до сихъ поръ и не подозрѣвалъ,—доходитъ какими-то неисповѣдимыми путями до его свѣдѣнья, волнуетъ и раздражаетъ его; да и поощренія кружка становятся сдержаннѣе и покровительственное доброжелательство уступаетъ мѣсто извѣстному себѣ-на-умѣ.

Медовый мѣсяцъ литераторства проходитъ. Жизнь устанавливается и принимаетъ разъ навсегда опредѣленный складъ; неумолимый реализмъ жизненнаго изо-дня-въ-день начинаетъ предъявлять одинъ за другимъ такіе мелкіе счеты, которые въ первоначальной смѣтѣ совсѣмъ ускользнули изъ виду, а теперь все растутъ и растутъ и рѣшительно измѣняютъ итогъ. Скромно восторженный новичокъ превратился въ литератора по профессіи. Профессія пообносилась на немъ, какъ обнашивается платье, и сидитъ если не такъ щеголевато, какъ когда была новенькая, съ иголочки, за то гораздо ловчѣе и покойнѣе. Онъ таки кое чему понаучился за это время; онъ узналъ, что не боги горшки обжигаютъ и уже не удивляется, видя, что въ этомъ самомъ свѣтломъ изъ мірковъ

умъ и ограниченность, талантъ и бездарность, искренность убѣжденія и мелкіе расчеты своекорыстія распредѣляются въ такой же пропорціи, какъ и въ остальныхъ міркахъ вселенной; онъ усвоилъ себѣ всю премудрость литературной техники, которая играетъ такую важную роль въ самомъ процессѣ творчества, а подъ-часъ выручаетъ съ грѣхомъ пополамъ и при отсутствіи творчества. Матеріальное положеніе его улучшилось, насколько оно вообще можетъ улучшиться въ этомъ быту, т. е. онъ почти увѣренъ, что пока существуетъ изданіе, къ которому онъ пристроился, ему стоитъ только писать, писать и писать, чтобы не умереть съ голоду и даже просуществовать съ извѣстнымъ комфортомъ. Но затѣмъ, спрашивается: что сталось съ тѣмъ нравственнымъ капиталомъ идей, знанія, таланта, съ которымъ онъ первоначально вступилъ на литературное поприще? На сколько преуспѣваетъ то «высшее служеніе», къ которому онъ стремился, которое играло роль рѣшительнаго момента при выборѣ имъ поприща?

Прежде чѣмъ мы отвѣтимъ на этотъ вопросъ, намъ необходимо взглянуть на тѣ матеріальныя условія, при которыхъ накопляется и расходуется этотъ нравственный капиталъ; тогда намъ станетъ ясенъ самъ собою и результатъ, къ которому неминуемо должна придти дѣятельность, поставленная въ подобныя условія,—результатъ, напоминающій, какъ мы увидимъ ниже, ту дилемму, которую въ народныхъ сказкахъ ставитъ доброму молодцу надпись на перепутьи трехъ дорогъ: пойдешь по этой дорогѣ, самъ пропадешь и конь пропадетъ; пойдешь по другой—самъ останешься цѣлъ, но конь пропадетъ, пойдешь по третьей — конь уцѣлѣетъ, а самъ пропадешь.

II.

Съ перваго взгляда, говорить о неудовлетворительности экономической организаціи литературнаго труда кажется какъ-то страннымъ и даже не совсѣмъ ловкимъ. Дѣйствительно, если мы возьмемъ цифры заработной платы, получаемой громаднымъ большинствомъ остальныхъ тружениковъ, то матеріальное положеніе пишущаго люда представляется привиллегированнымъ даже до невозможности сравненія между нимъ и положеніемъ какого нибудь неинтеллигентнаго проле-

тарія. Въ литературномъ трудѣ осуществляется, повидимому, вполнѣ тотъ идеалъ, къ которому, по увѣренію оптимистовъ, близятся сами собою остальныя отрасли труда: поштучная плата, эта desiderata, великодушно допускаемая оптимистами, составляетъ здѣсь неизмѣнное правило, поощряя трудолюбіе и давая прилежному работнику въ руки вѣрное средство улучшить свое благосостояніе; размѣры вознагражденія сравнительно высоки, и если способъ вознагражденія сохраняетъ старую форму саларіата,—то, какъ восклицаетъ г. де-Молинари,—не все ли равно, въ какой формѣ работникъ получитъ это высокое вознагражденіе—въ формѣ ли саларіата, или же въ формѣ доли участія въ прибыляхъ предпріятія? Все это безспорно справедливо, и если бы только тѣми desiderata, которыя великодушно допускаются оптимистами, дѣйствительно исчерпывался вопросъ, то положеніе литературы должно бы было служить нагляднымъ доказательствомъ чудодѣйственной силы патентованныхъ рецептовъ, предлагаемыхъ оптимистами. Между тѣмъ, на дѣлѣ мы видимъ совершенно иное; на дѣлѣ мы видимъ, что и въ этомъ уголкѣ рынка труда подтверждается „желѣзный" политико-экономическій законъ, состоящій въ томъ, что заработанная плата никогда не повышается выше того, что строго необходимо для поддержанія существованія работника и его семьи. Подобное положеніе можетъ показаться парадоксомъ; не даромъ новѣйшіе политико-экономисты доказываютъ парадоксальность его даже въ примѣненіи къ настоящимъ, „заправскимъ" пролетаріямъ, напоминая, не безъ оттѣнка ироніи, что подъ выраженіемъ «строго необходимо» слѣдуетъ подразумѣвать то, что считается таковымъ *по обычаямъ данной страны*, и что, между тѣмъ, какъ индійскому работнику, съ этой точки зрѣнія, совершенно достаточно нѣсколькихъ сантимовъ, на ежедневной раціонъ рису, необходимый для него и семейства, и на платье, въ которое онъ одѣвается,—нѣмецкому работнику нуженъ шопенъ пива, англійскому порція бифстекса, а американскому необходимы въ придачу и ковры, для того, чтобы жить согласно съ уровнемъ потребностей, установившихся въ его странѣ. Указанія эти, конечно, клонятся къ тому, чтобы затушевать то, что есть суроваго въ упомянутомъ желѣзномъ законѣ и показать благотворное дѣйствіе цивилизаціи, торжествующей въ силу знаменитой формулы: laissez faire, laissez passer. „Очевидно, говоритъ одинъ изъ самыхъ видныхъ предста-

вителей этой школы, Курсель-Сенёль*), что человѣкъ, родящійся на свѣтъ, родится подъ условіемъ жить подъ законами, установленными его предшественниками, продолжать ихъ дѣло и совершенствовать его. Если онъ родился въ каменный періодъ или на Огненной Землѣ, онъ будетъ жить такъ, какъ жили люди въ каменный періодъ или какъ живутъ обитатели Огненной Земли. Если онъ родится въ наше время и у насъ, у него будутъ другія потребности, — но онъ будетъ вооруженъ семьею и обществомъ всѣми средствами для ихъ удовлетворенія; онъ будетъ посвященъ въ искусства, будетъ пріобщенъ къ гражданской жизни, и сознается, если онъ не идіотъ, что это лучше, чѣмъ обладаніе всею землею во времена каменнаго періода.“ Эти и подобныя разсужденія, подкрѣпляемыя подходящими цифрами, повторяются каждый разъ, когда нужно превознесть благотворное дѣйствіе цивилизаціи, основанной на принципѣ laissez faire, повторяются съ неподражаемо легкимъ сердцемъ и докторальною самоувѣренностью, какъ будто вовсе не существуетъ другихъ цифръ и научныхъ данныхъ, приводящихъ къ прямо противоположнымъ результатамъ. И нельзя сказать, чтобы этою тактикою не достигалась та практическая цѣль, которая одна и имѣется въ виду, а именно — дискредитированье назойливыхъ притязаній въ глазахъ наивныхъ людей. Дѣйствительно, какъ бы плохо данное положеніе ни было, какъ бы ни тяжело жилось въ немъ людямъ, всегда можно указать другое положеніе, которое еще плоше и въ сравненіи съ которымъ первое является чуть ли не верхомъ блаженства. Такъ, напримѣръ, если бы англійскій работникъ, не могущій по увѣренію оптимистовъ обходиться безъ бифстековъ, вмѣсто того, чтобы измѣрять свое благосостояніе благосостояніемъ своего заатлантическаго собрата, которому въ придачу къ бифстекамъ требуются еще ковры, оглянулся на положеніе нѣмецкаго своего собрата, обходящагося безъ ковровъ и безъ бифстековъ, то онъ долженъ бы былъ сознаться, что стоитъ сравнительно съ послѣднимъ въ лучшемъ положеніи; точно такое же сравненіе и съ такимъ же результатомъ могъ бы произвести и нѣмецкій работникъ, оглядываясь на положеніе своею собрата въ Индіи, который пива не пьетъ, питается рисомъ и одѣвается въ лохмотья. Цѣпь этихъ нис-

*) L'Héritage de la révolution. Questions constitutionnelles, par. J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil. Paris. 1872.

ходящихъ сравненій не останавливается и тутъ и можетъ быть проведена съ одинаковымъ успѣхомъ вплоть до нагихъ туземцевъ какого-нибудь острова Тихаго Океана, не брезгающихъ при случаѣ утолять голодъ человѣческимъ мясомъ, и даже до тѣхъ четверорукихъ родичей нашихъ, о которыхъ говоритъ Дарвинъ и у которыхъ Standard of life, если только они существовали, безъ сомнѣнія стоялъ еще ниже. Досужіе люди, глядя на эту цѣпь, въ которой каждое низшее звено такъ выгодно оттѣняетъ слѣдующее за ней высшее, конечно, проникнутся подобающимъ уваженіемъ къ чудесамъ прогресса и подъ этимъ впечатлѣніемъ зададутся вопросомъ:—Да и въ самомъ дѣлѣ, чего же еще надо этимъ людямъ недовольнымъ своимъ положеніемъ? Развѣ имъ не живется гораздо лучше, чѣмъ жилось другимъ людямъ до нихъ и чѣмъ до сихъ поръ живется многимъ вокругъ нихъ? Нѣтъ, видно недовольство ихъ и въ самомъ дѣлѣ ничто иное, какъ пустая блажь зазнавшихся людей!

Подробное разсмотрѣніе этой пресловутой аргументаціи и указаніе всѣхъ передержекъ и недоговариваній, къ которымъ она прибѣгаетъ въ примѣненіи къ вопросу въ общемъ, широкомъ его значеніи, завлекло бы насъ слишкомъ далеко. Мы ограничимся лишь указаніемъ тѣхъ общихъ, подрывающихъ ее соображеній, которыя примѣняются къ спеціальному случаю, занимающему насъ въ настоящее время. При этомъ намъ все-таки придется уклониться нѣсколько въ сторону отъ вопроса, составляющаго предметъ настоящей статьи, но мы вынуждены это сдѣлать, такъ какъ только этимъ путемъ достигается правильная постановка и очистка его отъ хлама наросшихъ на немъ общихъ мѣстъ.

Несомнѣнно, что повышеніе уровня потребностей, считающихся необходимыми въ извѣстной средѣ, и соотвѣтствующее повышеніе заработной платы, дающее возможность удовлетворять этимъ потребностямъ, есть признакъ прогресса въ настоящемъ и до извѣстной степени залогъ дальнѣйшаго прогресса въ будущемъ, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, нѣкоторая гарантія противъ регрессивнаго движенія, — такъ какъ извѣстно, именно этотъ уровень потребностей, укоренившихся въ странѣ и признаваемыхъ необходимыми, составляетъ пока единственный оплотъ, мѣшающій по крайней мѣрѣ заработной платѣ падать до безконечности подъ вліяніемъ того особаго вида борьбы за существованіе, который выработанъ нашею

цивилизаціею и въ политической экономіи зовется конкуренціею, или закономъ спроса и предложенія. Съ этой точки зрѣнія представляется весьма естественнымъ желать, чтобы въ тѣхъ народахъ и въ тѣхъ сферахъ общества одного и того же народа, гдѣ низкій уровень цивилизаціи удерживаетъ и понятіе о необходимыхъ потребностяхъ на низкой степени, проснулось сознаніе неудовлетворительности тѣхъ условій, среди которыхъ до сихъ поръ протекала жизнь, и стремленіе обставить послѣднюю удобнѣе, полнѣе, человѣчнѣе; но заключать изъ этого, что тѣ, которые успѣли ступить на эту сравнительно высшую ступень прогресса и свыкнуться съ новымъ уровнемъ необходимыхъ потребностей, должны непремѣнно чувствовать себя удовлетворенными; что фактическому улучшенію быта непремѣнно должно соотвѣтствовать увеличеніе суммы субъэктивнаго счастья,—утверждать это, говоримъ мы, могутъ только тѣ, которые не знаютъ или не желаютъ ничего знать объ основныхъ психическихъ и физіологическихъ законахъ человѣческой природы. Давно замѣчено было, что сравнительное улучшеніе быта вызываетъ ощущеніе довольства лишь въ моментъ перехода отъ худшаго положенія къ лучшему; по мѣрѣ того, какъ человѣкъ свыкается съ послѣднимъ, ощущеніе это слабѣетъ, въ немъ пробуждаются новыя потребности и въ тоже время каждое ухудшеніе того быта, къ которому онъ привыкъ, вызываетъ въ немъ сильное страданіе, хотя бы это ухудшеніе заключалось лишь въ возвратѣ къ тому положенію, которое онъ прежде сносилъ безъ особеннаго ропота. Моралисты останавливаются передъ этимъ фактомъ въ тупомъ недоумѣніи и безъ дальнѣйшихъ околичностей порѣшаютъ, что человѣкъ зазнался, что баловство судьбы ему пошло не въ прокъ и что требованія и страданія его не заслуживаютъ того, чтобы на нихъ обращать вниманіе иначе, какъ для обличенія высказывающейся въ нихъ черной неблагодарности. Иной обличаемый, пожалуй, и самъ задается вопросомъ: какъ это такъ случается, что онъ чувствуетъ себя несчастнымъ и предъявляетъ новыя требованія судьбѣ, тогда какъ по всѣмъ правиламъ ему бы слѣдовало чувствовать себя довольнымъ и благословлять судьбу?—при этомъ онъ и не подозрѣваетъ, что этого вовсе не слѣдуетъ и что кажущаяся блажь его идетъ изъ такого источника, котораго никакими нравоученіями заговорить нельзя. Въ физіологіи существуетъ законъ, извѣстный подъ названіемъ психофизическаго закона Фехнера. Основанный на положеніи, высказан-

номъ еще математикомъ Бернули*), примѣненный къ простѣйшимъ чувственнымъ ощущеніямъ Веберомъ и разработанный въ цѣломъ рядѣ изслѣдованій Фехнеромъ; законъ этотъ заключается въ томъ, что сила ощущенія возрастаетъ не *наравнѣ* съ вызывающимъ его раздраженіемъ, а гораздо медленнѣе: еще Веберомъ было замѣчено, что въ тѣхъ различіяхъ вѣса, длины, звука, которыя распознаются соотвѣтствующими органами чувствъ, важенъ не *абсолютный* размѣръ этого различія, а *отношеніе* его къ общему размѣру сравниваемыхъ величинъ. Такъ, напримѣръ, человѣкъ, который, сравнивая тяжести, равняющіяся приблизительно шести лотамъ, ощущаетъ при взвѣшиваніи на рукѣ различіе въ тридцатую часть этого вѣса, при 12 лотахъ будетъ равнымъ образомъ ощущать лишь тридцатую часть вѣса и т. д. Дальнѣйшія изслѣдованія лишь подтвердили это наблюденіе и позволили установить формулу: ощущеніе возрастаетъ какъ логариѳмъ раздраженія,—другими словами, когда раздраженіе растетъ какъ 1, 10, 100 и т. д., ощущеніе, вызываемое этимъ раздраженіемъ, возрастаетъ лишь какъ 1, 2, 3 и т. д. „Это совпаденіе закона ощущеній съ закономъ логариѳмовъ,—говоритъ Вундтъ въ своемъ сочиненіи „Лекціи о душѣ человѣка и животныхъ“,—такъ поразительно, что можно было бы подумать, что таблицы логариѳмовъ нарочно придуманы математиками для удобства психологовъ, чтобы избавить ихъ отъ труда вычислять, на сколько возрастаетъ ощущеніе, когда раздраженіе увеличивается въ извѣстномъ размѣрѣ.“

*) Бернулли—одинъ изъ знаменитѣйшихъ математиковъ XVIII столѣтія; предпринялъ опредѣлить отношеніе между такъ называемою математическою надеждою и тѣми явленіями обыденной жизни, которыя обусловливаются надеждою. Математическою надеждою называютъ цѣнность какого нибудь матеріальнаго блага, выраженную цифрами и помноженную на ту дробь, которая выражаетъ вѣроятіе достиженія этого блага. При сравненіи этой формулы съ явленіями обыденной жизни оказывается, что данное матеріальное благо цѣнится людьми весьма различно, смотря по степени ихъ благосостоянія: богачъ кладетъ менѣе цѣны на небольшую сумму денегъ, чѣмъ бѣднякъ, и скорѣе употребитъ ее въ рискованное предпріятіе. Изъ этого-то факта Бернулли и вывелъ то положеніе, что «*относительная* (личная) цѣнность какой нибудь очень маленькой суммы равняется *абсолютной* (математической) ея цѣнности, помноженной на состояніе даннаго лица». Это различіе между абсолютной и относительной цѣнностью даннаго матеріальнаго блага, еще рельефнѣе выражается терминами: fortune physique и fortune morale, которые были введены Лапласомъ при дальнѣйшей разработкѣ бернулліевской формулы.

ровать явленія и уловлять связь между законами и ихъ дѣйствіемъ. Такимъ образомъ литературная дѣятельность примыкаетъ внутреннею, такъ сказать, субъективною своею стороною къ той обширной области соціально-экономическихъ изслѣдованій, къ которой въ концѣ концовъ сводятся и въ которой ждутъ своего рѣшенія всѣ великіе вопросы науки и жизни. Уже этого одного достаточно, чтобы обезпечить и за этой внутренной, субъективной стороною долю общаго интереса по крайней мѣрѣ равную той, которая всѣми признается за объективными ея результатами.

I.

Если вліяніе и почетъ, которыми литература когда-то пользовалась въ массѣ общества, въ значительной степени ослабѣли въ настоящее время, то литераторство по прежнему стоитъ въ глазахъ большинства какъ-то особнякомъ отъ всѣхъ остальныхъ профессій и облечено ореоломъ, затмѣвающимъ блескъ всѣхъ прочихъ отличій. Быть знакомымъ съ литераторомъ считается уже не малымъ отличіемъ; иная провинціальная, а то пожалуй и столичная m-me Декамье, одержимая духомъ того, что англичане называютъ (cilibrity hunting (гоньба за знаменитостями), только и спитъ и видитъ, какъ бы залучить къ себѣ литератора, хотя бы изъ плохенькихъ, посуливъ своимъ знакомымъ угощеніе этого рода; она сознаетъ, что выросла во мнѣніи окружающихъ цѣлою головой и уже не жалѣетъ о трудахъ и неудачахъ, понесенныхъ ею, прежде чѣмъ осуществилась эта завѣтная мечта. Видѣть себя въ печати, хотя бы въ одномъ изъ тѣхъ заштатныхъ изданьицъ, которыя и съ литературою то имѣютъ весьма мало общаго, — равняется для инаго, даже солиднаго человѣка, повышенію въ чинѣ. Съ умиленіемъ читаетъ и перечитываетъ онъ свое собственное произведеніе, перешедшее сквозь горнило редакціи и побывавшее подъ типографскимъ станкомъ. Собственныя слова его, воспроизведенныя въ печатныхъ буквахъ, глядятъ на него какъ-то чудно и необыкновенно авторитетно: онъ открываетъ въ нихъ такую глубину мысли и богатство содержанія, какихъ и самъ прежде не подозрѣвалъ. Мы знали одного педагога, который имѣлъ много задатковъ, чтобы быть полезнымъ и почтеннымъ дѣятелемъ въ своей сферѣ: дѣло свое онъ зналъ хо-

рошо, ученики его любили, — но на бѣду нашъ педагогъ, въ качествѣ человѣка, стоящаго выше уровня толпы, считалъ себя призваннымъ домогаться той печати высшаго помазанія, которая налагается званіемъ литератора. Къ вящей еще бѣдѣ, это ему чуть-чуть не удалось; какое-то сочиненіе его на тему, соприкасающуюся съ его спеціальностью, было напечатано въ одномъ малоизвѣстномъ сборникѣ; но затѣмъ счастье, которое было такъ близко, такъ возможно, куда-то предательски скрылось, оставивъ ему по себѣ лишь нѣчто въ родѣ писательскаго запоя. Повѣсти, драмы и романы рѣкою текли изъ-подъ пера его и.... оставались въ портфелѣ. Экземпляръ злополучнаго сборника, въ которомъ красовалось единственное напечатанное произведеніе его, онъ хранилъ какъ палладіумъ, какъ обѣтованіе лучшихъ дней, какъ наглядное доказательство того, что если дни эти еще не настали, то виною тому лишь людская злоба и несправедливость. Къ профессіи своей онъ относился съ тѣмъ тоскливымъ раздраженіемъ, съ какимъ люди живутъ на бивуакахъ, ожидая со дня на день благопріятнаго поворота дѣлъ, который позволитъ имъ устроить свою обстановку болѣе прочно и по своему вкусу. Чувство обиды все росло и росло, питаясь собственною горечью, и горечь эта нисколько не умалялась оттого, что не было субъекта, на котораго можно бы было ее излить и въ которомъ воплотилась бы очевидная несправедливость судьбы, приковавшей литературнаго Прометея къ такому низменному дѣлу, какъ преподаваніе грамматики ребятишкамъ. Нечего и говорить, что спряженіе глаголовъ при этихъ условіяхъ шло спустя рукава; вообще говоря, не было человѣка несчастнѣе этого непризнаннаго литератора.... кромѣ развѣ тѣхъ знакомыхъ, которымъ онъ неотвязно читалъ свои объемистыя рукописи. Впрочемъ развязка этой буржуазной драмы вышла благополучнѣе, чѣмъ можно было ожидать. Истощивъ всѣ усилія, чтобы проторить своимъ произведеніямъ дорожку въ какую нибудь либеральную редакцію, нашъ педагогъ махнулъ на либерализмъ рукою и успѣлъ прикомандироваться на скромныхъ правахъ „посторонняго сотрудника“ къ одному изданію, пользовавшемуся самою незавидною репутаціею. Послѣ этого онъ окончательно успокоился. Внутренній разладъ и брюзгливое раздраженіе уступили мѣсто олимпійскому самодовольству человѣка, который сознаетъ, что исполнилъ свое призваніе: онъ попалъ, какъ выражался Бѣлинскій, на свою полочку.

Мы думаемъ, что исторія нашего педагога-литератора есть исторія весьма многихъ и многихъ честолюбцевъ, которые, наоборотъ античному правилу, гласящему, что лучше „быть первымъ въ селеніи, чѣмъ вторымъ въ государствѣ“, полагаютъ больше чести въ томъ, чтобы примазаться хоть какъ нибудь сбоку къ république des lettres, чѣмъ въ добросовѣстномъ и полезномъ служеніи такому дѣлу, въ которомъ природныя способности, спеціальная подготовка и пріобрѣтенный опытъ, казалось бы, позволяли имъ чувствовать себя хозяевами и мастерами дѣла. Исторія эта поучительна въ томъ смыслѣ, что она показываетъ, изъ какихъ элементовъ отчасти слагается тотъ почетъ, которымъ литераторство пользуется въ обществѣ, и объясняетъ странное противорѣчіе между этимъ внѣшнимъ почетомъ и тѣмъ, въ сущности безправнымъ и одинокимъ положеніемъ, въ которомъ литературные работники стоятъ среди окружающаго ихъ общества. Почетъ этотъ сродни тому завистливому благоговѣнію, съ которымъ прапорщикъ смотритъ на толстыя штабъ-офицерскія эполеты, провинціальная щеголиха перенимаетъ фасоны у заѣзжей столичной модницы, или коллежскій регистраторъ перебираетъ всѣ ступени табели о рангахъ, отдѣляющія его отъ „особъ“. Понятно, что на такой подкладкѣ суеты и тщеславія не можетъ быть и мѣста серьезному пониманію задачъ литературной дѣятельности и правильной оцѣнкѣ ея общественнаго значенія.

Но есть еще другой разрядъ почитателей литературной профессіи, для которыхъ табель о рангахъ отступаетъ на второй планъ и основнымъ мотивомъ служитъ сердечность и лиризмъ благихъ стремленій, подчасъ наивныхъ, но всегда безкорыстныхъ и искреннихъ. Въ глазахъ молодежи, кое-чему учившейся, кое о чемъ думавшей и, главное, много перечувствовавшей, литература представляется какимъ-то фокусомъ, изъ котораго во всѣ стороны исходятъ лучи добра и разума. Любимые писатели представляются такому юношѣ не иначе, какъ въ сіяніи этихъ лучей; онъ не знаетъ о нихъ ничего, кромѣ тѣхъ статей, подъ которыми подписано ихъ имя, да и зачѣмъ ему знать больше? Развѣ они не всѣ въ этихъ статьяхъ? И онъ переноситъ на неизвѣстныя ему личности то горячее сочувствіе, съ которымъ онъ пробѣгалъ ихъ произведенія, еще ярче оттѣняемыя невзрачностью окружающей сѣренькой жизни. Вотъ бы стать въ кругу этихъ людей,—думаетъ юноша,—пожить бы ихъ жизнью, сказать бы вслѣдъ за ними и свое слово.... А этихъ своихъ словъ

у него много и кажется ему, что никто еще кромѣ него до нихъ не додумался и не дочувствовался. Что ему въ кружкѣ этихъ избранныхъ людей будутъ рады, какъ давно ожиданному гостю, что слово, выношенное и выстраданное въ горячкѣ юношескихъ восторговъ, отзовется громко и далеко,—въ этомъ онъ не сомнѣвается. Впрочемъ въ послѣднее время этотъ благодушный взглядъ на литературу и ея дѣятелей сталъ уступать мѣсто болѣе критическому отношенію. Въ той самой средѣ, въ которой до сихъ поръ литература находила самыхъ искреннихъ и горячихъ своихъ почитателей, все чаще и чаще приходится слышать сужденіе, что литература говоритъ не то, что слѣдуетъ, не такъ какъ слѣдуетъ. Но идеалъ литературной дѣятельности продолжаетъ стоять въ этой средѣ такъ же высоко, какъ когда либо, и если практика по какимъ либо случайнымъ обстоятельствамъ уклоняется отъ этого идеала, то тѣмъ болѣе причинъ для тѣхъ, которые, глядя со стороны, замѣтили эти отклоненія, приложить руку къ дѣлу и направить его куда слѣдуетъ. Къ тому же и выходы, открываемые другими сферами дѣятельности для тѣхъ изъ молодыхъ силъ такъ называемой интеллигенціи, которымъ отъ колыбели не поворожила бабушка,—не настолько многочисленны и заманчивы, чтобы относительно ихъ могло существовать затрудненіе въ выборѣ и чтобы юноша, видящій въ выборѣ профессіи нѣчто большее, чѣмъ простой вопросъ о карьерѣ или о кускѣ насущнаго хлѣба, не стремился къ профессіи, которая, вмѣстѣ съ изряднымъ, повидимому, матеріальнымъ обезпеченіемъ, сулитъ ему и возможность «плодотворнаго труда».

Но и на литературномъ поприщѣ, какъ и вездѣ, много званныхъ, но мало избранныхъ. Нумера забракованныхъ рукописей, которымъ въ каждой редакціи отведенъ свой уголокъ для мирнаго успокоенія „до востребованія“, могли бы представить свою долю интереса для любителей статистическихъ цифръ; видъ этихъ бумажныхъ кладбищъ для человѣка съ живымъ воображеніемъ могъ бы воспроизвести цѣлую повѣсть безсонныхъ ночей, восторговъ, тревогъ, надеждъ и разочарованій, которая прошла между первымъ моментомъ творчества и тѣмъ моментомъ, когда рукопись возвращается автору съ роковою, лаконическою припискою: „неудобна для напечатанія“. Но, какъ ни печальна и ни поучительна эта повѣсть, есть другая, еще болѣе поучительная и, зачастую, не менѣе печальная, это—повѣсть тѣхъ избранныхъ, передъ которыми от-

крываются двери заповѣднаго святилища. Ее-то мы и
прослѣдить.

Первыя неизбѣжныя мытарства пройдены благополуч
ственная статья, хотя и съ значительными помарками и пер
красуется въ только-что вышедшей книжкѣ журнала въ
такихъ именитыхъ подругъ, что скромная дебютантка
сконфузилась бы, если бы только бумага, на которой он
тана, умѣла конфузиться. Гонорарій, аккуратно расчит
числу листовъ и страницъ, выданъ сполна, — правда по
ной противъ нормальной таксѣ, — благо новичекъ не зн
послѣдней, да если бы и зналъ, то на радостяхъ и по
свойственной новичкамъ, не сталъ бы протестовать. *) З
статьей слѣдуетъ вторая, — въ кружкахъ свѣдущихъ л
чинаютъ поговаривать о новомъ питателѣ, какъ о подаю
дежды. Обращеніе редактора утрачиваетъ свою олимпійс
ступность, онъ улыбается и удостоиваетъ приглашенія на р
ный вечеръ. И вотъ дебютантъ стоитъ въ кругу олимпій
видитъ своими глазами и осязаетъ своими руками то,

*) Этотъ обычай расчитываться съ начинающими писателями
шенной таксѣ если и не можетъ, къ чести нашей литературы, считат
ломъ, общимъ для всѣхъ редакцій, за то въ нѣкоторыхъ прин
щее правило, которое и соблюдается въ предѣлахъ возможност
широки эти предѣлы, можно судить изъ того, что тамъ, напр
обычная полистная плата считается въ пятьдесятъ рублей, нач
платится только тридцать. Въ оправданіе этой кулаческой прод
оправданіи она нуждается тѣмъ болѣе, что къ ней не брезгаютъ
иные редакторы, подъ фирмою которыхъ кулачество клеймится в
видахъ)—можно привести, и дѣйствительно приводятъ, доводъ, п
съ перваго взгляда своей основательностью: статья начинающаг
требуетъ въ большинствѣ случаевъ значительной обработки со с
дакціи, а потому несправедливо было бы уравнивать такую стать
шеніи гонорарія съ произведеніемъ писателя опытнаго, рукопис
прямо отсылается въ типографію. Но доводъ этотъ не выдержи
тики по двумъ причинамъ: во первыхъ, и между «опытными»
попадаются такіе, рукописи которыхъ задаютъ ничуть не меньш
часъ и больше работы редакціи, чѣмъ произведеніе какого нибудь нов
тѣхъ гонорарій этихъ господъ стоитъ, выражаясь биржевымъ языко
или даже выше пари, во вторыхъ, даже въ томъ случаѣ, если
редакціи относительно статьи новичка писателя ограничился о
въ типографію, да обычнымъ просмотромъ корректуры, то дѣло
нисколько не измѣняется: онъ получаетъ свою уменьшенную
половину плату—не стоитъ молъ баловать тебя молокососа,—ост
верстывается любезностями, если молокососъ оказывается изъ об

ставлялось изъ его прекраснаго провинціальнаго далека какою-то сіяющею отвлеченностью. Мало по малу онъ становится между этими людьми своимъ человѣкомъ, узнаетъ всю ту подноготную литературнаго мірка, которая, ничѣмъ не отличаясь отъ подноготныхъ прочихъ мірковъ, все-таки почему-то считается наряду деликатесъ, приберегаемыхъ для знатоковъ. Прежніе знакомые начинаютъ взирать на него съ благоговѣніемъ: они жадно ловятъ тѣ крохи литературнаго small talk и новостей дня, которыя перепадаютъ на ихъ долю изъ его разговоровъ; съ нимъ ни о чемъ другомъ не заговариваютъ, какъ о тѣхъ статьяхъ, которыя онъ написалъ, или думаетъ написать. Наивные Маниловы пророчатъ ему, что изъ него непремѣнно выйдетъ второй Добролюбовъ или Писаревъ, или новая звѣзда беллетристики, которая окончательно затмитъ собою сіяніе меркнущихъ звѣздъ „сороковыхъ годовъ". Онъ, конечно, не вѣритъ этимъ пророчествамъ; но отъ нихъ въ душѣ все-таки остается осадокъ, которому онъ немножко вѣритъ. Между тѣмъ, литературная карьера его въ сущности подвигается не такъ быстро, какъ то кажется со стороны благодушнымъ Маниловымъ. Вслѣдъ за первымъ удачнымъ произведеніемъ слѣдуютъ другія менѣе удачныя, за поощреніями кружка слѣдуютъ „придирчивыя" критики, или, что еще обиднѣе, гробовое молчаніе обозрѣвателей. Все, что о немъ печатается, до послѣдней бѣглой замѣтки въ какомъ-нибудь листкѣ, о существованіи котораго онъ до сихъ поръ и не подозрѣвалъ,—доходитъ какими-то неисповѣдимыми путями до его свѣдѣнья, волнуетъ и раздражаетъ его; да и поощренія кружка становятся сдержаннѣе и покровительственное доброжелательство уступаетъ мѣсто извѣстному себѣ-на-умѣ.

Медовый мѣсяцъ литераторства проходитъ. Жизнь устанавливается и принимаетъ разъ навсегда опредѣленный складъ; неумолимый реализмъ жизненнаго изо-дня-въ-день начинаетъ предъявлять одинъ за другимъ такіе мелкіе счеты, которые въ первоначальной смѣтѣ совсѣмъ ускользнули изъ виду, а теперь все растутъ и растутъ и рѣшительно измѣняютъ итогъ. Скромно восторженный новичокъ превратился въ литератора по профессіи. Профессія пообносилась на немъ, какъ обнашивается платье, и сидитъ если не такъ щеголевато, какъ когда была новенькая, съ иголочки, за то гораздо ловчѣе и покойнѣе. Онъ таки кое чему понаучился за это время; онъ узналъ, что не боги горшки обжигаютъ и уже не удивляется, видя, что въ этомъ самомъ свѣтломъ изъ мірковъ

умъ и ограниченность, талантъ и бездарность, искренность убѣжденія и мелкіе расчеты своекорыстія распредѣляются въ такой же пропорціи, какъ и въ остальныхъ міркахъ вселенной; онъ усвоилъ себѣ всю премудрость литературной техники, которая играетъ такую важную роль въ самомъ процессѣ творчества, а подъ-часъ выручаетъ съ грѣхомъ пополамъ и при отсутствіи творчества. Матеріальное положеніе его улучшилось, насколько оно вообще можетъ улучшиться въ этомъ быту, т. е. онъ почти увѣренъ, что пока существуетъ изданіе, къ которому онъ пристроился, ему стоитъ только писать, писать и писать, чтобы не умереть съ голоду и даже просуществовать съ извѣстнымъ комфортомъ. Но затѣмъ, спрашивается: что сталось съ тѣмъ нравственнымъ капиталомъ идей, знанія, таланта, съ которымъ онъ первоначально вступилъ на литературное поприще? На сколько преуспѣваетъ то «высшее служеніе», къ которому онъ стремился, которое играло роль рѣшительнаго момента при выборѣ имъ поприща?

Прежде чѣмъ мы отвѣтимъ на этотъ вопросъ, намъ необходимо взглянуть на тѣ матеріальныя условія, при которыхъ накопляется и расходуется этотъ нравственный капиталъ; тогда намъ станетъ ясенъ самъ собою и результатъ, къ которому неминуемо должна придти дѣятельность, поставленная въ подобныя условія,—результатъ, напоминающій, какъ мы увидимъ ниже, ту дилемму, которую въ народныхъ сказкахъ ставитъ доброму молодцу надпись на перепутьи трехъ дорогъ: пойдешь по этой дорогѣ, самъ пропадешь и конь пропадетъ; пойдешь по другой—самъ останешься цѣлъ, но конь пропадетъ, пойдешь по третьей — конь уцѣлѣетъ, а самъ пропадешь.

II.

Съ перваго взгляда, говорить о неудовлетворительности экономической организаціи литературнаго труда кажется какъ-то страннымъ и даже не совсѣмъ ловкимъ. Дѣйствительно, если мы возьмемъ цифры заработной платы, получаемой громаднымъ большинствомъ остальныхъ тружениковъ, то матеріальное положеніе пишущаго люда представляется привиллегированнымъ даже до невозможности сравненія между нимъ и положеніемъ какого нибудь неинтеллигентнаго проле-

тарія. Въ литературномъ трудѣ осуществляется, повидимому, вполнѣ тотъ идеалъ, къ которому, по увѣренію оптимистовъ, близятся сами собою остальныя отрасли труда: поштучная плата, эта desiderata, великодушно допускаемая оптимистами, составляетъ здѣсь неизмѣнное правило, поощряя трудолюбіе и давая прилежному работнику въ руки вѣрное средство улучшить свое благосостояніе; размѣры вознагражденія сравнительно высоки, и если способъ вознагражденія сохраняетъ старую форму саларіата,—то, какъ восклицаетъ г. де-Молинари,—не все ли равно, въ какой формѣ работникъ получитъ это высокое вознагражденіе—въ формѣ ли саларіата, или же въ формѣ доли участія въ прибыляхъ предпріятія? Все это безспорно справедливо, и если бы только тѣми desiderata, которыя великодушно допускаются оптимистами, дѣйствительно исчерпывался вопросъ, то положеніе литературы должно бы было служить нагляднымъ доказательствомъ чудодѣйственной силы патентованныхъ рецептовъ, предлагаемыхъ оптимистами. Между тѣмъ, на дѣлѣ мы видимъ совершенно иное; на дѣлѣ мы видимъ, что и въ этомъ уголкѣ рынка труда подтверждается „желѣзный" политико-экономическій законъ, состоящій въ томъ, что заработанная плата никогда не повышается выше того, что строго необходимо для поддержанія существованія работника и его семьи. Подобное положеніе можетъ показаться парадоксомъ; не даромъ новѣйшіе политико-экономисты доказываютъ парадоксальность его даже въ примѣненіи къ настоящимъ, „заправскимъ" пролетаріямъ, напоминая, не безъ оттѣнка ироніи, что подъ выраженіемъ «строго необходимо» слѣдуетъ подразумѣвать то, что считается таковымъ *по обычаямъ данной страны*, и что, между тѣмъ, какъ индійскому работнику, съ этой точки зрѣнія, совершенно достаточно нѣсколькихъ сантимовъ, на ежедневной раціонъ рису, необходимый для него и семейства, и на платье, въ которое онъ одѣвается,—нѣмецкому работнику нуженъ шопенъ пива, англійскому порція бифстекса, а американскому необходимы въ придачу и ковры, для того, чтобы жить согласно съ уровнемъ потребностей, установившихся въ его странѣ. Указанія эти, конечно, клонятся къ тому, чтобы затушевать то, что есть суроваго въ упомянутомъ желѣзномъ законѣ и показать благотворное дѣйствіе цивилизаціи, торжествующей въ силу знаменитой формулы: laissez faire, laissez passer. „Очевидно, говоритъ одинъ изъ самыхъ видныхъ предста-

вителей этой школы, Курсель-Сенёль*), что человѣкъ, родящійся на свѣтъ, родится подъ условіемъ жить подъ законами, установленными его предшественниками, продолжать ихъ дѣло и совершенствовать его. Если онъ родился въ каменный періодъ или на Огненной Землѣ, онъ будетъ жить такъ, какъ жили люди въ каменный періодъ или какъ живутъ обитатели Огненной Земли. Если онъ родится въ наше время и у насъ, у него будутъ другія потребности, — но онъ будетъ вооруженъ семьею и обществомъ всѣми средствами для ихъ удовлетворенія; онъ будетъ посвященъ въ искусства, будетъ пріобщенъ къ гражданской жизни, и сознается, если онъ не идіотъ, что это лучше, чѣмъ обладаніе всею землею во времена каменнаго періода.“ Эти и подобныя разсужденія, подкрѣпляемыя подходящими цифрами, повторяются каждый разъ, когда нужно превознесть благотворное дѣйствіе цивилизаціи, основанной на принципѣ laissez faire, повторяются съ неподражаемо легкимъ сердцемъ и докторальною самоувѣренностью, какъ будто вовсе не существуетъ другихъ цифръ и научныхъ данныхъ, приводящихъ къ прямо противоположнымъ результатамъ. И нельзя сказать, чтобы этою тактикою не достигалась та практическая цѣль, которая одна и имѣется въ виду, а именно — дискредитированье назойливыхъ притязаній въ глазахъ наивныхъ людей. Дѣйствительно, какъ бы плохо данное положеніе ни было, какъ бы ни тяжело жилось въ немъ людямъ, всегда можно указать другое положеніе, которое еще плоше и въ сравненіи съ которымъ первое является чуть ли не верхомъ блаженства. Такъ, напримѣръ, если бы англійскій работникъ, не могущій по увѣренію оптимистовъ обходиться безъ бифстековъ, вмѣсто того, чтобы измѣрять свое благосостояніе благосостояніемъ своего заатлантическаго собрата, которому въ придачу къ бифстекамъ требуются еще ковры, оглянулся на положеніе нѣмецкаго своего собрата, обходящагося безъ ковровъ и безъ бифстековъ, то онъ долженъ бы былъ сознаться, что стоитъ сравнительно съ послѣднимъ въ лучшемъ положеніи; точно такое же сравненіе и съ такимъ же результатомъ могъ бы произвести и нѣмецкій работникъ, оглядываясь на положеніе своею собрата въ Индіи, который пива не пьетъ, питается рисомъ и одѣвается въ лохмотья. Цѣпь этихъ нис-

*) L'Héritage de la révolution. Questions constitutionnelles, par. J. G. Courcelle-Seneuil. Paris. 1872.

ходящихъ сравненій не останавливается и тутъ и можетъ быть проведена съ одинаковымъ успѣхомъ вплоть до нагихъ туземцевъ какого-нибудь острова Тихаго Океана, не брезгающихъ при случаѣ утолять голодъ человѣческимъ мясомъ, и даже до тѣхъ четверорукихъ родичей нашихъ, о которыхъ говоритъ Дарвинъ и у которыхъ Standard of life, если только они существовали, безъ сомнѣнія стоялъ еще ниже. Досужіе люди, глядя на эту цѣпь, въ которой каждое низшее звено такъ выгодно оттѣняетъ слѣдующее за ней высшее, конечно, проникнутся подобающимъ уваженіемъ къ чудесамъ прогресса и подъ этимъ впечатлѣніемъ зададутся вопросомъ:—Да и въ самомъ дѣлѣ, чего же еще надо этимъ людямъ недовольнымъ своимъ положеніемъ? Развѣ имъ не живется гораздо лучше, чѣмъ жилось другимъ людямъ до нихъ и чѣмъ до сихъ поръ живется многимъ вокругъ нихъ? Нѣтъ, видно недовольство ихъ и въ самомъ дѣлѣ ничто иное, какъ пустая блажь зазнавшихся людей!

Подробное разсмотрѣніе этой пресловутой аргументаціи и указаніе всѣхъ передержекъ и недоговариваній, къ которымъ она прибѣгаетъ въ примѣненіи къ вопросу въ общемъ, широкомъ его значеніи, завлекло бы насъ слишкомъ далеко. Мы ограничимся лишь указаніемъ тѣхъ общихъ, подрывающихъ ее соображеній, которыя примѣняются къ спеціальному случаю, занимающему насъ въ настоящее время. При этомъ намъ все-таки придется уклониться нѣсколько въ сторону отъ вопроса, составляющаго предметъ настоящей статьи, но мы вынуждены это сдѣлать, такъ какъ только этимъ путемъ достигается правильная постановка и очистка его отъ хлама наросшихъ на немъ общихъ мѣстъ.

Несомнѣнно, что повышеніе уровня потребностей, считающихся необходимыми въ извѣстной средѣ, и соотвѣтствующее повышеніе заработной платы, дающее возможность удовлетворять этимъ потребностямъ, есть признакъ прогресса въ настоящемъ и до извѣстной степени залогъ дальнѣйшаго прогресса въ будущемъ, или, по крайней мѣрѣ, нѣкоторая гарантія противъ регрессивнаго движенія, — такъ какъ извѣстно, именно этотъ уровень потребностей, укоренившихся въ странѣ и признаваемыхъ необходимыми, составляетъ пока единственный оплотъ, мѣшающій по крайней мѣрѣ заработной платѣ падать до безконечности подъ вліяніемъ того особаго вида борьбы за существованіе, который выработанъ нашею

цивилизаціею и въ политической экономіи зовется конкуренціею, или закономъ спроса и предложенія. Съ этой точки зрѣнія представляется весьма естественнымъ желать, чтобы въ тѣхъ народахъ и въ тѣхъ сферахъ общества одного и того же народа, гдѣ низкій уровень цивилизаціи удерживаетъ и понятіе о необходимыхъ потребностяхъ на низкой степени, проснулось сознаніе неудовлетворительности тѣхъ условій, среди которыхъ до сихъ поръ протекала жизнь, и стремленіе обставить послѣднюю удобнѣе, полнѣе, человѣчнѣе; но заключать изъ этого, что тѣ, которые успѣли ступить на эту сравнительно высшую ступень прогресса и свыкнуться съ новымъ уровнемъ необходимыхъ потребностей, должны непремѣнно чувствовать себя удовлетворенными; что фактическому улучшенію быта непремѣнно должно соотвѣтствовать увеличеніе суммы субъэктивнаго счастья,—утверждать это, говоримъ мы, могутъ только тѣ, которые не знаютъ или не желаютъ ничего знать объ основныхъ психическихъ и физіологическихъ законахъ человѣческой природы. Давно замѣчено было, что сравнительное улучшеніе быта вызываетъ ощущеніе довольства лишь въ моментъ перехода отъ худшаго положенія къ лучшему; по мѣрѣ того, какъ человѣкъ свыкается съ послѣднимъ, ощущеніе это слабѣетъ, въ немъ пробуждаются новыя потребности и въ тоже время каждое ухудшеніе того быта, къ которому онъ привыкъ, вызываетъ въ немъ сильное страданіе, хотя бы это ухудшеніе заключалось лишь въ возвратѣ къ тому положенію, которое онъ прежде сносилъ безъ особеннаго ропота. Моралисты останавливаются передъ этимъ фактомъ въ тупомъ недоумѣніи и безъ дальнѣйшихъ околичностей порѣшаютъ, что человѣкъ зазнался, что баловство судьбы ему пошло не въ прокъ и что требованія и страданія его не заслуживаютъ того, чтобы на нихъ обращать вниманіе иначе, какъ для обличенія высказывающейся въ нихъ черной неблагодарности. Иной обличаемый, пожалуй, и самъ задается вопросомъ: какъ это такъ случается, что онъ чувствуетъ себя несчастнымъ и предъявляетъ новыя требованія судьбѣ, тогда какъ по всѣмъ правиламъ ему бы слѣдовало чувствовать себя довольнымъ и благословлять судьбу?—при этомъ онъ и не подозрѣваетъ, что этого вовсе не слѣдуетъ и что кажущаяся блажь его идетъ изъ такого источника, котораго никакими нравоученіями заговорить нельзя. Въ физіологіи существуетъ законъ, извѣстный подъ названіемъ психофизическаго закона Фехнера. Основанный на положеніи, высказан-

номъ еще математикомъ Бернули*), примѣненный къ простѣйшимъ чувственнымъ ощущеніямъ Веберомъ и разработанный въ цѣломъ рядѣ изслѣдованій Фехнеромъ; законъ этотъ заключается въ томъ, что сила ощущенія возрастаетъ не *наравнѣ* съ вызывающимъ его раздраженіемъ, а гораздо медленнѣе: еще Веберомъ было замѣчено, что въ тѣхъ различіяхъ вѣса, длины, звука, которыя распознаются соотвѣтствующими органами чувствъ, важенъ не *абсолютный* размѣръ этого различія, а *отношеніе* его къ общему размѣру сравниваемыхъ величинъ. Такъ, напримѣръ, человѣкъ, который, сравнивая тяжести, равняющіяся приблизительно шести лотамъ, ощущаетъ при взвѣшиваніи на рукѣ различіе въ тридцатую часть этого вѣса, при 12 лотахъ будетъ равнымъ образомъ ощущать лишь тридцатую часть вѣса и т. д. Дальнѣйшія изслѣдованія лишь подтвердили это наблюденіе и позволили установить формулу: ощущеніе возрастаетъ какъ логариѳмъ раздраженія,—другими словами, когда раздраженіе растетъ какъ 1, 10, 100 и т. д., ощущеніе, вызываемое этимъ раздраженіемъ, возрастаетъ лишь какъ 1, 2, 3 и т. д. „Это совпаденіе закона ощущеній съ закономъ логариѳмовъ,—говоритъ Вундтъ въ своемъ сочиненіи „Лекціи о душѣ человѣка и животныхъ“,—такъ поразительно, что можно было бы подумать, что таблицы логариѳмовъ нарочно придуманы математиками для удобства психологовъ, чтобы избавить ихъ отъ труда вычислять, на сколько возрастаетъ ощущеніе, когда раздраженіе увеличивается въ извѣстномъ размѣрѣ.“

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*) Бернулли—одинъ изъ знаменитѣйшихъ математиковъ XVIII столѣтія; предпринялъ опредѣлить отношеніе между такъ называемою математическою надеждою и тѣми явленіями обыденной жизни, которыя обусловливаются надеждою. Математическою надеждою называютъ цѣнность какого нибудь матеріальнаго блага, выраженную цифрами и помноженную на ту дробь, которая выражаетъ вѣроятіе достиженія этого блага. При сравненіи этой формулы съ явленіями обыденной жизни оказывается, что данное матеріальное благо цѣнится людьми весьма различно, смотря по степени ихъ благосостоянія: богачъ кладетъ менѣе цѣны на небольшую сумму денегъ, чѣмъ бѣднякъ, и скорѣе употребитъ ее въ рискованное предпріятіе. Изъ этого-то факта Бернулли и вывелъ то положеніе, что «*относительная* (личная) цѣнность какой нибудь очень маленькой суммы равняется *абсолютной* (математической) ея цѣнности, помноженной на состояніе даннаго лица». Это различіе между абсолютной и относительной цѣнностью даннаго матеріальнаго блага, еще рельефнѣе выражается терминами: fortune physique и fortune morale, которые были введены Лапласомъ при дальнѣйшей разработкѣ бернулліевской формулы.

Едва ли нужно доказывать, что законъ этотъ, управляющій сравнительно простыми отправленіями психической жизни лица, не можетъ въ концѣ концовъ не распространять свое дѣйствіе и на тѣ болѣе сложные факты соціальной жизни, которые слагаются изъ совокупности фактовъ единичной психической жизни. Само собою разумѣется, что точное, научное опредѣленіе дѣйствія этого закона во всѣхъ развѣтвленіяхъ соціальной жизни требуетъ тщательныхъ изслѣдованій и составляетъ задачу, которая пока едва намѣчена для соціальной науки. „Но, какъ говоритъ Фридрихъ Альбертъ Ланге, въ замѣчательной главѣ, которую онъ посвящаетъ этому вопросу въ своемъ сочиненіи: Die Arbeiterfrage, ihre Gegenwart und Zukunft,—уже одно предположеніе его примѣнимости бросаетъ поразительный свѣтъ на цѣлый рядъ странныхъ явленій народной жизни. Такъ, напримѣръ, возьмемъ впечатлительность различныхъ народовъ или отдѣльныхъ слоевъ одного и того же народа къ тяготѣющему на нихъ гнету политическихъ или соціальныхъ условій. При самомъ поверхностномъ наблюденіи уже бросается въ глаза что впечатлительность ко всякому усиленію этого гнета пропорціональна не *абсолютной* величинѣ, на которую онъ усиливается, а тому *отношенію*, въ которомъ упомянутое усиленіе стоитъ къ общей суммѣ всего гнета: вотъ почему тамъ гдѣ жизнь поставлена въ болѣе благопріятныя условія, даже незначительное ухудшеніе вызываетъ нерѣдко сильное недовольство, между тѣмъ какъ такое же ухудшеніе при болѣе тяжеломъ гнетѣ ощущается менѣе сильно“. Какъ скоро мы станемъ на эту точку зрѣнія, для насъ тотчасъ же дѣлается очевидно, почему, на зло вышеприведенной аргументаціи досужихъ оптимистовъ, люди такъ упорно отказываются измѣрять свое благосостояніе положеніемъ своихъ современниковъ или предшественниковъ, живущихъ или жившихъ въ сравнительно еще худшихъ условіяхъ, и съ такою неисправимою строптивостью постоянно оглядываются на высшія, недосягаемыя для нихъ ступени благополучія. Мы поймемъ, что зависть, которою обыкновенно объясняютъ это раздражающее, безплодное оглядыванье вверхъ, есть не болѣе какъ слово—быть можетъ и очень сподручное для такихъ моралистовъ, которые воображаютъ что подыскать подходящій эпитетъ для факта значитъ справиться съ самимъ фактомъ,—но ничего не объясняющее и безсильное противъ той логики вещей, которою вызывается заклейменное этимъ

словомъ субъективное ощущеніе. Мы поймемъ также, что страданія, причиняемыя такого рода лишеніями, которыя съ точки зрѣнія „обитателей Огненной Земли“ представляются не болѣе, какъ розовымъ лепесткомъ, загнувшимся на ложѣ сибарита, могутъ быть очень реальны, очень сильны и заслуживать полнаго вниманія и сочувствія. Наконецъ, кругозоръ, открывающійся намъ съ упомянутой точки зрѣнія, обнимаетъ еще одинъ фактъ громадной важности: разъ мы примемъ, что человѣкъ, для того чтобы ощущать постоянно одинаковое возрастаніе наслажденія, долженъ увеличивать впечатлѣнія, вызывающія это чувство, въ той пропорціи, въ какой число относится къ своему логариѳму, передъ нами выясняется во всемъ своемъ неумолимомъ фатализмѣ та гоньба за наслажденіемъ, которая не знаетъ ни предѣловъ, ни остановки, пока самая сила вещей не скажетъ ей: довольно! Для насъ становится очевидно, что пока сила вещей потворствуетъ этой гоньбѣ, пока она не облагородила человѣческія стремленія и не обратила ихъ въ другое русло, къ другимъ цѣлямъ, непростительною наивностью было бы ожидать, что самъ Молохъ роскоши устыдится своей ненасытности и откажется отъ приносимыхъ ему гекатомбъ. Передъ этимъ фатумомъ, разъ мы выяснили себѣ его дѣйствіе, разбивается въ прахъ и послѣдній доводъ, которымъ обыкновенно оправдываютъ это служеніе Молоху, выставляя его чѣмъ-то въ родѣ высокой цѣны, платимой за великія блага прогресса, осуществляемаго путемъ роскошнаго развитія единичныхъ личностей на счетъ остальной массы человѣчества; мы видимъ, что за извѣстнымъ предѣломъ цѣна эта становится несоразмѣрно высока, что самая личность выигрываетъ все менѣе и менѣе отъ приносимыхъ ради ея жертвъ, и не трудно представить себѣ предѣлъ, за которымъ эта купля и продажа, даже съ точки зрѣнія единичнаго благополучія, будетъ производиться въ убытокъ. Вспомнимъ римскаго обжору Вителлія, принимавшаго рвотное, чтобы возстановить въ себѣ способность наслаждаться ѣдой, которую переполненный желудокъ отказывался принимать. Примѣръ этотъ характеристиченъ не для одной древности. Но, какъ ни важны эти выводы, они не касаются тѣхъ притязаній на жизнь, которыя высказываются въ средѣ трудящагося люда. Упреки въ грубомъ матеріализмѣ, которые съ самыхъ противуположныхъ сторонъ высказываются нашему вѣку, имѣютъ свою не малую долю справедливости. Но упреки эти не примѣнимы къ той средѣ, которая ни-

гдѣ еще не упрочила за собою степени матеріальнаго благополучія, необходимой для всесторонняго и гармоничнаго развитія человѣческаго существа и притязанія которой на жизнь, по крайней мѣрѣ на сколько они сознательны, предъявляются именно во имя этого идеала развитія, неосуществимаго безъ извѣстной степени матеріальнаго комфорта и досуга.

III.

И такъ, возвращаясь къ первоначально высказанному нами положенію, литературный заработокъ никогда не поднимается выше, а иногда падаетъ нѣсколько ниже того, что нужно для удовлетворенія первыхъ необходимыхъ потребностей, согласно съ обычаями той среды, которая живетъ этимъ заработкомъ. То обстоятельство, что самый уровень этихъ потребностей довольно высокъ, нисколько не убавляетъ давленія „желѣзнаго" закона, удерживающаго заработокъ на этомъ *minimum'ѣ*, нисколько не облегчаетъ тягости тѣхъ лишеній, которыя даютъ себя чувствовать каждый разъ, какъ заработокъ, вслѣдствіе той или другой случайности, падаетъ ниже обычнаго уровня потребностей.

Если мы хотимъ составить себѣ понятіе о томъ, что значатъ подобныя случайности въ жизни литературнаго работника, намъ достаточно взглянуть въ анонимные скорбные листы, печатаемые въ отчетахъ литературнаго фонда: матеріалъ этотъ такъ богатъ и такъ краснорѣчивъ въ своей оффиціальной лаконичности, что, пробѣгая его, невольно приходитъ на мысль: да ужъ полно, не норма ли эти исключительные случаи, наростающіе къ каждому засѣданію комитета? Не грозное ли это momento mori, передъ которымъ не мѣшаетъ задуматься каждому изъ литературныхъ работниковъ, какова бы ни была степень его таланта и знанія, какова бы ни была его нравственная доля въ успѣхѣ того изданія, въ которомъ онъ работаетъ? А сколько еще случаевъ вовсе не доходятъ до свѣдѣнія фонда и не попадаютъ въ отчеты! Но мы не хотимъ, чтобы насъ заподозрили въ желаніи бить на потрясающіе эффекты и окрашивать предметъ намѣренно густо въ черную краску. Мы возьмемъ менѣе эффектную и болѣе свѣтлую сторону литературнаго быта,—тотъ случай, когда литератору удалось пристроиться

на правахъ постояннаго сотрудника къ какому нибудь болѣе или менѣе солидному изданію, когда уже не онъ ищетъ работы, а работа его ищетъ,—другими словами, когда отъ него зависитъ увеличить свой доходъ, увеличивая число печатныхъ листовъ или строкъ, поставляемыхъ въ редакцію журнала или газеты. Если припомнить, какое роковое значеніе въ быту трудящагося люда имѣютъ эти два слова — недостатокъ работы, если взвѣсить ту безъисходную нужду, которая создала такое поражающее qui pro quo между взглядомъ моралистовъ, отвѣчающихъ на всѣ жалобы бѣдняка напоминовеніемъ объ *обязанности* трудиться, и взглядомъ бѣдняка, видящаго въ этой самой обязанности завидное и не всякому доступное *право*, то положеніе человѣка, успѣвшаго обезпечить за собою, такъ сказать, право исполнять эту обязанность, можетъ многимъ показаться привиллегированнымъ и чуть не верхомъ благополучія. Такъ ли оно на самомъ дѣлѣ? Чтобы отвѣтить на этотъ вопросъ, необходимо рѣшить прежде, въ чемъ заключаются тѣ блага, которыхъ человѣкъ, по самой сущности вещей, въ правѣ ожидать отъ своего труда,—другими словами, что нужно для того, чтобы трудъ могъ считаться дѣйствительно окупающимся и непроизводящимся въ убытокъ?

Съ перваго взгляда можетъ показаться, что, перенося вопросъ на эту почву, мы вступаемъ въ область, которая пока еще остается открытою для пререканій и по эластичности своихъ предѣловъ даетъ просторъ для самыхъ рѣзкихъ разнорѣчій во мнѣніяхъ. Но, для нашей цѣли, намъ нѣтъ даже надобности касаться тѣхъ тезисовъ, которые многимъ представляются спорными; мы можемъ заимствовать критерій уже готовый и отнюдь не грѣшащій чрезмѣрной широтою. Критеріемъ этимъ послужитъ намъ тотъ взглядъ, который приравниваетъ человѣка къ машинѣ, которая своею работою должна окупить затраченный на нее капиталъ и причитающіеся на него проценты, прежде чѣмъ сдѣлается негодною къ употребленію. Въ примѣненіи этого взгляда къ работнику, оказывается, что „трудъ его, кромѣ обычной заработной платы, долженъ доставлять ему возможность вернуть расходы на его воспитаніе и кромѣ того дать, по крайней мѣрѣ, обычный барышъ,—и все это притомъ должно совершиться въ опредѣленное время, во вниманіе къ крайне неопредѣленной продолжительности человѣческой жизни, не допускающей такого вѣрнаго разсчета напередъ, какой возможенъ въ отношеніи

прочности машины" (Адамъ Смитъ). Таковъ взглядъ, который былъ высказанъ болѣе ста лѣтъ тому назадъ и затѣмъ позабытъ, наравнѣ со многими другими положеніями „отца политической экономіи", его эпигонами, для которыхъ такая забывчивость представлялась во многихъ отношеніяхъ удобною. Но въ новѣйшей литературѣ можно указать одно, тщательно составленное и весьма любопытное изслѣдованіе *), которое, развивая эти положенія, приходитъ къ слѣдующимъ выводамъ: 1) Трудъ есть понятіе не простое, а сложное; въ составъ его точно также входятъ матеріалъ, даваемый природой, собственно трудъ и капиталъ (т. е. прежній трудъ, затраченный на воспитаніе работника). Если капиталъ нерѣдко опредѣляютъ какъ накопленіе предшествующаго труда, то точно такое же опредѣленіе примѣнимо и къ труду, такъ что экономическое понятіе о капиталѣ есть, собственно говоря, не болѣе какъ плеоназмъ. 2) Подобно тому, какъ трудъ не есть понятіе простое, точно также и цѣна труда не можетъ быть таковою; въ составъ ея должны входить тѣ же элементы, изъ которыхъ слагается самый трудъ, другими словами, она должна заключать въ себѣ средства: a) для возвращенія того капитала, который былъ затраченъ на воспитаніе и образованіе работника (возвращеніе это происходитъ въ видѣ того воспитанія, которое работникъ, въ свою очередь, даетъ своимъ дѣтямъ). b) Сохраненіе жизни и рабочей силы въ періодъ работы и c) сохраненіе жизни въ періодъ старости. Въ двѣ первыя рубрики входитъ процентъ на предварительно затраченный капиталъ и застрахованіе противъ опасности, что работа, единственный источникъ, изъ котораго должны покрываться всѣ эти расходы, будетъ прервана, вслѣдствіе ли недостатка въ ней, или же вслѣдствіе болѣзни работника. Само собою разумѣется, что всѣ эти расходы должны быть покрыты въ теченіе того періода времени, когда работникъ находится въ полной силѣ, періодъ, который наступаетъ тѣмъ позднѣе, чѣмъ спеціальнѣе подготовка, которой требуетъ самый родъ труда—нашъ авторъ полагаетъ этотъ производительный періодъ отъ 16 до 65 лѣтъ для простѣйшихъ видовъ физическаго труда и отъ 30 до тѣхъ же 65 лѣтъ для такихъ профессій, которыя требуютъ высшаго образованія.

*) Der Preis der Arbeit. Zwei Vorlesungen von D-r Engel (Sammlung Gemeinwissenschaftlicher Vorträge, herausgegeben Von Rud. Virchoff und Fr. Holzendorf. Berlin, 1866).

Такова „собственная цѣна работы" (die Selbstkosten der Arbeit) по вычисленію Энгеля, т. е. та цѣна, въ которую она обходится своему производителю и ниже которой трудъ не можетъ продаваться, не доводя производителя до банкротства, при чемъ тяжесть послѣдняго ложится въ концѣ концовъ на государство и на общество. Какъ видитъ читатель, тутъ мы имѣемъ дѣло не съ какими-либо новыми общими теоріями, а съ простымъ конторскимъ разсчетомъ, понятнымъ для каждаго хозяина промышленнаго заведенія. Самъ Энгель сознается, что „цѣна работы разсчитана у него скорѣе слишкомъ низко, чѣмъ высоко", и что „цифры заработка, превосходящія этотъ minimum отнюдь еще не могутъ разсматриваться какъ преміи или какъ награды, а должны считаться какъ дальнѣйшая уплата собственной цѣны труда". Но тѣмъ поучительнѣе выводъ, къ которому, на основаніи своихъ скромныхъ данныхъ, приходитъ нашъ авторъ. Вотъ какъ онъ резюмируетъ этотъ выводъ въ концѣ своей брошюры:

„Не въ сокращеніи періода юношества (т. е. того, въ которомъ работникъ подготовляется къ своей спеціальной дѣятельности, не производя пока самъ ничего) и не въ продленіи рабочаго періода жизни далѣе его естественныхъ предѣловъ—слѣдуетъ искать средствъ къ поддержанію и укрѣпленію живущей въ данномъ поколѣніи физической, умственной и нравственной силы труда, а исключительно въ возможно полномъ пользованіи тѣмъ рабочимъ періодомъ жизни, который опредѣленъ самой природой; для этого же, прежде всего, необходима такая плата за трудъ, которая соотвѣтствовала бы его собственной цѣнѣ. Подобно тому, какъ фабрика или торговое заведеніе, не имѣющія вѣрныхъ свѣдѣній о томъ, во сколько имъ обходится ихъ товаръ и продающія его постоянно ниже того, что онъ имъ самимъ стоитъ, неизбѣжно должны погибнуть, также неизбѣжно гибнетъ и народъ, постоянно продающій свой трудъ ниже того, что онъ ему самому стоитъ".

Посмотримъ же, какъ оправдываются эти соображенія въ той спеціальной отрасли труда, которая насъ занимаетъ.

Уже съ перваго взгляда намъ бросается въ глаза особенность, отличающая условія литературнаго труда отнюдь не къ выгодѣ послѣдняго, отъ тѣхъ условій, которыя, какъ мы видѣли, представляютъ minimum того, что каждый работникъ вправѣ требовать себѣ отъ жизни. Не смотря на то, что литература относится именно къ тѣмъ профессіямъ, которыя требуютъ высшаго образованія и наиболѣе

спеціальной подготовки, производительный періодъ жизни для большинства писателей настаетъ гораздо ранѣе, чѣмъ они успѣли пріобрѣсти эту подготовку; для многихъ онъ настаетъ ранѣе двадцати лѣтъ, т. е. въ такомъ возрастѣ, когда человѣкъ не успѣлъ окончить обыкновеннаго университетскаго курса, не говоря уже о той самостоятельной работѣ, которая является необходимымъ дополненіемъ послѣдняго, къ какому бы роду умственной дѣятельности ни предназначалъ себя человѣкъ. Дѣятельность, начатая такъ рано, лишь слишкомъ часто и кончается задолго до того срока, который опредѣленъ на то самой природою. Фатумъ, тяготѣющій въ этомъ отношеніи на нашихъ писателяхъ, вошелъ въ поговорку. На это могутъ замѣтить, что зеленая молодость не помѣшала многимъ изъ даровитѣйшихъ нашихъ писателей сразу занять первое мѣсто въ литературѣ и заявить себя въ теченіе своей кратковременной литературной карьеры блистательнѣе, полнѣе и плодотворнѣе, чѣмъ то могли бы сдѣлать другіе въ цѣлую и многолѣтнюю жизнь кропотливаго труда. Но, не говоря уже о томъ, что нелѣпо было бы распространять на людей средняго уровня способностей то, что оказывается подъ силу лишь немногимъ, исключительно даровитымъ личностямъ, такое возраженіе ровно ничего не доказываетъ даже въ примѣненіи къ тѣмъ исключительнымъ дарованіямъ, о которыхъ идетъ рѣчь: мы знаемъ только, что та сила ума и таланта, которою одарила ихъ природа, помогла имъ дать въ своей дѣятельности извѣстный плюсъ при такихъ условіяхъ труда, которыя при меньшей степени даровитости дали бы минусъ; но не представляетъ ли самый плюсъ этотъ—минуса по отношенію къ тѣмъ *возможнымъ* результатамъ, которые не были достигнуты только потому, что силы, необходимыя для ихъ осуществленія, уходили на дѣятельность чисто отрицательнаго свойства, на противодѣйствіе неблагопріятнымъ условіямъ, на борьбу противъ того, что заѣдаетъ и губитъ всякую человѣческую дѣятельность въ самомъ корнѣ? Только остатокъ этихъ силъ, выразившійся въ положительныхъ результатахъ, подлежитъ нашей оцѣнкѣ, но, какъ бы высока она ни была, мы не знаемъ и никогда не можемъ узнать, сколько силъ было потрачено непроизводительнымъ образомъ, насколько—еслибы не эта непроизводительная затрата,—то-же дарованіе могло бы проявить себя еще полнѣе, блистательнѣе и плодотворнѣе, насколько, наконецъ, ненормальныя условія, которыми былъ обставленъ трудъ этихъ дѣятелей, участвовали

въ сокращеніи періода ихъ дѣятельности и въ прежде временномъ ихъ схожденіи со сцены.

И такъ, то, что при поверхностномъ взглядѣ представляется исключеніемъ, отнюдь не опровергаетъ самаго правила. А правило заключается въ томъ, что литературный работникъ, вступивъ уже въ производительный періодъ своей дѣятельности, становится лицомъ къ лицу съ неразрѣшимой дилеммой—содержать себя трудомъ, предполагающимъ уже извѣстную образовательную подготовку, и въ тоже время пріобрѣтать то, что ему недостаетъ по части этой подготовки. Ненормальность такого явленія не кидается намъ въ глаза только потому, что мы уже слишкомъ къ нему приглядѣлись во всѣхъ сферахъ труда, отъ мальчишки въ засаленномъ халатѣ, отданнаго „на годы" въ обученіе къ мастеровому и окупающаго свое содержаніе хозяину исправленіемъ такихъ работъ, подъ которыми гнется въ три погибели его тщедушное тѣло, и до первокурсника-студента, публикующаго въ газетахъ, что онъ даетъ уроки „по всѣмъ предметамъ гимназическаго курса." Но аномалія эта еще увеличивается въ настоящемъ случаѣ тѣмъ, что задача, и безъ того сложная, нерѣдко усложняется еще необходимостью содержать семью, т. е. *уплачивать воспитаніемъ дѣтей долгъ собственнаго образованія, тогда какъ лишь часть этого долга была дѣйствительно сдѣлана въ свое время, а остальная, недостающая часть, должна наверстываться самимъ работникомъ въ такую пору его жизни, когда онъ стоитъ уже на своихъ ногахъ и когда ему не отъ кого ожидать той заимообразной поддержки, которую каждое возмужавшее поколѣніе должно оказывать въ формѣ воспитанія подростающему.* Какъ видитъ читатель, мы имѣемъ здѣсь дѣло съ отрицаніемъ азбучнаго правила политической экономіи, гласящаго, что никакое производство невозможно безъ работы прошлаго, дающей возможность работнику содержать себя во время текущаго труда; оказывается, что работа настоящаго должна обходиться безъ помощи этихъ накопленій прежней работы и возмѣщать ихъ, какъ знаетъ, собственными средствами.

Но, быть можетъ, многимъ покажется страннымъ, что при той сильной конкурренціи, которая существуетъ на рынкѣ литературнаго труда и при той строгой выборкѣ, которую предполагаетъ эта конкурренція, въ число избранныхъ попадаютъ люди, не обла-

дающіе полною предварительною подготовкою. Между тѣмъ дѣло объясняется очень просто. То, что называется успѣхомъ на литературномъ поприщѣ,—т. е. та относительная удача, которая обезпечиваетъ писателю доступъ на столбцы одного или нѣсколькихъ періодическихъ изданій и такимъ образомъ окончательно рѣшаетъ для него выборъ литературной профессіи, какъ средства къ существованію, вовсе не требуетъ непремѣнно всей совокупности качествъ, изъ которыхъ слагается полная, такъ сказать, идеальная литературная компетентность. Въ большинствѣ случаевъ бываетъ достаточно лишь нѣкоторыхъ изъ этихъ качествъ; человѣкъ написалъ нѣсколько бойкихъ юмористичныхъ разсказовъ, горячую критическую статью, или просто составилъ порядочную компиляцію изъ какого нибудь моднаго иностраннаго авторитета. Тонъ его статей, манера писать пришлись ко двору той редакціи, въ которую онъ обратился, редакторъ-издатель прозрѣваетъ въ нихъ ходкій товаръ, который можетъ по его разсчетамъ, прибавить нѣсколько десятковъ подписчиковъ изданію;—или онъ просто печатаетъ ихъ потому, что надо же чѣмъ нибудь наполнить отдѣлы изданія, которые обѣщаны публикѣ въ программѣ. Такова проза, на которую въ сущности сводится поэзія литературнаго успѣха. (Читатель замѣтитъ, что мы во всей настоящей статьѣ говоримъ исключительно объ условіяхъ литературнаго труда въ періодической печати, но это мы дѣлаемъ потому, что въ органахъ послѣдней сосредоточивается весь наличный запасъ литературныхъ силъ. Самостоятельная литературная дѣятельность, внѣ газетъ и журналовъ, сравнительно ничтожна и вовсе недоступна для человѣка, не упрочившаго за собою извѣстнаго имени, извѣстнаго положенія въ періодической печати).

Между тѣмъ скудность того духовнаго капитала, который съ горяча казался новичку неистощимымъ, очень скоро даетъ себя знать. Собственное его міросозерцаніе, по мѣрѣ того какъ кругозоръ его расширяется и передъ нимъ встаютъ, во всей своей сложности и громадности, вопросы, которые издали сливались въ смутныхъ очертаніяхъ, оказывается далеко не установившимся; онъ начинаетъ сознавать ту солидарность, которая связываетъ всѣ области мысли и знанія, онъ на каждомъ шагу чувствуетъ недостатокъ фактическихъ свѣдѣній и убожество того знанія, которое хватается на скорую руку, въ ту самую минуту, когда въ немъ настоитъ надобность, по пословицѣ: „на травлю ѣхать,

собакъ кормить"; все болѣе и болѣе сознаетъ онъ себя въ унизительномъ положеніи школьника, которому надо хорошенько позабыть свои учебники, чтобы претворить въ свою плоть и кровь чужое знаніе и чужой опытъ, наложить на нихъ печать своей индивидуальной оригинальности, безъ чего и тотъ и другой залегаютъ въ головѣ безжизненною массою матеріала, мертвымъ капиталомъ, какъ для субъективнаго развитія, такъ и для дальнѣйшаго развитія идей и знаній въ массѣ общества. Остановиться бы, побросать въ огонь начатыя рукописи, удѣлить годокъ, другой исключительно на чтеніе и на размышленіе, на полную ассимиляцію и на приведеніе въ порядокъ всего этого безпорядочнаго, сырого матеріала идей и жизненныхъ впечатлѣній, которыя тѣснятся въ мозгу его; легко, свободно и убѣдительно всею внутреннею своею состоятельностію полилось бы послѣ этого печатное слово, выношенное такою внутреннею работою, и съ избыткомъ наверсталъ бы онъ время, потраченное непроизводительно въ смыслѣ денежнаго заработка... Но не тутъ-то было. „Типографія ждетъ оригинала", редакторъ-издатель безпокоится, что нумеръ не выйдетъ къ сроку или выйдетъ безъ полнаго комплекта статей, который необходимъ для надлежащаго „разнообразія содержанія". Приходится стряхнуть съ себя „не идущія къ дѣлу" мечты, отложить въ сторону заинтересовавшую книгу, прервать начатую работу мысли, прервать ее, быть можетъ, въ тотъ самый моментъ, когда она съ неодолимою силою овладѣла всѣмъ существомъ человѣка и когда уже впереди, въ смутныхъ, но постепенно яснѣющихъ очертаніяхъ, начинаютъ обрисовываться выводы, результаты,— это радостное эврика, которое, въ процессѣ умственнаго творчества, можетъ быть приравнено къ первому крику ребенка, заставляющему мать позабыть всю претерпѣнную скорбь „отъ радости, что родился человѣкъ на свѣтъ". Когда совершонъ этотъ психическій tour de force ломки и насилованья самыхъ сильныхъ и законныхъ побужденій духовной природы человѣка,—а чего стоитъ такой tour de force, не продѣлавши его трудно себѣ представить — остается писателю совершить другой, не менѣе трудный подвигъ, а именно, привести себя въ надлежащее настроеніе, чтобы сочинить ту статью, которая требуется для занимаемаго имъ отдѣла. Да, именно *сочинить*,—смѣшное слово, которымъ наивные провинціалы окрестили всякую литературную работу, подчасъ оказывается какъ нельзя болѣе у мѣста. Все, отъ самаго предмета статьи, приходится пріиски-

вать, придумывать; нерѣдко, садясь за свою обязательную статью, нашъ писатель и самъ еще не знаетъ, чѣмъ онъ ее наполнитъ: крайне прозаично переворачивается въ его головѣ тотъ вопросъ, который аристократическіе поэты байроновскаго періода нашей литературы презрительно бросали издателямъ, приходившимъ въ тѣ блаженныя времена смиренно вымаливать у ихъ лиры новыхъ звуковъ.

О чемъ писать? Востокъ и Югъ давно описаны, воспѣты...

Есть, конечно, не мало вопросовъ, о которыхъ было бы что сказать... Но они относятся къ числу такъ-называемыхъ щекотливыхъ, къ которымъ даже благонамѣренному писателю можно подходить не иначе какъ съ цѣлымъ арсеналомъ осторожныхъ оговорокъ и обиняковъ, подъ тяжестью которыхъ злополучный „вопросъ" вовсе утрачиваетъ свой первоначальный образъ и даетъ поводъ къ разнымъ, болѣе или менѣе обиднымъ недоразумѣніямъ и ошибочнымъ толкованіямъ со стороны публики; а это, въ свою очередь, порождаетъ совершенно несправедливыя претензіи авторовъ на публику, которая вовсе не обязана знать, какъ мысль первоначально слагалась въ головѣ ихъ и разбирать сбивчивые, неясные слѣды этой мысли между печатныхъ строкъ; а потому такихъ вопросовъ лучше вовсе не касаться. Между тѣмъ, надо пріискать что нибудь такое, бьющее въ жилку самой свѣжей современности, по возможности даже забористое. Наконецъ, искомый сюжетъ найденъ. Нужды нѣтъ, что мысль писателя, быть можетъ, всего какой нибудь часъ тому назадъ, была за сто верстъ отъ этого сюжета, который теперь ему предстоитъ такъ обработать въ своей статьѣ, чтобы онъ являлся, такъ сказать Минервою, выходящею во всеоружіи изъ головы Юпитера, и импонировалъ читателю апподектичностью, солидностью, а и того лучше, нѣкоторою страстностью тона, заставляющею предполагать, что съ вами говоритъ о матеріяхъ важныхъ человѣкъ, размышлявшій о нихъ чуть не цѣлую жизнь. (Вѣдь говорить о чемъ либо иномъ, кромѣ важныхъ вопросовъ, или говорить о послѣднихъ иначе, какъ въ сказанномъ тонѣ, несовмѣстимо съ достоинствомъ литературы). При нѣкоторой снаровкѣ и этотъ послѣдній фокусъ удается. Затѣмъ уже остается только получить гонорарій за статью, если только таковой не былъ „въ минуту жизни трудную" забранъ впередъ.

Что же остается дѣлать писателю, сознавшему всю ненормальность такого положенія? Онъ воленъ, конечно, отказаться отъ постылой ра-

боты; но этимъ отказомъ, обрекающимъ его на голодъ, онъ не купитъ себѣ ни нравственной свободы, ни спокойствія духа, необходимыхъ для сосредоточенной внутренней работы; слѣдовательно, объ этомъ выходѣ не стоитъ серьезно и говорить. Въ сущности, писателю остается одно изъ двухъ: или обречь себя на вѣчную нравственную ломку, на вѣчное раздвоеніе между неосуществимымъ идеаломъ и неумолимыми требованіями злобы дня; или же, не мудрствуя лукаво; сжечь свои корабли и принять свое положеніе такъ, какъ оно есть, въ послѣднемъ случаѣ онъ превращается въ поставщика печатнаго товара, не худшей и не лучшей доброты, какъ та, которая требуется. При такой рѣшимости, процессъ писательства сложится для него очень просто: если онъ критикъ, онъ ограничитъ свой кругозоръ тѣми повѣстушками, очерками и объемистыми романами, на которые, благодареніе Богу, урожай въ отечественной литературѣ никогда не переводится, и которые имѣютъ то несомнѣнное преимущество, что, читаясь легко, не требуя никакого умственнаго напряженія, не оставляя по себѣ въ умѣ никакихъ слѣдовъ, позволяютъ переливать по поводу ихъ изъ пустого въ порожнее почти на какомъ угодно количествѣ листовъ; если онъ „внутренній обозрѣватель", онъ будетъ исправно слѣдить за газетными „корреспонденціями изъ провинціи"; наконецъ, если онъ беллетристъ, дѣло слагается еще проще: тутъ уже нѣтъ надобности ни за чѣмъ слѣдить, нечего читать, не о чемъ размышлять; нужно только сочинять изъ головы, или списывать съ натуры. На выручку къ этой скудости содержанія являются тѣ маленькіе таланты, которые для каждаго, протянувшаго литературную лямку извѣстное число лѣтъ, представляютъ дѣло наживное: умѣнье располагать запасомъ общихъ мѣстъ такъ, чтобы они не бросались въ глаза читателю своей избитостью, умѣнье щегольнуть гдѣ нужно „хлесткостью" выраженія, умѣнье вообще потрафлять по разъ установленному шаблону. При такомъ взглядѣ на литературную задачу (а иной взглядъ, какъ мы видѣли, оставаясь послѣдовательнымъ, трудно себѣ и выработать человѣку, вдвинутому въ эту колею), писательство становится чистымъ ремесломъ; механическій трудъ, требующійся для того, чтобы исписать столько-то страницъ или листовъ, выдвигается на первый планъ; этимъ трудомъ, который одинъ только и оплачивается, совершенно заслоняются требованія внутренней состоятельности; все вращается на немудреномъ расчетѣ: мнѣ нужно заработать столько-то рублей;

сообразно съ этою цифрою растягивается и объемъ статьи; къ этой заранѣе опредѣленной цифрѣ подгоняется, иногда съ замѣчательною виртуозностью, число листовъ, страницъ или строкъ, долженствующихъ ее составить. Таковъ конечный выводъ, къ которому роковымъ образомъ тяготѣютъ условія литературнаго труда; само собою разумѣется, мы беремъ этотъ выводъ въ чистомъ, такъ сказать, безпримѣсномъ его видѣ, въ которомъ, конечно, нелѣпо было бы примѣнять его ко всей пишущей братіи безразлично. Указанныя нами губительныя внѣшнія условія встрѣчаютъ болѣе или менѣе упорное противодѣйствіе, смотря по силѣ таланта, по степени умственнаго и нравственнаго развитія данной личности; но и тѣ, которымъ удалось удержаться на этой наклонной плоскости, не соскользнувъ до самаго дна, говоря искренно, должны будутъ сознаться, что это удалось имъ не безъ компромиссовъ, не безъ отчаянныхъ попытокъ согласить несогласимое, не безъ ущерба тому первоначальному капиталу энергіи и способностей, съ которымъ они выступили на литературное поприще,—ущерба, размѣры котораго они и сами едва ли могутъ вычислить. А разъ оно такъ, едва ли нужно доказывать, что такое положеніе дѣлъ не можетъ не отозваться общимъ пониженіемъ литературнаго уровня, обѣдненіемъ талантовъ, сглаженіемъ всякой плодотворной оригинальности, отсутствіемъ всякой научной подкладки. Часто приходится слышать выраженія недоумѣвающаго сожалѣнія, отчего именно наше время такъ бѣдно выдающимися талантами, отчего именно наше поколѣніе не выдвинуло ни одного представителя, могущаго стать на ряду съ прежними литературными дѣятелями; отчего, если и появляется какое либо многообѣщающее дарованіе, то оно тотчасъ же обманываетъ возлагавшіяся на него надежды и, блеснувъ на минуту метеоромъ, либо скрывается туда, откуда возврата нѣтъ, либо спѣшитъ затеряться безслѣдно въ толпѣ третьестепенныхъ звѣздъ литературнаго неба? Недоумѣнія эти разрѣшаются очень просто. Именно въ наше время вполнѣ сложился и принялъ свою рѣзко опредѣленную физіономію тотъ характеръ литературнаго труда, который является если не единственною причиною, то, по крайней мѣрѣ, одною изъ главныхъ причинъ указаннаго явленія. Литературные дѣятели прежнихъ періодовъ, вплоть до памятной эпохи пятидесятыхъ годовъ, выходили изъ тѣхъ слоевъ общества, въ которыхъ забота о насущномъ хлѣбѣ неизвѣстна; литературный трудъ былъ для нихъ не вопросомъ заработка, а дѣ-

ломъ свободнаго влеченія; въ тѣхъ случаяхъ, когда это влеченіе было не простымъ барскимъ диллетантствомъ, а настоящимъ призваніемъ, они имѣли полную возможность доставлять себѣ тотъ внѣшній досугъ, который такъ необходимъ для внутренней работы; мысль ихъ являлась въ печати не иначе, какъ выношенною и созрѣвшею въ отношеніи содержанія, отшлифованною и изящно отдѣланною по отношенію къ внѣшней формѣ. Какъ велика была та свобода отъ всякихъ внѣшнихъ стѣсненій, которую предполагало подобнаго рода писательство, можно судить изъ тѣхъ совѣтовъ, которые Гоголь въ простотѣ душевной даетъ своимъ братьямъ-писателямъ на основаніи собственнаго опыта:

«Сначала нужно набросать все, какъ придется, хотя бы плохо, водянисто но рѣшительно все, и забыть объ этой тетради. Потомъ, черезъ мѣсяцъ, черезъ два, иногда и болѣе (это скажется само собою), достать написанное и перечитать: вы увидите, что многое не такъ, много лишняго, а кое-чего и недостаетъ. Сдѣлайте поправки и замѣтки на поляхъ—и снова забросьте тетрадь. При новомъ пересмотрѣ ея новыя замѣтки на поляхъ, и гдѣ не хватитъ мѣста—взять отдѣльный клочекъ и приклеить къ боку. Когда все будетъ такимъ образомъ исписано, возьмите и перепишите тетрадь собственноручно. Тутъ сами собой явятся новыя озаренія, урѣзы, добавки, очищенія слога. Между прежнихъ вскочатъ слова, которыя необходимо тамъ должны быть, но которыя почему-то не являются сразу. И опять положите тетрадку. *Путешествуйте, развлекайтесь, не дѣлайте ничего, или хоть пишите другое.* Придетъ часъ: вспомнится заброшенная тетрадь: возьмите, перечитайте, поправьте тѣмъ же способомъ, и когда снова она будетъ измарана, перепишите ее собственноручно. Вы замѣтите при этомъ, что вмѣстѣ съ крѣпчаніемъ слога, съ отдѣлкой, очисткой фразъ - какъ бы крѣпчаетъ и ваша рука; буквы ставятся тверже и рѣшительнѣе. *Такъ надо дѣлать по-моему восемь разъ. Для иного, можетъ быть, нужно меньше, а для иного и еще больше.* Я дѣлаю восемь разъ. Только послѣ восьмой переписки, непремѣнно собственною рукою, трудъ является вполнѣ художнически законченнымъ, достигаетъ перла созданія». (Воспоминаніе о Гоголѣ. Н. Берга. Русская Старина. Январь 1872).

Что это—непреодолимая наивность или злая насмѣшка? невольно спрашиваетъ себя всякій, сколько нибудь знакомый съ условіями настоящаго литературнаго труда, пробѣгая эти подробныя наставленія. Но въ то время, когда онѣ писались, онѣ не были ни то, ни другое, и для насъ онѣ характеристичны какъ мѣрило пропасти, отдѣляющей нашу эпоху отъ предшествующихъ. Намъ, конечно, могутъ указать въ фалангѣ писателей сороковыхъ годовъ на Бѣлинскаго,—но тѣхъ, кому пришла бы охота опровергать насъ этимъ указаніемъ, мы по-

просимъ вспомнить, что Бѣлинскій умеръ 35 лѣтъ, попросимъ вспомнить общеизвѣстные факты изъ его біографіи—факты до того типичные, что, читая ихъ, невольно спрашиваешь себя, не были ли они записаны только вчера или сегодня изъ жизни какого нибудь современнаго намъ литературнаго чернорабочаго? (Да и что удивительнаго въ подобной аналогіи, когда тѣ самыя предпринимательскія фирмы, которыми эксплуатировался нашъ великій критикъ, не только продолжаютъ процвѣтать и понынѣ, но еще, слившись воедино, усугубили, такъ сказать, условія своего процвѣтанія?—фактъ въ своемъ родѣ знаменательный и характеристичный). Такимъ образомъ оказывается, что геніальный поповичъ и недоучившійся студентъ, ставшій на ряду съ самыми крупными дѣятелями эпохи, принадлежалъ, по внѣшнимъ условіямъ своей дѣятельности, именно къ тому типу литературнаго работника, который едва начиналъ намѣчаться въ то время; въ этомъ смыслѣ онъ цѣликомъ принадлежитъ нашей современности, несетъ всѣ тяготы созданнаго ею быта, отражаетъ на себѣ всѣ вліянія, составляющія исключительную ея особенность.

Къ концу пятидесятыхъ годовъ литература демократизируется. Говоря вообще, это, конечно, прогрессъ, но прогрессъ такого же обоюдо-остраго свойства, какъ переходъ отъ феодальнаго строя, съ его аристократичными привиллегіями и цѣховыми монополіями, къ принципіальному равенству и свободѣ современнаго фабрично-промышленнаго періода. Въ малыхъ размѣрахъ здѣсь повторяются тѣ же явленія, которыя характеризуютъ указанный нами великій переворотъ въ европейской исторіи. На мѣсто случайности и патріархальной простоты кустарныхъ промысловъ является строго-правильная, казарменная организація фабричнаго производства, съ своимъ безконтрольно-царящимъ принципомъ раздѣленія труда, — иначе сказать, съ безконечнымъ дробленіемъ живой совокупности силъ и способностей, составляющей человѣческую личность и съ безпощаднымъ подчиненіемъ этой личности требованіямъ наибольшей производительности предпріятія; на мѣсто медленной работы съ руки, то топорной и грубой, то помѣченной отпечаткомъ мастерства, доходящаго до высокой художественности, является однообразіе и отчетливость машинной работы, повышающее качество продукта въ среднемъ выводѣ въ ущербъ проявленіямъ индивидуальной талантливости и геніальности. Наконецъ, является въ малыхъ размѣрахъ и своя „индустріальная армія“, т. е. классъ людей, оторванныхъ отъ

всякой другой сферы дѣятельности и безпомощно и безвозвратно втянутыхъ въ тотъ механизмъ, одно изъ колесъ котораго они составляютъ. Періодическія изданія наши представляютъ прежде всего, а во многихъ случаяхъ и исключительно, коммерческое предпріятіе, хозяиномъ котораго является лицо, совмѣщающее въ себѣ большею частію званіе редактора и издателя. Лишь въ немногихъ случаяхъ, до того рѣдкихъ, что ихъ почти можно назвать исключительными, лицомъ этимъ бываетъ литераторъ, т. е. человѣкъ, заинтересованный въ изданіи не съ формальной только стороны, и способный исполнять тѣ функціи, которыя предполагаетъ званіе редактора, т. е. служить центромъ, вокругъ котораго группировались бы люди извѣстнаго образа мыслей и, завѣдуя общимъ ходомъ дѣла, вести его къ той же, ясно сознанной цѣли, къ которой стремится въ частности каждый изъ его сотрудниковъ. Если откинуть эти немногіе исключительные случаи, вся періодическая печать наша находится въ рукахъ людей, которые потому только и редакторы, что имъ удалось добиться не легко дающагося утвержденія въ этомъ званіи и что у нихъ есть деньги, отъ помѣщенія которыхъ въ литературное предпріятіе они ожидаютъ большихъ барышей. Тутъ, конечно, существуетъ своего рода градація, отъ ловкаго практическаго человѣка, который успѣлъ усвоить себѣ извѣстную внѣшнюю наметку и съ помощью ея импонируетъ до нѣкоторой степени наивнымъ людямъ — импонируетъ по крайней мѣрѣ на столько, что имъ не то боязно, не то совѣстно признать въ немъ, подъ маскою Катона или Брута, ординарную физіономію кулака,—и до мелкой сошки, только желающей быть ловкой и практичной, но терпящей при смертной охотѣ участь горькую. Объ этомъ послѣднемъ типѣ мы говоримъ ниже, а теперь займемся тѣми литературными предпріятіями, во главѣ которыхъ стоятъ quasi-литераторы.

Прежде всего надо замѣтить, что интересы такого quasi-литератора если не діаметрально противуположны по самой сущности своей тому, что составляетъ въ глазахъ публики нравственную физіономію изданія и обусловливаетъ его возникновеніе, то во всякомъ случаѣ стоятъ совершенно независимо, особнякомъ отъ всего этого. Въ идеальномъ представленіи лучшей части читающей публики,— той, которая способна сознательно и критически относиться къ предлагаемой ей литературѣ,—всякое періодическое изданіе, если только

оно претендуетъ на болѣе серьезное значеніе, чѣмъ значеніе какого нибудь иллюстрированнаго tutti-fruti, для „семейнаго чтенія“ или для услажденія одинокаго досуга—всякое такое изданіе, говоримъ мы, является органическимъ цѣлымъ, воплощающимъ въ себѣ по возможности послѣдовательно и полно извѣстное направленіе, извѣстное міросозерцаніе. Въ этомъ направленіи, въ этомъ міросозерцаніи предполагается весь центръ тяжести, единственная цѣль, ради которой періодически выходитъ въ свѣтъ вся эта масса печатной бумаги. Матеріальный успѣхъ, доходность предпріятія, если и играютъ въ этомъ представленіи извѣстную роль, то лишь какъ необходимое условіе существованія изданія, какъ справедливое вознагражденіе тѣхъ, которые вложили свой трудъ и свои деньги въ дѣло, признанное ими добрымъ и полезнымъ. Это-то идеальное представленіе, совершенно вѣрное въ теоретической своей исходной точкѣ, отражается какъ разъ въ обратномъ видѣ въ той житейской практикѣ, о которой мы говоримъ. Нашъ quasi-литераторъ тоже понимаетъ необходимость придать своему изданію опредѣленную нравственную физіономію, и чѣмъ онъ практичнѣе, тѣмъ яснѣе сознаетъ эту необходимость. Но опредѣленность и послѣдовательность направленія и литературное достоинство тѣхъ формъ, въ которыхъ они выражаются, составляютъ предметъ его заботъ лишь настолько, насколько то и другое способствуетъ матеріальному успѣху предпріятія. Между тѣмъ, онъ знаетъ очень хорошо, что упомянутые невещественные факторы, если и играютъ роль въ увеличеніи издательскихъ барышей, то лишь въ извѣстныхъ, довольно ограниченныхъ предѣлахъ и въ пропорціи постепенно уменьшающейся, по мѣрѣ того, какъ возрастаютъ барыши. Онъ знаетъ, что разъ репутація изданія составлена и оно вступило въ блистательный періодъ своего коммерческаго существованія, новыя заботы объ улучшеніи внутренняго его достоинства не окупятся соотвѣтствующимъ увеличеніемъ доходовъ; увеличеніе это происходитъ совершенно инымъ, гораздо простѣйшимъ способомъ: разъ цифра подписчиковъ дошла до той вождѣленной нормы, при которой затраты окупаются, всякое новое прибавленіе составляетъ уже почти чистый доходъ издателя, такъ какъ сопровождающіе подобное увеличеніе добавочные расходы на бумагу и на почтовую переписку (а другихъ расходовъ, въ видѣ, напримѣръ, увеличенія гонорарія людямъ, создавшимъ этотъ успѣхъ, не полагается) составляютъ ничтожный про-

центъ изъ того десятка и болѣе тысячъ рублей, который съ каждою новою тысячью подписчиковъ перепадаетъ въ издательскій карманъ. Слѣдовательно, коммерческому дѣятелю, стоящему во главѣ литературнаго предпріятія, остается сосредоточивать свои усилія на двухъ задачахъ: поскорѣе довести бюджетъ изданія до того равновѣсія, которое, какъ мы видѣли, служитъ исходной точкой издательскаго благополучія,—а такое равновѣсіе достигается тѣмъ скорѣе, чѣмъ большая экономія соблюдается въ расходахъ—и поддержать ту среднюю доброкачественность продаваемаго имъ товара, которая и въ торговлѣ такъ-называемыми произведеніями человѣческой мысли, какъ и во всякой другой торговлѣ, обезпечиваетъ наиболѣе обширный и выгодный сбытъ.

Этими-то коммерческими соображеніями обусловливается и отношеніе такого хозяина изданія къ сотрудникамъ. Онъ, конечно, дорожитъ тѣмъ невещественнымъ фондомъ таланта, идей, знанія, который каждый изъ нихъ вносятъ въ его предпріятіе и даже въ сравнительной оцѣнкѣ этихъ качествъ въ каждомъ данномъ лицѣ выказываетъ подчасъ нѣкоторую мѣткость сужденія и проницательность взгляда, остерегаясь, конечно, переводить такую оцѣнку, безъ крайней надобности, на деньги. Онъ ничего не имѣетъ противъ того, чтобы эти вкладчики воображали, что, способствуя успѣху его предпріятія, они проводятъ идею, служатъ общественному дѣлу; онъ даже самъ не прочь, въ минуты досужаго благодушія, что называется, entre la paoire et le fromage изобразить изъ себя слугу общества и проводника идеи. Но, позволяя себѣ эту невинную роскошь, онъ ни на минуту не теряетъ изъ виду интересы своей коммерціи; интересы же эти, какъ мы видѣли, сходятся въ извѣстныхъ точкахъ соприкосновенія съ тѣми высшими интересами, которымъ порывается служить каждый, мало-мальски порядочный человѣкъ, вступая на литературное поприще,—но сходятся не для того, чтобы слиться, а чтобы пересѣчь другъ другу дорогу и затѣмъ снова разойтись. Пользуясь для своихъ цѣлей тѣмъ невещественнымъ фондомъ, о которомъ мы говорили, хозяинъ предпріятія расходуетъ его по своему усмотрѣнію и не считаетъ себя обязаннымъ заботиться о его возстановленіи и увеличеньи. Талантъ, идея, знаніе—не болѣе какъ орудія: есть въ нихъ надобность, ихъ употребляютъ, сообразно съ ихъ первоначальнымъ назначеніемъ, надобность миновала—ихъ приспособляютъ къ тому употребленію, въ которомъ представилась надобность въ данную минуту, хотя бы для

этого пришлось заставлять клинокъ англійской стали исполнять работу кухоннаго ножа, годнаго только для колки лучинъ на растопки. И служитъ клинокъ, пока не зазубрится—зазубрится и все-таки продолжаетъ служить, пока совсѣмъ не сломается; да и что же ему дѣлать?—вѣдь если его отложатъ въ сторону, будетъ и того хуже.

Рядомъ съ этой нравственной эксплуатаціей идетъ и матеріальная. Читатели, слѣдящіе за печатными отчетами литературнаго фонда, безъ сомнѣнія, не разъ обращали вниманіе на ту рубрику этихъ отчетовъ, въ которыхъ, съ подобающею деликатностью выраженія, говорится о литераторахъ, утруждающихъ комитетъ фонда просьбами о содѣйствіи имъ, литераторамъ, къ полученію гонорара, причитающагося за напечатанную въ такомъ-то изданіи статью. „Сношенія", въ которыя комитетъ фонда входитъ по этому щекотливому вопросу съ хозяевами означенныхъ изданій, иногда увѣнчиваются успѣхомъ, но уже одинъ фактъ, что литераторы вынуждены обращаться въ такомъ дѣлѣ къ учрежденію, которое, принимая на себя такого рода посредничество, не имѣетъ никакой возможности настоять на своихъ требованіяхъ въ случаѣ отказа, а потому можетъ только просить объ уплатѣ задержанныхъ денегъ, какъ о нѣкотораго рода личномъ одолженіи, достаточно характеризуетъ безпомощное положеніе литературнаго работника передъ произволомъ издательской эксплуатаціи. На это могутъ замѣтить: кто же мѣшаетъ сотрудникамъ обращаться въ такихъ случаяхъ въ судъ? Мѣшать, конечно, никто не мѣшаетъ; но, съ одной стороны, въ рукахъ обсчитаннаго сотрудника не бываетъ зачастую никакихъ доказательствъ того, что данная статья дѣйствительно принадлежитъ ему, а во-вторыхъ, медленность гражданской судебной процедуры, отчасти установленная закономъ для огражденія интересовъ отвѣтчика, отчасти же, и едва ли не главнымъ образомъ, обусловливаемая судебной практикой, на которую въ послѣднее время все чаще и чаще раздаются сѣтованья въ этомъ отношеніи, дѣлаетъ то, что раздраженный принципалъ въ случаѣ, даже, еслибы искъ сотрудника былъ признанъ правильнымъ и перерѣшеніе дѣла слѣдующей судебной инстанціей въ иномъ смыслѣ представлялось крайне сомнительнымъ, имѣетъ полную возможность оттянуть уплату на неопредѣленное время: для этого ему только стоитъ протянуть дѣло черезъ всѣ аппеляціонныя инстанціи, пользуясь сполна льготными сроками, положенными для подачи аппеляціонныхъ отзывовъ; судеб-

ныя издержки, которыя при этомъ наростаютъ и которыя, какъ онъ очень хорошо знаетъ, падутъ на него, не могутъ его удержать; этою маленькою жертвою, въ сущности даже нечувствительною для его кармана, онъ покупаетъ себѣ нравственное удовлетвореніе протомить дерзкаго сотрудника, осмѣлившагося искать противъ него защиты въ судѣ. При такихъ условіяхъ, понятно, что не у всякаго обсчитаннаго сотрудника хватитъ духу затѣвать процессъ, особенно если сумма, на которую онъ обсчитанъ, незначительна; а между тѣмъ, незначительность эта лишь относительная, и въ литературномъ быту, какъ и во всякомъ другомъ быту, не обставленномъ никакими гарантіями противъ полнѣйшаго произвола случайности, цѣна денегъ опредѣляется пословицей: дорого яичко къ Христову дню.

Но это лишь грубѣйшая, такъ сказать, первобытная форма эксплуатаціи. Рядомъ съ нею существуютъ и другія, обставленныя всею благовидностью обоюднаго соглашенія. Какъ на довольно характеристичный образчикъ подобнаго рода эксплуатаціи, мы можемъ указать на слѣдующій случай: Хозяинъ одного періодическаго изданія, устыдившись, повидимому, низкой платы, на которой онъ держалъ одного изъ самыхъ дѣятельныхъ своихъ постоянныхъ сотрудниковъ, объявляетъ послѣднему, что такъ какъ дѣла изданія идутъ въ настоящее время хорошо (а шли они настолько хорошо, что уже доставляли хозяину тысячъ семнадцать чистаго дохода), то онъ, хозяинъ, намѣренъ сдѣлать сотрудника участникомъ въ своихъ барышахъ и, какъ только цифра подписчиковъ еще возрастетъ до извѣстныхъ предѣловъ, увеличитъ сотруднику помѣсячную плату, которую онъ получалъ, помимо полистной, въ качествѣ одного изъ членовъ редакціи, завѣдующаго цѣлымъ отдѣломъ. Сотрудникъ, конечно, если и имѣетъ что противъ подобнаго обѣщанія, то развѣ только то, что оно лишь сулитъ въ будущемъ то, что слѣдовало бы сдѣлать въ настоящемъ. Но, понимая, что за неимѣніемъ синицы въ рукахъ, можно помириться и на журавлѣ въ небѣ, терпѣливо ждетъ. Цифра эта дѣйствительно вскорѣ достигается, но хозяинъ какъ будто забылъ о данномъ обѣщаніи. Сотрудникъ рѣшается напомнить ему о существовавшемъ между ними уговорѣ, но получаетъ въ отвѣтъ: Вы не поняли меня; я говорилъ, что увеличу вамъ вознагражденіе, когда подписка дойдетъ до такой-то цифры (называетъ другую цифру, болѣе высокую, чѣмъ прежде назначенная). Сотрудникъ, за неимѣніемъ возможности освѣжить память хозяина какими-либо

полновѣсными доказательствами, соглашается, что онъ, чего добраго, и въ самомъ дѣлѣ ослышался, и опять ждетъ. Но вотъ и вторично назначенная цифра уже достигнута.—Ужъ теперь-то, думаетъ сотрудникъ,—у него не хватитъ духу отпереться отъ своихъ словъ. Но каково же его удивленіе, когда онъ, вмѣсто ожидаемой прибавки, получаетъ отъ хозяина изданія письмо, въ которомъ тотъ ему предлагаетъ, въ виду разстроеннаго положенія дѣлъ изданія, *согласиться работать за меньшее вознагражденіе, чѣмъ прежде!*

Вообще въ издательскихъ предпріятіяхъ этого типа не существуетъ никакой нормы, по которой опредѣлялось бы вознагражденіе сотрудниковъ. Единственной нормой служитъ степень податливости даннаго лица. Найдетъ коса на камень—вознагражденіе возростаетъ до болѣе или менѣе почтенныхъ размѣровъ. Подвернется человѣкъ мягкій, или имѣющій слабость сердечно относиться къ тому изданію, въ которомъ онъ участвуетъ, ну, и платись за свою мягкость или сердечность. Повѣрятъ ли, напримѣръ, чтобы писателя съ блестящимъ талантомъ, писателя, создавшаго репутацію изданія и доставившаго ему тысячи подписчиковъ, можно было въ теченіе нѣсколькихъ лѣтъ держать на низшей полистной платѣ, чѣмъ обыкновенный, такъ сказать, казенный размѣръ вознагражденія въ пятьдесятъ рублей съ листа? А между тѣмъ и такіе случаи бывали...

Но, замѣтятъ, быть можетъ, нѣкоторые изъ нашихъ читателей, вѣдь подобная эксплуатація въ концѣ концовъ обращается въ ущербъ тѣмъ самымъ интересамъ, во имя которыхъ она производится. Не могутъ же подобные литературные предприниматели не сознавать, что, обращаясь такъ безцеремонно съ запасомъ литературныхъ силъ, находящихся въ ихъ распоряженіи, ставя литераторамъ роковую дилемму или голодать, или убивать по немногу въ притупляющей и изнуряющей работѣ все то, что могло бы составить душу-живу ихъ дѣятельности, — они изсушаютъ тѣ источники, безъ которыхъ сами же не могутъ обойтись? Дѣйствительно, подобная эксплуатація, говоря вообще, оказывается такимъ же плохимъ разсчетомъ, какъ и тотъ первобытный способъ земледѣлія, который отнимаетъ у почвы все, что она можетъ дать, ничѣмъ ее за это не вознаграждая, и къ людямъ, такъ нехозяйственно распоряжающимся источниками своего благосостоянія, по всей справедливости можетъ быть примѣнено то, что было сказано о преступ-

никахъ—что они плохіе счетчики. Мысль эта, конечно, способна доставить извѣстное нравственное успокоеніе тѣмъ, для кого весь вопросъ въ томъ, чтобы найти подобное личное успокоеніе, но сущность дѣла отъ этого мало измѣняется. Земледѣльческая химія и даже политическая экономія давно предаютъ справедливому порицанію то, что у нихъ извѣстно подъ именемъ грабительскаго способа земледѣлія, Raubbau; безъ сомнѣнія, убѣдительные доводы этихъ наукъ когда-нибудь да измѣнятъ тѣ условія, которыя создали этотъ Raubbau и изъ которыхъ онъ является единственнымъ возможнымъ, и если не раціональнымъ, то, по крайней мѣрѣ, по своему, логичнымъ выводомъ; но пока данныя условія остаются неизмѣненными, самые убѣдительные доводы этого рода постоянно будутъ разбиваться въ общемъ—о физическую невозможность воспользоваться ихъ благими указаніями, а въ частности—о близорукую житейскую мудрость, создавшую поговорки: „на мой вѣкъ хватитъ“ и „après nous le déluge“.

Чтобы убѣдиться въ этомъ, намъ остается взглянуть на другую сторону вопроса, которая, съ перваго взгляда, какъ будто и противорѣчитъ всему вышесказанному, но при ближайшемъ разсмотрѣніи оказывается лишь новымъ и едва ли не наиболѣе сильнымъ доказательствомъ рокового вліянія, оказываемаго настоящей организаціей литературнаго труда на литературу и на ея дѣятелей.

Изъ вышеприведенныхъ фактовъ, быть можетъ, иной читатель заключитъ, что кулацкая эксплуатація сотрудниковъ въ матеріальномъ и нравственномъ отношеніи, построенная на самыхъ первобытныхъ пріемахъ обсчитыванія и зажиливанія, составляетъ не только заурядное, но и сплошное явленіе въ литературномъ быту. Между тѣмъ, это не такъ. Съ одной стороны, существуютъ редакціи, въ которыхъ личная порядочность редакторовъ и издателей не допускаетъ подобныхъ пріемовъ и составляетъ противовѣсъ тѣмъ общимъ условіямъ, которыя толкаютъ всякое литературное предпріятіе по указанному нами склону; въ этихъ редакціяхъ трудъ работниковъ вознаграждается настолько хорошо, насколько это вообще возможно при отсутствіи какихъ либо прочно установленныхъ основаній для опредѣленія цѣнности этого труда и какихъ бы то ни было гарантій его правъ. Съ другой стороны, самая сила вещей, самая невозможность для литературнаго труда продолжать свои отправленія при абсолютномъ, послѣдовательномъ примѣненіи того принципа, который, какъ мы ви-

дѣли, неминуемо ведетъ къ полному банкротству нравственныхъ и физическихъ силъ, дѣлаетъ то, что на практикѣ допускаются, отъ времени до времени, отступленія отъ этого принципа — нѣчто въ родѣ того, чѣмъ poor-tax и обязательные въ своемъ родѣ, широкіе размѣры благотворительности являются по отношенію къ принципу laissez-faire въ англійскомъ обществѣ. Едва ли существуетъ хотя бы одна редакція, въ счетныхъ книгахъ которой не фигурировалъ бы болѣе или менѣе длинный списокъ суммъ, розданныхъ сотрудникамъ въ долгъ въ зачетъ будущихъ статей. Въ этомъ отношеніи не составляютъ исключенія и такія изданія, которыя въ сущности построены по типу кулацкой эксплуатаціи, описанному нами выше. Въ нѣкоторыхъ изъ послѣднихъ цифра этихъ долговъ доходитъ до десятковъ тысячъ, изъ которыхъ цѣлыя тысячи приходятся зачастую на долю одного какого-нибудь сотрудника. Понятно, что при этомъ обезпеченіе будущей работою не можетъ имѣть серьезнаго значенія и что деньги эти, въ большинствѣ случаевъ, могутъ считаться безвозвратно пропавшими. Въ виду такого факта, многіе, пожалуй, найдутъ страннымъ, что можно еще говорить объ эксплуатаціи одной стороны другою, и замѣтятъ, что тутъ можетъ быть развѣ только рѣчь объ обоюдной эксплуатаціи, въ итогѣ которой получается, хотя и довольно страннымъ путемъ, желанная, справедливая норма вознагражденія. Между тѣмъ, это не совсѣмъ такъ. Во-первыхъ, не надо забывать, что какъ ни крупна бываетъ подчасъ цифра этихъ безвозвратно пропадающихъ долговъ, она распредѣляется лишь между нѣкоторыми изъ сотрудниковъ, и что издателю, если у него только есть на то охота, ничто не мѣшаетъ наверстывать и даже возвращать съ лихвою на остальныхъ эти экстренныя затраты. Во-вторыхъ, для самого сотрудника, прибѣгающаго къ этого рода займамъ, послѣдніе отнюдь не могутъ считаться косвеннымъ способомъ для „дальнѣйшей уплаты собственной цѣны труда“. Положимъ, что онъ сознаетъ, что цѣна эта и доля пользы, принесенная имъ изданію, далеко не оплачивается тѣмъ вознагражденіемъ, которое онъ до сихъ поръ получалъ. Но это еще не даетъ ему возможности опредѣлить то, что причитается ему по праву и съ полною увѣренностью сказать себѣ, что, занимая деньги, онъ, въ сущности, беретъ только свое, ни больше и ни меньше. Пока въ теоріи и практикѣ окружающей среды не признанъ принципъ, на основаніи котораго онъ оцѣниваетъ свой трудъ, о подобномъ точномъ опредѣленіи не мо-

жетъ быть и рѣчи,—по крайней мѣрѣ оно всегда рискуетъ быть заподозрѣннымъ въ произвольности. А при такихъ обстоятельствахъ, для всякаго порядочнаго человѣка примѣненіе своихъ взглядовъ въ собственную пользу представляется всего щекотливѣе. Къ тому же, онъ знаетъ, что въ глазахъ того лица, отъ котораго зависитъ дать или не дать просимыя деньги, дѣло имѣетъ характеръ подачки, милости, на которую закона нѣтъ, и что, прибѣгая къ подобной милости, онъ всегда жертвуетъ тою внѣшнею стороною своего человѣческаго достоинства, которая опредѣляется отношеніемъ къ намъ другихъ людей и которая, какъ бы твердо ни было наше внутреннее сознаніе неотъемлемости этого достоинства, не можетъ не имѣть для насъ извѣстнаго значенія. Вотъ почему всякій, уважающій себя литераторъ, кредитуясь изъ издательской кассы подъ обезпеченіе будущихъ работъ, ограничится такими размѣрами, при которыхъ подобное обезпеченіе представляется не фиктивнымъ,—и въ такомъ случаѣ, при наличности всѣхъ остальныхъ условій эксплуатаціи, кредитъ, открытый ему изданіемъ, въ которомъ онъ работаетъ, никакого существеннаго вліянія на его положеніе не окажетъ,—или же, если обстоятельства втянули его въ неоплатные долги, очутится въ такомъ положеніи, въ которомъ весь нравственный и матеріальный гнетъ его быта будетъ ощущаться имъ съ удвоенною силою. Свободно и съ легкимъ сердцемъ пользоваться этимъ кредитомъ могутъ только тѣ, которые при этомъ никакими принципами не задаются, кромѣ извѣстнаго правила народной мудрости: даютъ, такъ бери... и если подчасъ и обставляютъ это покладистое правило нѣкоторымъ либеральничаньемъ, то ровно на столько, на сколько это нужно, чтобы благовиднымъ образомъ отдѣлаться отъ обязательствъ карманной честности.

Чтобы закончить нашъ очеркъ литературнаго быта, намъ остается упомянуть еще объ одномъ фактѣ, который за послѣдніе годы начинаетъ играть въ этомъ быту все болѣе и болѣе замѣтную роль. Читатели, быть можетъ, обратили вниманіе на появленіе въ нашей періодической печати недолговѣчныхъ изданій, въ которыхъ все, отъ возникновенія ихъ подъ фирмою какого нибудь невѣдомаго въ литературѣ лица и до безслѣднаго исчезновенія Богъ-вѣсть куда и Богъ-вѣсть какимъ образомъ, представляется для непосвященнаго читателя какою-то неразъяснимою загадкою. Между тѣмъ, загадка эта объясняется очень просто. Какой нибудь

спекулянтъ, изъ мелкотравчатыхъ, неудачно испробовавъ свои способности на другихъ поприщахъ, рѣшается попытать счастья въ литературѣ, какъ наиболѣе легкомъ и прибыльномъ, по его понятіямъ, источникѣ наживы. О литературной и даже объ издательской сторонѣ дѣла онъ знаетъ только одно—что есть Калифорнія, именуемая подпиской, и что изъ этой Калифорніи въ его карманъ должны посыпаться тысячи рублей,—остальное же дѣло сотрудниковъ. Заручившись необходимымъ утвержденіемъ въ званіи редактора и издателя и раздобывшись, всѣми правдами и неправдами, малою толикою денегъ, чтобы было чѣмъ на первое время пыль въ глаза пустить, онъ начинаетъ набирать свой штабъ сотрудниковъ. Сотрудники являются охотно и на это есть много причинъ: то загоняетъ ихъ въ подобную редакцію одинъ изъ тѣхъ періодическихъ кризисовъ, которые съ пріостановкою или запрещеніемъ одного или нѣсколькихъ изданій оставляютъ безъ работы цѣлые десятки писателей; то соблазняетъ ихъ надежда на болѣе самостоятельное положеніе, если не въ матеріальномъ, то, по крайней мѣрѣ, въ нравственномъ отношеніи, такъ какъ при подобномъ, невѣдомо откуда вынырнувшемъ, редакторѣ, имъ представляется немыслимымъ его вмѣшательство въ литературную сторону дѣла; наконецъ, есть и такіе, которые прямо принимаютъ приглашеніе, въ разсчетѣ сбывать по выгодной цѣнѣ въ возникающее изданіе всякій бракъ и хламъ, пристроить который въ другомъ мѣстѣ немыслимо, но который тутъ сойдетъ, благодаря литературному авторитету ихъ въ глазахъ безтолковаго редактора. Изданіе, состряпанное изъ такихъ разнородныхъ элементовъ, начинаетъ выходить въ свѣтъ. Сотрудники, вошедшіе въ штабъ редакціи, выгораживаютъ за собою право исключительнаго завѣдыванія литературною стороною дѣла и нѣкоторое время пребываютъ въ отрадной увѣренности, что пріискали необыкновенно удобную комбинацію, предоставивъ своему номинальному принципалу всѣ почести внѣшняго представительства вмѣстѣ съ распоряженіемъ матеріальными средствами изданія. Дѣйствительно, первое время принципалъ и самъ, повидимому, сознаетъ всю взаимную выгодность этого единственно возможнаго раздѣленія „труда". Но вскорѣ оказывается, что онъ вовсе не такая tabula rasa, какъ предполагали вначалѣ; если по отношенію къ устройству дѣла онъ оказывается дѣйствительно пятымъ колесомъ, за то въ умѣніи вносить въ него разстройство и путаницу онъ оказывается великимъ

мастеромъ. То вздумаетъ онъ вдругъ обогатить наличный запасъ литературныхъ силъ своего изданія какимъ нибудь новымъ пріобрѣтеніемъ,—ну и обогащаетъ: въ штабъ редакціи вдругъ являются такіе пришельцы, что остальные сотрудники только переглядываются между собою, да осторожно сторонятся, недоумѣвая, что-то выйдетъ изо всего этого невообразимаго винигрета. То проявляется въ немъ вдругъ, ни съ того ни съ сего, желаніе выступить самому въ качествѣ писателя и по этому поводу между нимъ и сотрудниками, редактирующими de facto все изданіе, происходятъ подчасъ сцены самаго забавнаго свойства. Одинъ такой сотрудникъ, пріѣхавъ въ типографію передъ выпускомъ нумера, къ ужасу своему убѣждается, что нумеръ украшенъ невообразимо нелѣпою статьею, являющеюся для него совершеннѣйшимъ сюрпризомъ. Оказывается, что статья эта была прислана принципаломъ и принадлежитъ его перу. Сотрудникъ ѣдетъ къ принципалу и протестуетъ противъ такого нарушенія существовавшаго между ними уговора. Принципалъ, пойманный какъ школьникъ въ неудавшейся продѣлкѣ, конфузится, отпирается, увѣряетъ, что это онъ такъ только послалъ статью, что онъ безъ согласія сотрудника—ни-ни!—и припертый, что называется, къ стѣнѣ, соглашается выкинуть статью. А то вотъ еще сцена въ томъ же родѣ; номинальный редакторъ толстаго журнала является къ сотруднику, ведущему дѣло подъ его фирмою, и начинаетъ упрашивать его, чтобы тотъ согласился на помѣщеніе объемистой статьи, вылившейся изъ-подъ его дѣвственнаго редакторскаго пера.—Вы исправляйте и передѣлывайте ее какъ хотите, умоляетъ онъ нахмурившагося сотрудника и тутъ же добавляетъ, къ вящшему его успокоенію: Обѣщаюсь вамъ, я никогда больше не буду писать, но, согласитесь, вѣдь неловко же, я редакторъ и ни одной моей статьи не будетъ въ журналѣ! надо же показать, что и я умѣю писать.

Дрязги, столкновенія, а подчасъ и такъ называемые скандалы хронически внѣдряются въ редакціи подобнаго изданія и подтачиваютъ его существованіе, пока послѣднее не прекратится за изсякновеніемъ денежныхъ средствъ. А этотъ финалъ настаетъ очень скоро. Тысячи, притекающія въ карманъ издателя, совершенно кружатъ ему голову; онъ такъ давно, а можетъ быть и никогда не видалъ такихъ большихъ денегъ и не соображаетъ, что въ сущности деньги эти вовсе не большія, и что ихъ еле-еле хватитъ, чтобы свести концы съ концами въ первый, самый трудный годъ суще-

ствованія изданія. Онъ просто разсуждаетъ какъ мужикъ въ извѣстномъ анекдотѣ: „кабы меня да сдѣлали царемъ, я бы укралъ сто рублей и убѣжалъ“. Онъ безпечно бросаетъ деньги на право и на лѣво, хлѣбосольство его и ширь русской натуры проявляются въ полномъ блескѣ. Наконецъ, въ одно прекрасное утро, въ кассѣ оказывается Торричеліева пустота. Изъ сотрудниковъ, наиболѣе проницательные ретируются, не обращая вниманія на разглагольствованія издателя объ имѣющихъ свалиться къ нему съ неба въ самомъ скоромъ времени значительныхъ суммахъ, съ помощію которыхъ онъ поставитъ изданіе на ноги. Другіе, болѣе наивные, хотя и не совсѣмъ вѣрятъ въ существованіе богатаго отца или дяди, которые обыкновенно пускаются въ ходъ въ подобныхъ случаяхъ, но все-же дѣлаютъ послѣднее отчаянное усиліе поддержать изданіе, съ которымъ ихъ сроднили кое-какія мечты и надежды. Но никакія усилія не въ состояніи предотвратить неминуемой гибели изданія: оно исчезаетъ съ литературнаго горизонта вмѣстѣ съ неискуснымъ спекулянтомъ, которому было обязано своимъ появленіемъ. Спекулянтъ, конечно, ничего не теряетъ; онъ остается при томъ же, при чемъ былъ и прежде, и въ добавокъ, въ промежуткѣ ему удалось урвать у судьбы нѣсколько мѣсяцевъ раздольной жизни; что же касается той тѣни, которая падаетъ на него вслѣдствіе такого неблаговиднаго финала его издательской дѣятельности, то онъ не слишкомъ о ней безпокоится: вѣдь пассажи подобнаго рода дискредитируютъ его въ такой средѣ, изъ которой онъ улетучивается навсегда и отъ мнѣнія которой ему, по этому, ни тепло, ни холодно. Въ накладѣ остаются только подписчики, не дополучившіе того, что имъ слѣдуетъ получить, да наивные сотрудники, работавшіе въ послѣднее время безвозмездно, въ надеждѣ на будущія блага, да развѣ еще кредитъ литературы, который, благодаря подобнымъ пришлымъ спекулянтамъ, все болѣе и болѣе падаетъ въ общественномъ мнѣніи.

Возникновеніе подобнаго рода скандальныхъ спекуляцій было бы почти невозможно, еслибы существующія законоположенія о печати не ставили иниціативѣ самихъ литераторовъ въ основаніи новыхъ органовъ печати такихъ затрудненій, которыя de facto оказываются почти непреоборимыми. Извѣстно, что условіемъ sine qua non для существованія журнала или газеты служитъ утвержденіе того или другаго лица въ званіи отвѣтственнаго редактора. Утвержде-

ніе это зависитъ отъ усмотрѣнія администраціи, и хотя послѣдняя и не обязана мотивировать, почему она не считаетъ возможнымъ утвердить данное лицо, ни для кого не тайна, что главнымъ мотивомъ при этомъ являются тѣ гарантіи политической благонадежности, которыя представляетъ въ ея глазахъ это лицо. Если же судить по тѣмъ отказамъ, которые зачастую встрѣчаютъ литераторы, ходатайствующіе объ утвержденіи ихъ въ званіи отвѣтственныхъ редакторовъ, мѣрило этой благонадежности такъ строго, что подъ него иногда не подходятъ даже такія личности, которыя не сознаютъ за собою никакихъ грѣховъ этого рода. Между тѣмъ, едва ли нужно подробно доказывать, что порядокъ этотъ, стѣсняющій развитіе литературно-издательской дѣятельности на такихъ началахъ, при которыхъ она сосредоточилась бы въ рукахъ самихъ литераторовъ, не доставляетъ и правительству желаемыхъ гарантій. Мы видѣли, что въ число лицъ, признанныхъ политически-благонадежными, попадаютъ и такія, которыя о литературномъ дѣлѣ не имѣютъ ни малѣйшаго понятія. Для такого отвѣтственнаго редактора вопросъ направленія представляется дѣломъ совершенно безразличнымъ, направленіе это цѣликомъ опредѣляется тѣми самыми сотрудниками, которые не имѣютъ возможности вести дѣло отъ своего лица; если же отвѣтственный редакторъ въ припадкѣ той безшабашной игривости, которая овладѣваетъ людьми, очутившимися въ несвойственномъ имъ положеніи, и вздумаетъ ни съ того ни съ сего щегольнуть отъ своего лица тенденціей, то сдѣлаетъ онъ это непремѣнно такъ, чтобы прослыть ужаснымъ либераломъ, и при этомъ отколетъ такую штуку, на которую настоящій литераторъ не способенъ не только въ качествѣ человѣка, искушеннаго опытомъ, но и въ качествѣ человѣка, понимающаго, что глупость и реклама, хотя бы и наилиберальнѣйшаго пошиба, все-таки остаются глупостью и рекламою.

Въ заключеніе нашей статьи, мы позволимъ себѣ изложить вкратцѣ тѣ тезисы, которые мы пытались въ ней доказать:

Экономическое положеніе литературнаго работника, хотя и представляется съ перваго взгляда привиллегированнымъ, опредѣляется тѣми же экономическими факторами, которые управляютъ жизнью всякаго другого работника. Если уровень потребностей въ литера-

турномъ быту стоитъ несравненно выше, чѣмъ въ другихъ отраслях труда, то этимъ не возвышается мѣра субъективнаго довольства и не подрывается справедливость того недовольства и того стремленія къ лучшему, которыя высказываются въ этомъ быту. Стремленія эти законны не только въ томъ смыслѣ, что они управляются естественными законами, измѣнить которые не въ нашей власти, но и въ томъ смыслѣ, что они нравственны, такъ какъ они не идутъ въ разрѣзъ съ интересами другихъ классовъ общества, стоящихъ на еще низшихъ степеняхъ благосостоянія, и въ основѣ ихъ лежитъ не грубо-матеріалистическая гоньба за наслажденіемъ, а законная и нравственная потребность гармоничнаго развитія всѣхъ сторонъ человѣческаго существа до предѣловъ естественной возможности.

Цифра литературнаго заработка, покрывающая съ грѣхомъ пополамъ тотъ *minimum* потребностей, который установился въ данномъ быту, не удовлетворяетъ остальнымъ условіямъ, которыя, по самому скромному разсчету, признаются необходимыми для того, чтобы трудъ покрывалъ свои собственныя издержки и не шелъ на встрѣчу къ неминуемому банкротству. Цифра эта не даетъ средствъ ни для той спеціальной подготовки, которой требуетъ литературная дѣятельность, ни для поддержанія капитала нравственныхъ и физическихъ силъ въ теченіе рабочаго періода жизни, ни для обезпеченія извѣстной страховой преміи на случай болѣзни, безработицы или старости.

Если цифра эта и можетъ быть до извѣстной степени увеличена усиленной работой, то дѣлается это не иначе, какъ въ ущербъ двумъ первымъ изъ вышеназванныхъ элементовъ „собственной цѣны труда“, т. е. въ ущербъ необходимой спеціальной подготовкѣ и капиталу нравственной и физической рабочей силы,—а это, въ свою очередь, отзывается сокращеніемъ рабочаго періода жизни, въ теченіе котораго должны быть покрыты всѣ собственные расходы труда, и увеличиваетъ вѣроятіе временнаго перерыва работы, которое и безъ того, при непрочности положенія литературныхъ работниковъ и при тѣхъ случайностяхъ, которымъ подвержено существованіе литературныхъ предпріятій, достаточно велико. Такимъ образомъ, процентъ за страховую премію возрастаетъ до такихъ размѣровъ, при которыхъ покрытіе его изъ заработка становится немыслимо. Въ результатѣ всѣхъ этихъ дефицитовъ, наростающихъ

одинъ на другомъ и другъ друга обусловливающихъ, получается быстрое и полное банкротство труда.

Главною или, по крайней мѣрѣ, ближайшею причиною такого положенія вещей является та организація большинства періодическихъ органовъ печати, при которой они представляютъ не органическое цѣлое съ неразрывною солидарностью частей, обусловливающею единство и гармоничное соотвѣтствіе въ самомъ разнообразіи отправленій, а насильственное и чисто-внѣшнее соединеніе интересовъ, не имѣющихъ по самой природѣ своей ничего общаго между собою. Отсюда эксплуатація слабѣйшей стороны сильнѣйшею, отсюда подчиненіе всего, что составляетъ нравственный фондъ литературнаго дѣла, требованіямъ коммерческаго предпріятія, другими словами, дикое qui pro quo, перестанавливающее средство на мѣсто цѣли и обращающее цѣль въ простое средство.

Положеніе это не поправимо ни порядочностью отдѣльныхъ личностей, не желающихъ пользоваться тѣми средствами безконтрольной эксплуатаціи, которыя сила вещей даетъ имъ въ руки, ни тѣми частными уступками, которыя та же сила вещей вынуждаетъ и у самой безцеремонной эксплуатаціи. Напротивъ, самыя уступки эти, своимъ случайнымъ, какъ бы произвольнымъ характеромъ, при отсутствіи строго опредѣленнаго, общепризнаннаго мѣрила, которое регулировало бы права и обязанности на иныхъ началахъ, чѣмъ настоящія, явно несостоятельныя, являются лишь новымъ орудіемъ нравственнаго закабаленія личности, а въ иныхъ случаяхъ и деморализаціи.

Къ этимъ условіямъ, болѣе или менѣе общимъ литературному труду съ остальными отраслями труда, присоединяются еще другія, создающія для литературной дѣятельности какое-то исключительное положеніе среди всѣхъ другихъ видовъ производительной дѣятельности; условія эти — отсутствіе какихъ либо прочныхъ гарантій и изобиліе всякаго рода внѣшнихъ стѣсненій, парализующее всякое правильное развитіе дѣйствительно производительныхъ элементовъ, изъ которыхъ слагается эта дѣятельность, отдающее ее на полный произволъ случайности и тѣмъ самымъ ставящее ее все болѣе и болѣе въ зависимость отъ спекулянтовъ, которые умѣютъ изъ самыхъ неблагопріятныхъ случайностей извлекать себѣ выгоду или, по крайней мѣрѣ, такъ лавировать между ними, чтобы самимъ не оставаться въ накладѣ.

Исчисленныя условія литературнаго труда, отзываясь гибельно на нравственной силѣ и здоровьи личности, не могутъ не отзываться такъ же гибельно и на результатахъ ея дѣятельности. Если въ нихъ нельзя признать коренную и единственную причину настоящаго упадка значенія литературы, то во всякомъ случаѣ продолжительное и постоянно усиливающееся дѣйствіе ихъ является однимъ изъ главныхъ и непосредственныхъ факторовъ этого упадка.

Если читатель ожидаетъ, что мы, подъ-конецъ этихъ безотрадныхъ положеній, преподнесемъ ему въ утѣшеніе указаніе какого нибудь выхода,—нѣчто въ родѣ тѣхъ патентованныхъ универсальныхъ средствъ, которыя излечиваютъ отъ всѣхъ болѣзней, то ему предстоитъ разочароваться въ своихъ ожиданіяхъ. Никакого такого универсальнаго средства мы не знаемъ и не беремся его пріискивать. Говоря вообще, кооперація между самими литераторами, какъ такая форма, которою коммерческая сторона литературнаго предпріятія отодвигается на подобающее ей мѣсто, нравственный фондъ входитъ въ свои права и между участниками дѣла устанавливается связь нравственной и матеріальной солидарности, представляется намъ такою формою, при которой большая часть исчисленныхъ нами золъ отпадаетъ сама собою. Но возможна ли эта форма въ настоящее время? Не встрѣтитъ ли она неодолимыхъ препятствій въ тѣхъ самыхъ факторахъ, которымъ она стремится противодѣйствовать—въ денежной безпомощности литераторовъ, въ оскудѣніи запаса энергіи и таланта, измыканнаго на службѣ эксплуататорскимъ фирмамъ, въ дурныхъ привычкахъ мѣстничества и разрозненности, въ вавилонскомъ смѣшеніи языковъ, при которомъ подъ одними и тѣми же словами подразумѣваются нерѣдко совершенно противуположныя вещи, въ отсутствіи какихъ бы то ни было прочныхъ и раціональныхъ теоретическихъ основаній, на которыхъ отдѣльныя личности, не жертвуя призраку какой-то внѣшней, искусственной солидарности цѣлостью своего міросозерцанія и самобытностью своей нравственной физіономіи, могли бы сомкнуться въ свободный и сознательный союзъ? Наконецъ, еслибы даже предлагаемой нами комбинаціи и удалось справиться со всѣмъ этимъ печальнымъ наслѣдіемъ настоящихъ условій литературнаго труда, то могла ли бы она устоять и окрѣпнуть въ виду того шаткаго, исключительнаго положенія, которое нынѣ дѣйствующія законоположенія о печати создаютъ для собственности, помѣщенной въ какомъ либо литературномъ предпрія-

тіи? Мы не хотимъ отвѣчать апподектическимъ отрицаніемъ на всѣ эти вопросы, но намъ кажется, что въ виду ихъ ожидать слишкомъ блестящихъ непосредственныхъ результатовъ отъ той или другой комбинаціи, какъ бы раціональны ни были ея теоретическія основанія, было бы черезъ-чуръ уже наивно. Литература не есть какой либо status in statu или оазисъ среди пустыни. Замкнувшись въ разсмотрѣніи лишь тѣхъ сторонъ дѣла, которыя составляютъ ея исключительную особенность, мы не придемъ ни къ какому рѣшенію вопросовъ, даже наиболѣе близко ея касающихся. Изученіе этихъ вопросовъ можетъ быть плодотворно лишь на столько, на сколько оно выясняетъ намъ связь этихъ вопросовъ со всей совокупностью соціальной и политической жизни обществъ, и принимаетъ законы, управляющіе этой послѣдней, за путеводную нить своихъ изысканій. Что до насъ касается, то если намъ удалось настоящей статьей обратить сочувственное вниманіе читателя на интересы мало знакомаго и чуждаго ему быта и возбудить въ немъ желаніе перешагнуть черезъ ту пропасть взаимнаго непониманія и отчужденія, которая утвердилась между читающими и пишущими,— если съ другой стороны нашъ опытъ побудитъ кого либо изъ нашихъ собратовъ разработать этотъ вопросъ полнѣе и лучше, — то цѣль, которою мы задались въ настоящей статьѣ, будетъ вполнѣ достигнута.

Е. Конради.

ЛИЧНОЕ ОБЪЯСНЕНІЕ,

НЕ ЛИШЕННОЕ ОБЩАГО ИНТЕРЕСА.

Мы вынуждены къ настоящему объясненію съ подписчиками „Недѣли“ на страницахъ „Сборника“ тѣмъ обстоятельствомъ, что „Недѣля“ въ настоящее время не выходитъ въ свѣтъ, а можетъ быть не будетъ выходить и вовсе. Цѣль же настоящаго объясненія — разъяснить подписчикамъ причину этого обстоятельства и высказать нѣкоторыя мысли, не лишенныя, по нашему мнѣнію, общаго интереса.

Мы, нынѣшніе издатели „Недѣли“, пріобрѣли эту газету отъ прежняго ея владѣльца, г. Генкеля, въ октябрѣ 1869 года, послѣ шестимѣсячной ея пріостановки. Не смотря на невыгодность для насъ условій этого пріобрѣтенія, мы рѣшились взять газету въ той надеждѣ, что намъ удастся довести ее, въ матеріальномъ отношеніи, по крайней мѣрѣ до такого состоянія, при которомъ она будетъ достаточно оплачивать трудъ своихъ сотрудниковъ и возвратитъ намъ сдѣланныя на нее затраты. На доходы собственно-издательскіе мы разсчитывали мало, да и не имѣли въ нихъ особенной надобности, такъ какъ, будучи главными сотрудниками въ газетѣ, которымъ принадлежали $^3/_4$ каждаго ея нумера, мы могли довольствоваться обыкновеннымъ гонораріемъ за нашъ литературный трудъ. При такихъ скромныхъ требованіяхъ съ нашей стороны, намъ казалось, что мы можемъ взять на себя издательскую часть безъ всякаго риска, потому что еслибы случилось, что газета совсѣмъ не будетъ давать доходовъ, то мы ничего не теряемъ, какъ издатели,

а какъ сотрудники все-таки остаемся въ выигрышѣ — благодаря нашему самостоятельному положенію—сравнительно съ сотрудниками другихъ періодическихъ изданій. Хотя г. Генкель, передавая намъ газету, остался отвѣтственнымъ ея редакторомъ, но прямого участія въ ней не принималъ и слѣдовательно не могъ стѣснять насъ въ нашей литературной дѣятельности. При томъ же, мы надѣялись, что современемъ кому нибудь изъ насъ будетъ разрѣшено принять на себя и офиціальное званіе редактора, тѣмъ болѣе, что мы обязались передъ г. Генкелемъ замѣнить его впослѣдствіи другимъ лицомъ. Не считая нужнымъ распространяться объ остальныхъ соображеніяхъ, побудившихъ насъ взять на себя издательство „Недѣли", замѣтимъ только, что въ числѣ ихъ было одно, не лишенное идеалистическаго оттѣнка. Такъ, мы мечтали примѣнить кооперативное начало въ области литературнаго труда и создать газету, которая бы оплачивала этотъ трудъ не по однажды навсегда установленной мѣркѣ, а въ извѣстномъ отношеніи къ приносимымъ ею доходамъ.

Исполняя условіе, заключенное съ г. Генкелемъ, мы, черезъ нѣсколько мѣсяцевъ послѣ пріобрѣтенія газеты, представили въ Главное управленіе по дѣламъ печати сразу *трехъ* лицъ, ходатайствуя объ утвержденіи кого-либо изъ нихъ въ званіи отвѣтственнаго редактора „Недѣли"—но ни одно изъ нихъ не удостоилось утвержденія со стороны г. министра внутреннихъ дѣлъ; черезъ нѣсколько времени мы представили *четвертое*, а потомъ и *пятое* лице, но результатъ былъ тотъ же. Эта неудача нашихъ ходатайствъ начинала нѣсколько тревожить насъ, но, объясняя ее какими нибудь исключительными причинами, мы рѣшились ждать болѣе удобнаго времени.

Такъ прошелъ 1870 годъ и часть 1871. Въ это время, именно 4-го апрѣля, „Недѣля" получила третье предостереженіе и была пріостановлена на шесть мѣсяцевъ. По прошествіи этого срока, г. Генкель заявилъ намъ, что онъ не можетъ болѣе сохранять за собою званіе отвѣтственнаго редактора и настоятельно просилъ насъ вновь обратиться въ главное управленіе по дѣламъ печати съ просьбою о замѣнѣ его другимъ лицемъ. Положеніе наше, какъ издателей, становилось безвыходнымъ. Испытавъ неудачу относительно пяти лицъ, мы имѣли мало основаній разсчитывать на утвержденіе шестаго, тѣмъ болѣе, что на этотъ разъ намъ приходилось ходатайствовать въ особенно неблагопріятное для насъ время,—именно,

послѣ шестимѣсячной пріостановки, когда мы всего менѣе могли разсчитывать на благосклонное вниманіе къ намъ со стороны администраціи по дѣламъ печати. Мы изложили эти соображенія передъ г. Генкелемъ; мы, кромѣ того, сказали ему, что своимъ отказомъ отъ званія редактора онъ поставитъ насъ въ невозможность продолжать изданіе, которое до сихъ поръ приносило намъ только убытки, и такимъ образомъ лишитъ насъ всякихъ средствъ поправить наши матеріальныя дѣла. Г. Генкель убѣдился нашими доводами и оказался на столько деликатнымъ, что вновь предоставилъ свою подпись, какъ отвѣтственнаго редактора, въ наше распоряженіе. Съ 4-го октября 1871 года „Недѣля" опять стала выходить въ свѣтъ.

Однако же, наши матеріальныя обстоятельства не только не улучшились къ этому времени съ конца 1869 года, но еще ухудшились. Дойдя въ 1871 году до 2,000 слишкомъ, цифра подписчиковъ на 1872 годъ, подъ вліяніемъ шестимѣсячной пріостановки, упала до 1,500, и если мы все-таки рѣшились продолжать наше изданіе, то лишь въ надеждѣ—воздерживаясь, по возможности, отъ сужденій, влекущихъ за собою административныя взысканія—увеличить цифру подписчиковъ въ 1873 году. Здѣсь мы должны, впрочемъ, прибавить, что возможность продолжать изданіе давало намъ, главнымъ образомъ, содѣйствіе со стороны почтенныхъ Антона Михайловича *Котомина* и владѣльцевъ „Русской Книжной Торговли", Константина Николаевича *Дурышкина* и Василія Ивановича *Яковлева*, которые съ самаго перехода „Недѣли" въ наши руки оказывали намъ самый широкій кредитъ (первый—по типографіи, вторые—по бумагѣ). Мы считаемъ себя обязанными заявить объ этомъ гласно и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ выразить имъ нашу глубокую, искреннюю благодарность.

Пять мѣсяцевъ со времени возобновленія „Недѣли" послѣ полугодовой пріостановки прошли благополучно, и намъ казалось, что при томъ образѣ дѣйствій, какой мы постарались себѣ усвоить, мы можемъ считать себя гарантированными отъ предостереженій и пріостановокъ нисколько не меньше, чѣмъ всякое другое періодическое изданіе; а при этомъ условіи мы позволяли себѣ надѣяться, что подписка на будущій годъ окажетъ намъ существенную поддержку и вознаградитъ хоть часть тѣхъ убытковъ, какіе намъ приносила до сихъ поръ наша газета. Мы предполагали, кромѣ того, произвесть въ

ней нѣкоторыя существенныя улучшенія, расширить критическій и библіографическій отдѣлы, сдѣлать болѣе полными всѣ хроники (внутреннюю, земскую и судебную) и увеличить ея объемъ. Вообще мы разсчитывали утвердить изданіе „Недѣли“ на болѣе прочныхъ основаніяхъ и расширить кругъ ея читателей.

Но тутъ надъ нами разразился ударъ въ такой формѣ, въ какой мы его никакъ не ожидали. Причины, извѣстныя намъ лишь по слухамъ, заставили г. Генкеля уѣхать въ началѣ марта за границу. Онъ уѣхалъ, не предупредивъ насъ объ этомъ заранѣе и не заявивъ о своемъ отъѣздѣ въ главное управленіе по дѣламъ печати. Благодаря этому послѣднему обстоятельству, онъ, на основаніи закона 6-го апрѣля 1865 года, лишился званія отвѣтственнаго редактора. Мы тотчасъ же обратились въ главное управленіе съ просьбой о разрѣшеніи намъ выпускать „Недѣлю“, до пріисканія и утвержденія новаго редактора, подъ временною отвѣтственностью кого-либо изъ насъ, но наша просьба не получила удовлетворенія— и изданіе „Недѣли“ должно было пріостановиться. Тогда мы представили новое—по общему счету, *шестое*—лицо для утвержденія его постояннымъ редакторомъ, но и на эту просьбу разрѣшенія не послѣдовало. Послѣ нѣкотораго колебанія, мы рѣшились представить еще одно, *седьмое* лицо—и опять потерпѣли неудачу.

Здѣсь мы должны были остановиться и серьезно подумать о нашемъ положеніи. Намъ предстояло два выхода: или продолжать хлопоты по пріисканію другихъ лицъ въ редакторы, или постараться передать нашу газету въ другія руки. Но пріискиваніе и представленіе редакторовъ—дѣло вовсе не такое легкое и простое, какъ можетъ казаться. Нужно найти человѣка, который бы, прежде всего, согласился принять на себя это званіе; затѣмъ, если онъ служащій, необходимо предварительно заручиться согласіемъ со стороны его начальства. Со дня представленія лица, согласившагося быть редакторомъ, въ Главное управленіе по дѣламъ печати, до дня полученія отвѣта со стороны послѣдняго, проходитъ не мало времени. Такъ напримѣръ, съ отъѣзда г. Генкеля, мы представили въ Главное управленіе двухъ лицъ и на это потребовалось болѣе двухъ мѣсяцевъ. Но бываютъ случаи, когда дѣло тянется еще дольше. Намъ, по крайней мѣрѣ, въ прошломъ году пришлось ждать отвѣта относительно одного изъ представленныхъ лицъ — *болѣе полугода* Между тѣмъ, возобновляя изданіе „Недѣли“ послѣ вторичной ея

пріостановки и разсчитывая поправить наши дѣла въ будущемъ году, мы ставили при этомъ необходимымъ условіемъ—чтобы „Недѣля“ не только не подверглась въ нынѣшнемъ году пріостановкѣ, но и не получила *ни одного* предостереженія. Только такимъ путемъ мы надѣялись возстановить въ глазахъ подписчиковъ кредитъ нашего изданія, поколебленный частыми предостереженіями и пріостановками до такой степени, что нѣкоторые изъ нашихъ читателей, подписываясь въ текущемъ году на нашу газету и высылая только полугодовую плату, прямо высказывали увѣренность, что „Недѣля“ *будетъ издаваться не болѣе полугода*, вслѣдствіе чего они считаютъ излишнимъ подписываться на весь годъ. Очевидно, что при такихъ условіяхъ возобновлять газету послѣ новой пріостановки было бы съ нашей стороны большимъ рискомъ. Положимъ, что на этотъ разъ пріостановка произошла вслѣдствіе совершенно исключительныхъ обстоятельствъ; но какое до этого дѣло подписчикамъ? За исключеніемъ ничтожнаго меньшинства, которое готово входить въ положеніе издателей, подписчики относятся къ газетѣ прежде всего *какъ къ газетѣ*, которая должна приходить къ нимъ во-время и приносить свѣжія извѣстія. Если газета не удовлетворяетъ этому главнѣйшему условію, то никакимъ кредитомъ она пользоваться не можетъ. Такимъ образомъ, еслибъ даже намъ удалось возобновить „Недѣлю“ теперь, послѣ двухмѣсячной пріостановки, то и въ такомъ случаѣ дальнѣйшее ея изданіе для насъ, уже потратившихъ на нее всѣ свои средства, было бы дѣломъ рискованнымъ. Насколько же увеличился бы этотъ рискъ, еслибъ время пріостановки увеличилось до трехъ, четырехъ, шести, а можетъ быть и болѣе мѣсяцевъ? А въ этомъ нѣтъ ничего невозможнаго, потому что, испытавъ неудачу относительно семи лицъ, мы имѣли полное основаніе ожидать неудачи и относительно дальнѣйшихъ представляемыхъ нами кандидатовъ въ редакторы.

Но независимо отъ опасности увеличить срокъ пріостановки до такихъ размѣровъ, при которыхъ возобновленіе изданія оказалось бы дѣломъ немыслимымъ—по крайней мѣрѣ для насъ — намъ грозила и другая опасность. Представляя послѣдовательно редактора за редакторомъ и получая отказы, мы легко могли пропустить годовой срокъ, по прошествіи котораго „Недѣля“ перестала бы существовать не только de facto, но даже и de jure, такъ какъ по закону, „всякое повременное изданіе, уже выходившее въ свѣтъ,

но *по какимъ либо причинамъ* непоявлявшееся въ теченіе года, *считается прекратившимся*, и на возобновленіе онаго требуется новое разрѣшеніе".

Такимъ образомъ намъ остается второй, и послѣдній, выходъ— передать газету въ другія руки. Мы не будетъ говорить о неудобствахъ и крайней ненормальности того положенія, въ которомъ собственникъ, противъ всякаго своего желанія, ставится въ необходимость отчуждать свое имущество. Мы бы вполнѣ помирились съ неудобствами этого положенія, еслибъ намъ представилась возможность передать нашу газету на такихъ условіяхъ, при которыхъ мы могли бы возвратить хоть *часть* сдѣланныхъ на нее затратъ. Но можемъ-ли мы быть увѣрены, что намъ удастся заключить даже такую, сравнительно-невыгодную для насъ, сдѣлку? Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, положеніе газеты въ настоящее время таково, что она не приноситъ никакого дохода и притомъ не имѣетъ редактора. Еслибъ даже нашелся человѣкъ, который согласился бы пріобрѣсть газету на предложенныхъ нами условіяхъ, то прежде, чѣмъ войти съ нами въ окончательное соглашеніе, онъ долженъ заручиться редакторомъ, потому что иначе онъ можетъ оказаться въ такомъ же безвыходно-затруднительномъ положеніи, въ какомъ находимся теперь мы. Слѣдовательно, и второй выходъ изъ этого нашего положенія представляется крайне сомнительнымъ—и въ обоихъ случаяхъ мы нисколько не гарантированы отъ дѣйствія той статьи закона, по которой изданіе, не выходившее въ теченіе года, считается прекратившимся.

Вотъ случай, доказывающій, что въ нашей литературѣ возможны положенія, не только имѣющія значеніе взысканій, но и болѣе тяжкія, чѣмъ какія бы то ни было взысканія, установленныя закономъ.

Въ самомъ дѣлѣ, по закону, изданія, выходящія безъ цензуры, въ случаѣ нарушенія въ нихъ законовъ, подвергаются судебному преслѣдованію, а повременныя изданія, кромѣ того, въ случаѣ замѣченнаго въ нихъ вреднаго направленія, подлежатъ и дѣйствію административныхъ взысканій—то есть предостереженіямъ и пріостановкамъ; независимо отъ этого, министру внутреннихъ дѣлъ предоставлено право запрещать на извѣстное время, или безсрочно, розничную продажу нумеровъ періодическаго изданія, а Совѣту Главнаго управленія по дѣламъ печати и цензурнымъ комитетамъ—задерживать въ извѣстныхъ случаяхъ нумера изданія, до выхода ихъ

въ свѣтъ. Наконецъ, если послѣ третьяго предостереженія министръ внутреннихъ дѣлъ признаетъ нужнымъ, независимо отъ пріостановленія изданія на извѣстный срокъ, *вовсе прекратить* это изданіе, то онъ входитъ объ этомъ съ представленіемъ въ 1-й департаментъ сената.

Каково бы ни было мнѣніе каждаго изъ редакторовъ или издателей о системѣ административныхъ взысканій и вообще о нашемъ законодательствѣ о печати, но только самый наивный изъ нихъ станетъ изъявлять претензіи, когда его постигнетъ то или другое взысканіе, установленное закономъ. Мы можемъ желать, чтобы административныя взысканія были замѣнены судебными, но пока они существуютъ, мы не имѣемъ ни возможности, ни права оспаривать ихъ обязательную для насъ силу. Въ каждомъ данномъ случаѣ намъ можетъ казаться, что взысканіе не соотвѣтствуетъ значенію вызвавшаго его проступка; мы можемъ даже быть убѣждены, что проступокъ, вызвавшій, напримѣръ, пріостановку изданія, не былъ бы вовсе сочтенъ проступкомъ со стороны судебной власти; но тѣмъ не менѣе, пока существуетъ законъ, предоставляющій министру внутреннихъ дѣлъ широкое, безъапелляціонное право надзора за періодической печатью, мы должны считать проявленія этого права вполнѣ естественными и законными.

Совсѣмъ иное положеніе, въ какомъ находимся теперь мы. Расплатившись за прежнія нарушенія законовъ о печати шестимѣсячной пріостановной и ухудшеніемъ нашихъ денежныхъ дѣлъ, мы затѣмъ, въ теченіе слѣдующихъ $5^1/_2$ мѣсяцевъ, не сдѣлали ни одного новаго нарушенія, такъ какъ не подверглись за все это время ни одной изъ мѣръ взысканія, установленныхъ закономъ, — и мы полагаемъ, что это не случайное явленіе, а прямое слѣдствіе нашихъ собственныхъ усилій. Считая себя, такимъ образомъ, вполнѣ правыми, мы вдругъ становимся въ такое положеніе, которое равносильно самому тяжелому наказанію—прекращенію газеты. Еслибы насъ постигла такая судьба по суду, или по рѣшенію Сената, то какъ бы ни были мы огорчены, мы все-таки сознавали бы, что подверглись этому наказанію за проступокъ, или даже за рядъ проступковъ, признанныхъ наказуемыми со стороны судебной или административной власти. Между тѣмъ теперь мы не совершили *ни одного* такого проступка—и все-таки наказаны; мы даже *не наказаны* въ строгомъ смыслѣ слова—и тѣмъ не менѣе несемъ одно изъ самыхъ тяжелыхъ наказаній, какія только существуютъ для періодической печати.

Какъ ни тяжело положеніе, въ какомъ мы находимся, мы, тѣмъ не менѣе, употребимъ всѣ усилія, чтобы удовлетворить нашихъ подписчиковъ. Если намъ не удастся передать газету хотя бы на самыхъ невыгодныхъ условіяхъ, то мы постараемся разсчитаться съ подписчиками иначе; во всякомъ случаѣ, мы не останемся передъ ними въ долгу, хотя бы для этого потребовались съ нашей стороны самыя тяжелыя пожертвованія; мы только просимъ ихъ дать намъ возможность собраться съ силами и оказать намъ нѣкоторое снисхожденіе, въ виду тѣхъ исключительныхъ обстоятельствъ, изложеніе которыхъ составляло одну изъ цѣлей настоящаго объясненія.

Не ожидая отъ этого объясненія никакой пользы для себя лично—такъ какъ наши дѣла уже врядъ-ли поправимы — мы желали бы, по крайней мѣрѣ, чтобы оно оказалось полезнымъ для русской литературы вообще. Правда, у насъ не часты случаи, подобные настоящему. Но уже одна возможность такихъ положеній, въ которыхъ издатели, безъ всякой съ своей стороны вины, лишаются всего своего имущества, заставляетъ обратить вниманіе на неполноту нашего законодательства о печати.

П. Гайдебуровъ.
Е. Конради.

Май 1872 г.

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